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A

MANUAL

OF

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY;

COMPRISING

I. ANCIENT HISTORY,

CONTAINING THE POLITICAL HISTORY, GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION, AND SOCIAL STATE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, CAREFULLY REVISED FROM THE ANCIENT WRITERS.

II. MODERN HISTORY,

CONTAINING THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN NATIONS, THEIR POLITICAL HISTORY, AND THE CHANGES IN THEIR SOCIAL CONDITION, WITH A HISTORY OF THE COLONIES FOUNDED BY EUROPEANS.

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REVISED, WITH A CHAPTER ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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PREFACE.

In bringing out an American edition of this work, the publishers were desirous not only to furnish a valuable work for general readers, but also to make it in point of size and price as well adapted to the wants of public instruction as they believed it to be in intrinsic merit. In complying with their request to revise the work with this view, the present editor has made a few slight curtailments—principally in the first part of the volume of Ancient History—which could be made without suppressing or in any way distorting or impairing any material fact or statement.

In the English edition, all that is to be found relating to the history of the United States amounts to two or three pages, interspersed in the history of England. In the place of these meager notices, the present editor has appended to the volume of Modern History a distinct and special chapter, giving to the history of the United States its proportionate place in general history, and to which it is certainly entitled in a work designed for public instruction in this country. He trusts that this sketch will be found to contain a fair and clear view of the leading events of our history.

In the preface to the third American edition of Guizot's History of European Civilization, the present editor took occasion to offer some remarks upon the study of history as a part of the course of studies pursued in our higher institutions: in which he attempted to answer the extremely difficult question, "How best to employ the very limited time allotted to history in the usual course of public instruction?" On the one hand, it is obvious that a thorough knowledge of history (which it is the work of years to gain) can never be acquired in the time allowed;

and on the other hand, it is far more difficult to make a successful beginning, to lay a good foundation in history, than in the other studies included in the usual public course. This it is which makes the most useful employment of the little time allowed so perplexing a problem.

The conclusion to which the editor arrived was, that in the impossibility of communicating a thorough knowledge of history in this time, thus much should be attempted: 1. The study of some judicious work of general history; 2. The study of some good specimen of the philosophy of history, as it is called, or the method of generalizing and reflecting upon the facts of history; and 3. The *thorough investigation* of some small portion of *special* history. The editor recommended the work of Guizot, referred to above, as a good specimen of philosophical reflection upon history; and he knows no work on general history better adapted to the purpose of public instruction than the present.

C. S. H.

New York, *December* 11, 1844.

INTRODUCTION.

The use of history is not to load the memory with facts, but to store the mind with principles—to collect from the experience of past ages rules for our conduct as individuals and as members of society. Every historical work, therefore, professes to give only a selection of events; and the writer's choice is determined by the nature of his history: the general historian directs attention to the occurrences that have changed the general aspect of society, the revolutions of states and empires, the causes that led to them, and the consequences by which they were followed. The special historian confines his attention to one class of facts, specified in the title of his work: thus the ecclesiastical historian writes only of the affairs of the church; the military historian confines his narrative to wars and battles; and the commercial historian devotes his attention exclusively to trade.

But even general histories may, in some degree, be regarded as special; their object may be called "political," that is, they profess to describe the destinies of nations, both in their external relations with foreign states, and in their internal affairs. Under the first head are comprised wars, treaties of peace or alliance, and commercial intercourse; under the second, governments, institutions, and manners. Such a history must, to a certain extent, be a history of civilization; for it will describe the progress of social improvement, and the progress of the human mind. These essential parts of civilization must not be confounded; for we shall have more than once occasion to remark, that the social system, or, in other words, the relations between the different parts of society, may display great wisdom and justice, while men, in their individual capacity, continue the slaves of ignorance and superstition.

A distinction is usually made between the narrative and the philoso-

phy of history: in the former are included the actions of kings and rulers, the accounts of wars and treaties, the rise and fall of empires; in the latter are comprehended descriptions of the political and religious institutions, the organization of society, the amount of knowledge, the state of industry and the arts, the morals, the habits, and the prevailing prejudices in any age or nation; and the facts thus ascertained by philosophy, are shown to be the causes of the events detailed in the narrative. It is possible to go back a step further, and to trace the origin of these institutions and manners in the succession of opinions, and gradual development of the human intellect. But unassisted reason can go no further; the law fixed by Providence for the succession of opinions and development of mind, can only be known to its omniscient Author, but that such a law exists, is proved to us by the fulfilment of prophecy, by the frequent instances of unconscious agents working out the great designs of God.

It is proposed in the following pages to unite the philosophy with the narrative of history, to combine events with their causes, and direct occasionally the attention of the student to the progress of civilization, both in its effect on society and on individuals. Sacred history—the account of the direct operations of the Divine agency on his chosen servants and chosen people—is necessarily excluded from a political history; but the general course of Providence displayed in the moral government of his creatures is an essential element of our plan: it is, in fact, the principle of unity that binds together its several parts.

The necessary companions of history are chronology and geography; they determine the time when, and the place where, each event occurred. The difficulties of chronology arise both from the imperfection of records, and from varieties in the mode of computation: the former can not be remedied; but, to prevent the mistakes which may arise from this cause, uncertain dates have been marked with an asterisk: the second source of confusion is removed by using throughout solar years for a measure of time, and the birth of Christ as an era from which to reckon.

Instead of constructing a general system of ancient geography, it has seemed better to prefix a geographical outline of the history of each separate country, and to combine with it some account of the nature of the soil, and its most remarkable animal and vegetable productions. There is no doubt that the position, climate, and fertility of a country, have a powerful influence over the character, condition, and destiny of its inhabitants, and ought not to be omitted in the consideration of their history.

The arrangement of this work is both chronological and geographical; the history of each country is given separately, but the states are arranged in the order of their attaining a commanding influence in the world. To this there are two exceptions—Egypt, which is placed first, on account of its being the earliest organized government of which we have any authentic record; and India, which is placed last, because it exercised no marked influence over the most remarkable nations of ancient times.

The history of Greece in this volume has a less orderly appearance than in most similar works, because it contains not merely the histories of Athens and Sparta, to which most writers confine their attention, but also those of the minor states, the islands and the colonies. A chapter has been added on the colonial policy of the Greeks—a subject of great importance in itself, and peculiarly interesting to a commercial country.

To the Roman history there is prefixed a brief account of the ancient inhabitants of Italy before the era usually assigned for the foundation of Rome. In the earlier period of the republic, notice is taken of the reasonable doubts that have been raised respecting the authenticity of the common narrative; but care has been taken to avoid an excess of skepticism, which is at least as bad as an excess of credulity.

In the chapter on India, attention has been directed to the ancient routes of trade between that country and eastern Europe: many of these subsist to the present day; projects have been formed for reopening others; some account of them consequently appears necessary, for illustrating both ancient commerce and modern policy.

In a general summary, restricted within narrow limits, it is scarcely possible to avoid dryness of details; notes have therefore been added, consisting for the most part of illustrations and anecdotes, that may serve both to relieve the mind, and to place important traits of character, national and individual, in a clearer light.

It has been deemed advisable to take some notice of the mythology, as well as the real history, of nations; for though mythic traditions may in many or in most instances have had no foundation, yet they should not be wholly neglected by the historian, for they had a share in forming, and they help to illustrate, the character of the nation by which they were once believed. At the same time, care has been taken to separate these traditions from the authenticated narrative, and to discriminate between those that have, and those that have not, some probable foundation in fact.

Political reflections and moral inferences from the narrative have, in general, been avoided: the instructive lessons of history are, for the most part, found on the surface, and may best be collected by the students themselves. It is not quite fair to prejudge questions for the mind; the chief business of those who write for the young should be to make them think, not to think for them.

The author has to acknowledge his great obligations to the works of Professor Heeren, whose volumes on the *Politics*, *Intercourse*, *and Trade of Ancient Nations*, should form part of every historical library; he has also borrowed very copiously from the valuable essays that have appeared in the *Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions;* his particular obligations in the several chapters need not be specified, most of them being mentioned in the notes.

The design of this introduction is merely to explain the plan of the work; some few suggestions, however, may be added on the mode of using it. Students should compare the geographical chapters with maps, and fix in their minds the most characteristic natural features of the country whose history they are about to commence. One division should be thoroughly mastered before another is begun; and when the whole is gone through, it will be found a most useful exercise to synchronize the events in the history of one country with the events in the history of another; for instance, to trace the condition of the Roman republic at the time of the battle of Arbéla.

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THE

STUDENT'S MANUAL

OF

ANCIENT HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPT.

Section 1.—*Geographical Outline.*

Egypt is the country in which we first find a government and political institutions established. Civilization everywhere seems to have commenced in the formation of agricultural associations, on the banks of rivers; and the Nile invites men to tillage more forcibly than any other. Egypt itself has been called, from the earliest antiquity, "the Gift of the Nile," and its annual inundations have had a vast influence over the lives and customs, the religion and science, indeed, the entire social existence of the people. It appears that civilization advanced northward along the valley of the river: and we shall therefore commence our examination of the land, at the southern frontier of Egypt.

The Nile enters Egypt near the city of Syéne, below the cataracts, and flows through a narrow valley, about nine miles in breadth, to Chem'mis, where the valley begins to widen. At Cercasórus, sixty miles from its mouth, the stream divides, and encloses a triangular piece of country, called the Delta. The narrow valley from Syéne to Chem'mis was called Upper Egypt; the wider valley, Middle Egypt; and the Delta, Lower Egypt.

Rain seldom falls in Lower Egypt, almost never in the upper regions: the fertility of the country, therefore, depends on the annual overflowings of the river. These inundations are caused by the heavy rains, that fall in Upper Ethiopia, from May to September. The rivers of that country pour their waters into the Nile, which begins to rise about the middle of June. Early in August, the river overflows its banks, giving the valley of the Nile the appearance of an inland sea. Toward the beginning of October, the waters begin to subside, and, by the end of the month, are confined to the proper channel of the river. The fertility of Egypt extends as far as this inundation reaches, or can be continued by artificial means.

The eastern side of the valley of the Nile is a mountainous range of country, extending to the Red sea, suited, in some districts, for pasturage, but unfit for agriculture; abounding, however, in those rich quarries of marble and building stone, that formed the inexhaustible magazines for the architectural wonders of Egypt.

On the western side of the Nile, the valley is bounded by a stony ridge covered with sand, which slopes on its remote side, into the Great Desert. This ridge protects the valley from the sands of the desert, which would otherwise desolate the whole country.

Upper Egypt contains far the most numerous and interesting monuments. Near the cataracts, are the islands of Philæ and Elephantine, containing the proudest edifices of antiquity; lower down, the city of Apollo; then Thebes, filling the whole valley on both sides of the Nile with enormous temples, more like mountains than human edifices, colossal statues, sphinxes, and obelisks, with the Catacombs, in the mountains on the western bank of the river; and lastly, Dendera, with the celebrated Zodiac sculptured on its mighty temple.

Middle Egypt is a wider valley. It contains the lake Moeris, an immense reservoir, partly natural, partly artificial, and affording such facilities for regulating the irrigation of the country, that this was the most fertile district of Egypt. The labyrinth, so renowned in antiquity, was near Arsinoë. Below Arsinoë was Memphis, the capital of Middle Egypt. This was the city of the Pharaohs who received the family of Israel. There are now but slight remains of its temples and palaces: the neighboring mountains are, however, filled with catacombs similar to those of Upper Egypt. But the most remarkable monuments of this district are the Pyramids.

Lower Egypt, or the Delta, possesses, from the extension of the river, a greater quantity of fertile land than the other districts. It was covered with flourishing cities, as Sais, Naucratis, and Alexandria, which last, situated on the western frontier of the Lybian desert, still retains the name, and proves by its extensive trade the wisdom of its great founder.

The more civilized portion of the Egyptians dwelt in the rich plains of the valley, and attained a perfection in the arts of social life, that but for the irresistible evidence of the monuments, would scarcely be credited. It was the great object of the sacerdotal and royal policy, to keep this population stationary, to direct their attention to agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and to prevent them from adopting the nomad life of the pastoral and plundering tribes on their north-eastern frontiers: and hence we find it recorded, that "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians."

Section II.—*Political and Social Condition of the Egyptians.*

It appears that the Egyptians were a brown race of people, and that the higher castes of priests and warriors were fairer than the other classes. It has been conjectured that the Egyptians derived their system of civilization from the Hindus: but it is difficult to conceive how this could be.

Local circumstances produced marked differences in the habits and

manners of the people. In the mountainous eastern districts and in the fens of the Delta, where agriculture was impossible, the inhabitants led a pastoral life. On the Nile and along the coast, were tribes of fishermen. In the rich plains, dwelt the more civilized part of the nation. The institution of castes existed among them. The priests and warriors were the most honored; next, the agriculturists, merchants, mariners, and artisans; the lowest caste was that of shepherds.

The migrations of the priestly caste from their native regions in the south, were not simultaneous; they formed settlements at different times, in the most fertile portions of the valley. The central point of the colony was always a temple, round which cities were gradually formed. These settlements afterward led to the division of the country into *nomes*, a name given by the Egyptians to a city, its environs and dependant villages. There was a religious (as originally a political) distinction between these nomes: each city had its own presiding deity, and the animals regarded as sacred in one nome were not respected in another. The history of these petty states is unknown; but they were finally absorbed in the dominion of Thebes and Memphis.

The nations bordering on the Egyptians were, for the most part, barbarous and wandering tribes, whose avarice was roused by the increasing opulence of the valley of the Nile. The Hyk'sos, or shepherd-kings, as they were called, came from Arabia, and, after many predatory incursions, made themselves masters of Lower and Middle Egypt.

Egypt became united under one sovereign, after the expulsion of the Hyk'sos: and the divisions of the people into castes, and of the country into nomes, were permanently fixed. The priestly caste was subdivided into families, each devoted and restricted to a separate temple and a particular God. Over each of these sacerdotal subdivisions a high-priest presided, whose office was hereditary; and the high-priests of metropolitan temples enjoyed authority almost equal to that of kings. And their influence was greatly strengthened by their monopoly of every branch of scientific knowledge. They were not only priests, but also judges, soothsayers, physicians, architects, and sculptors.

The warrior-caste ranked next to that of the priests: the royal family belonged to it. Certain nomes were assigned to the support of this caste, most of which were in Lower Egypt, where the country was most exposed to attack.

The Egyptians were the earliest nation that organized a regular army, and thus laid the foundation of the whole system of ancient warfare. A brief account of their military affairs will therefore illustrate, not only their history, but that of the great Asiatic monarchies, and of the Greeks, during the heroic ages.

The most important division of an Egyptian army was the body of war-chariots, used instead of cavalry. These chariots were mounted on two wheels, and made, especially the wheels, with great care. They were hung low; open behind, so that the warrior could easily step in and out; and without seat. They were drawn by two horses, and generally contained two warriors, one of whom managed the steeds

while the other fought. Nations were distinguished from each other by the shape of their chariots.

Great attention was paid to the breeding and training of horses, in Egypt. The harness and housings of the horses were richly decorated; and fixed to the chariots, on the outside, was a quiver and bow-case, decorated also with extraordinary taste and skill. The bow was the national weapon, employed both by infantry and cavalry. No nation of antiquity paid so much attention to archery as the Egyptians; their arrows were drawn to the ear; and their bows were more powerful, and their arrows better aimed, than those of other nations. The children of the warrior-caste were trained from earliest infancy to the practice of archery.

The arms of the Egyptian heavy-armed infantry were a spear, a dagger, a short sword, a helmet, and a shield. Pole-axes and battle-axes were occasionally used. Coats-of-mail were used only by the principal officers, and some remarkable warriors, like Goliath, the champion of the Philistines. The light troops were armed with swords, battleaxes, maces, and clubs.

The system of discipline and drill was very complete. Every battalion had its standard, with some symbol or sacred object represented on it, usually the cognizance of the nome or tribe. The soldiers were levied by conscription, drilled to the sound of the trumpet, and taught to march in measured time.

Cavalry, in the earlier period, were not employed as a military body, but used as skirmishers, vedettes, and expresses, rather than as warriors. The Egyptians generally treated their captives with great cruelty, putting them to death, or reducing them to slavery.

The religion and government of Egypt were intimately blended: there were prescribed forms and ceremonies for every important action, which even kings dared not neglect. This gave the priests paramount control over public affairs and domestic life. The religion of the priests seems to have been more refined than the gross idolatry of the lower classes: one general idea, however, pervades the entire system —the importance of agriculture to a state. Hence, the great influence of astronomy in their theology, as determining the times and seasons for agricultural operations; hence, also, the deification of the productive powers of nature. Never were a people more dependant on priestly astrologers than the Egyptians: the stars were consulted for every undertaking, private or public, and the priests alone had the right to consult them and deliver their oracles. The belief in a future state influenced every portion of Egyptian life: but the nature of the creed is difficult to be explained. In fact, there were two inconsistent creeds, the belief in transmigration of souls, confined to the priestly caste; and the belief that the soul will continue as long as the body endures —whence the practice of so carefully embalming, and of hewing sepulchres in the solid rock. The latter was the popular opinion; hence, the importance of the rites of burial, and the dread of the trial after death, when a tribunal, under priestly direction, determined whether the body should be placed in the tomb, or left to natural decay.

The relative position of the lower castes varied at different times; but all trades and professions were hereditary. It was probably sup-

posed that this exclusive dedication of families to separate employments would insure perfection in the arts; and, certainly, the progress of the Egyptians, especially in architecture, surpasses that of any other nation.

Gymnastic exercises and music were the favorite amusements of the ancient Egyptians. At their meals, they used chairs and tables not unlike our own. Women were treated more respectfully than in other countries of the East. Great respect was paid to age and rank.

The principal trees of Egypt were the sycamore, the fig, the pomegranate, the peach, the locust-tree, and the vine. Great care was taken of the vines. Wine was used in great quantities, by the nobles and wealthy merchants. Of esculent vegetables growing wild, the most remarkable were the lotus, a kind of lily, and the papyrus; the leaves of the latter, dried and prepared, were used for writing upon. The cultivated vegetables were corn and pulse, cotton, melons, cucumbers, onions, &c.

The domestic animals of the Egyptians were the same as those of most civilized countries. The cat was held in particular honor. The animals of the mountain and desert were the wild ox, the goat and sheep, and the antelope. They seem to have obtained camels from some foreign country. Among the amphibious animals of the Nile, the crocodile and the hippopotamus deserve to be noticed, the skin of the latter being regarded as the best covering for shields. Wild and tame fowl abounded; the eggs of geese and other poultry were hatched in ovens heated to the requisite temperature, a process still used by the modern Copts.

Section III.—*History of Egypt from the earliest period to the Accession of Psammetichus.*

from B. C. 1900 to B. C. 650.

Egypt was originally composed of several small states, of which the first were founded in Upper Egypt. Though Thebes was the most ancient of the powerful states, Memphis is that of which we have the earliest accounts. It was the metropolis of a powerful kingdom when it was visited by the patriarch Abraham, and already the centre of a flourishing corn-trade. The court of the reigning Pharaoh was regularly organized: the jealousy of foreigners, especially the heads of pastoral tribes, was not yet apparent, for Abraham was received with great hospitality.

In the interval between the departure of Abraham from Egypt and the sale of Joseph to Potiphar, the Hyk'sos and other wandering tribes had began to make incursions into the valley of the Nile, and to ravage its fruitful fields. The policy which induced the Pharaoh who then occupied the throne to grant the land of Goshen to the colony of the Israelites, was equally creditable to his sagacity and generosity; it was a pasturage and frontier province, forming the eastern barrier of Egypt toward Syria and Palestine, the countries from which invasion was most dreaded. By assigning this district to Jacob and his family, it was covered in a short time by a numerous, brave, and industrious people, giving additional security and resources to the country.

After the death of Joseph, but at what distance of time there is no evidence to determine, a change of dynasty took place in Egypt. This was probably the event described by profane writers as the conquest of Egypt by the Hyk′sos, and consequently the Pharaoh who so cruelly tyrannized over the Israelites was not a native Egyptian, but an intrusive foreigner. The motive assigned for oppressing the Israelites was, "this people are more and mightier than we"—which could hardly be true of the whole Egyptian nation, but might very probably be of a race of conquerors. One of the tasks which this cruel despot imposed on the Israelites, was the building of "treasure cities." Among the cruelties inflicted on them, their being employed in the manufacture of brick is particularly mentioned: under the burning sun of Egypt, the process of wetting, tempering, and working the clay previous to its being moulded, was so painful and unwholesome that it was usually the work of slaves and captives. But when the Pharaoh found that the Israelites still continued to "multiply and wax very mighty," he had recourse to the barbarous expedient of extermination, and ordered that all the male children should be destroyed. Moses was saved from the general slaughter and educated at the Egyptian court; after which, though the fact is not expressly stated, the cruel edict appears to have fallen into disuse. Moses never forgot his parentage and nation; probably the courtiers of Pharaoh failed not to remind him that he belonged to a degraded caste.

Having been compelled to quit Egypt for having slain one of the oppressors, Moses sought shelter in the land of Midian, where Jehovah appeared to him, and commanded him to achieve the deliverance of His chosen people, investing him with the miraculous powers necessary for so difficult an object. The reigning Pharaoh refused to part with so valuable a race of slaves, and his obstinacy was punished with ten dreadful plagues. The smiting of the first-born was the consummation of these fearful judgments: Pharaoh and his subjects hasted to send the Israelites away, and they quitted the land of Egypt. Avarice induced the Pharaoh to pursue them with a mighty army; but God opened a passage for the Israelites through the Red sea, while the Egyptian host, attempting to pursue them, were overwhelmed with the returning waters.

This calamity (B. C. 1491) greatly weakened the power of the Hyk′sos, already menaced by the increasing strength of the Theban monarchy. Previous to this, we have scarcely any probable account of the names and ages of the Egyptian kings, except that Ménes appears to have been the founder of the monarchy, and Osirtesen I. the Pharaoh who received Joseph. But henceforth we are able to determine with probability some general epochs by comparing the evidence of the monuments with that of the historians. To this period belong the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Manetho, the founders of the most important monuments of Upper Egypt. In the reign of Am′enoph I., the Thebans extended their conquests to the south, and seized on part of Núbia. Crude brick arches were constructed at this period (B. C. 1540) and glass was soon after brought into use. Under the fourth king of this dynasty, Thutmósis, or Thothmes III., the children of Israel departed from Egypt, and the Theban monarch succeeded in

expelling the Hyk'sos—greatly weakened by the destruction of their best warriors in the Red sea—from the greater part of the country, and shutting them up in their fortresses. Their great stronghold was taken by his son and successor, Thoth'mes IV.; and the shepherd-kings surrendered on condition of being allowed to withdraw into Syria. The intimate connexion between these two events—the Exodus of the Israelites, and the expulsion of the Hyk'sos—have led to their being confounded together. The next remarkable monarch was Am'enoph III., who reigned conjointly with his brother; but, soon becoming weary of divided empire, he expelled his partner. The dethroned brother was probably the Dan'aus* of the Greeks, who, leaving Egypt with his partisans, settled in Ar'gos, of which he became king (B. C. 1430). The pretended vocal statue of Mem'non was erected in honor of Am'enoph; and in his reign the building of the great temples seems to have been commenced. He annexed the greater part of Núbia to his dominions. Among his successors the name of Ram'eses is the most distinguished. It was borne by four sovereigns; two in the eighteenth, and two in the nineteenth dynasty. The first was expelled by his brother, and is by some identified with Dan'aus: the second, called Mi-Am'mon, "he who loves Am'mon," was the founder of the palace of Medínet Abú at Thebes; and from the sculptures on its walls, he appears to have been a warrior and conqueror.

Am'enoph IV. was the last of the eighteenth dynasty. In his unfortunate reign the Hyk'sos renewed their invasions; and the king, confiding his son, a child of five years old, to the care of a friend, fled into Ethiópia, where he remained thirteen years an exile. During this period the Hyk'sos were guilty of the most wanton excesses; for "they not only set fire to the cities and villages, but committed every kind of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and roasted and fed upon those sacred animals that were worshipped; and having compelled the priests and prophets to kill and sacrifice them, they cast them naked out of the country."† Amen'ophis at length, aided by an Ethiopian army, and supported by his gallant son, expelled the shepherd-kings, and restored the prosperity of his country.

Ram'eses the Great, called also Séthos or Sesos'tris,‡ is the most celebrated of the Egyptian monarchs. The conquests attributed to him are so mighty, that he has been by some regarded as merely a symbolical being; but from the evidence of the monuments, he appears to be undoubtedly an historical personage. It is indeed doubtful whether the Ram'eses who founded Medínet Abú, or the son of Am'enoph, be the great conqueror who carried his arms into Bac'tria in the east, and Thrace in the west, and before whose throne captives from the frozen Cau'casus mingled with the sable tribes from the extreme south of Ethiópia: but the existence of this conqueror, his daring hunts of the lion in the desert while a youth, his aid in the expulsion of the Hyk'sos, his extensive conquests, and the vast treasures he collected from the vanquished nations, are satisfactorily proved by the sculptured history of his exploits on the walls of the buildings he erected or enlarged.

* Others assign Dan'aus to a later period.
† Manétho, as quoted by Joséphus.
‡ Wilkinson identifies Ram'eses II. with Sesos'tris.

Having subdued the mountainous districts east of Egypt, and part of the Arabian peninsula, he fitted out a fleet of war-galleys to scour the Indian seas. The naval engagements sculptured on the walls of Medínet Abú and Karnac fully support the account of these expeditions given by the historians, and show that they were extended to the western coast of Hindost'an. Ethiópia was subdued, and compelled to pay a tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants' teeth. The battle, the victory, the offering of the booty and tribute, are represented on the monuments at Kalabshè, in Lower Núbia. His campaigns in Asia and Europe were equally remarkable. Northward he subdued Syria, Anatólia, and part of Thrace; eastward he is said to have advanced as far as Bac'tria and India. There can, however, be no doubt of his exploits in the neighborhood of Assy'ria and the Euphrátes; for they are represented on the sculptures of the building called the tomb of Osyman'dyas, but which should rather be called the temple-palace of King Ram'eses.

It is singular that no record of such a conqueror should be found in the Scriptures; for he must have subdued the land of Cánaan and Syria, countries which were always coveted by the rulers of Egypt. Mr. Milman very plausibly argues that the conquests of Sesos'tris took place while the Israelites were wandering in the desert, and that this providential arrangement was intended to facilitate the conquest of the promised land. There can, however, be no doubt that some king of Egypt performed many of the exploits attributed to Sesos'tris, though it is very difficult to ascertain the exact period in which he flourished.

The successors of Sesos'tris seem to have sunk into the usual indolence of oriental monarchs. Their history, for nearly three hundred years, presents little more than a catalogue of names, until we come to Sesoúchis, the Shíshak of the Holy Scriptures, who was the first monarch of the twenty-second dynasty. In the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, the foolish and wicked son of Solomon (B. C. 970), Shíshak made war against Palestine, and pillaged Jerusalem. His army consisted of twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand horsemen, and an innumerable body of infantry, consisting not only of Egyptians, but also of Libyans, Ethiopians, and Troglody'tes. His empire consequently extended beyond the bounds of Egypt, and included a large portion of southern and western Africa.

In the next century the Egyptian monarchy declined rapidly, and the country was subjugated by Sab'aco, a foreign conqueror from Ethiópia. The history of the Ethiopian dynasty will be found in the next chapter.

After some time, a priest named Séthos usurped the government, contrary to all precedent. He not only neglected the caste of warriors, but deprived them of their privileges and lands; at which they were so incensed, that they refused to bear arms in his defence. Sennach'erib, king of Assyria, prepared to invade Egypt with a very powerful army, and advanced to Pelúsium (B. C. 713). Séthos, deserted by the military caste, armed the laborers and artificers, and with this undisciplined host marched to meet the invader. A pestilence in the Assyrian camp saved Egypt from ruin, and Sennach'erib returned to meet fresh misfortunes at Jerusalem. When Séthos died, twelve princes, or heads of nomes, shared the kingdom among them; but soon quarrelling about

the limits of their respective principalities, they engaged in mutual war, and drove one of their number, Psammet'ichus, prince of Sáis, into exile. Psammet'ichus levied an army of Greek and Carian mercenaries, most of whom appear to have been pirates; and having overcome all his rivals, once more united all Egypt into a single monarchy, of which Mem'phis ranked as the capital, though Sáis was usually the seat of government. The intercourse with the nations in the eastern Mediterranean was greatly extended during the reign of Psammet'ichus: many Greeks settled in the Egyptian seaports; and a new caste of interpreters and brokers was formed to facilitate commerce. But the patronage of foreigners, and the preference that Psammet'ichus showed for the mercenaries to whom he owed his crown, so disgusted the caste of warriors, that the whole body emigrated from their country, and setttled in Ethiópia (B. C. 650).

SECTION IV.—*History of Egypt from the Reign of Psammetichus to its Subjugation by Cambyses.*

FROM B.C. 650 TO B.C. 525.

THE accession of Psammet'ichus was followed by a complete revolution in the ancient policy of Egypt; foreign auxiliaries performed the duties of the warrior caste; plans of permanent conquests in Syria succeeded to the predatory expeditions of the ancient Pharaohs; and the political influence of the priesthood rapidly declined, as new opinions were imported from abroad, and new institutions rendered necessary by increasing commerce. For several reigns, the great object of Egyptian policy was to obtain possession of the commercial cities of Syria and Phœnícia. Psammet'ichus led the way by laying siege to Azótus, a frontier town of Syria—persevering in successive attacks for twenty-nine years, until he accomplished his object.

Néchus, called in Scripture Pharaoh-Nécho, succeeded his father Psammet'ichus (B.C. 616), and became a powerful prince, both by land and sea. He built fleets in the Mediterranean and the Red seas, and attempted to unite them by cutting a canal across the isthmus of Suez; an enterprise subsequently completed by Darius Hystáspes.* The increasing strength of the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the ancient empire of Assyria, justly alarmed Nécho. He led an army against the king of Assyria, directing his march toward the Euphrátes, but was checked by the interference of Josíah, king of Judah, who tried to prevent him from besieging Car'chemish or Circésium, but was defeated and slain.† Nécho, having reached the Euphrátes, captured the important city of Car'chemish, or Circésium, which he garrisoned. On his return to Egypt he became master of Jerusalem, led its monarch, Jehoáhaz, away captive, and placed Jehoíakim upon the throne.

The Chaldean dynasty in Bab'ylon rose into power on the ruins of

* The navigation of the northern part of the Red sea is so very dangerous that this canal was never of much use. Vessels usually stopped at My'os Hor'mos, now Cosseir, whence there was a good caravan-road to the Nile.

† 2 Chron. xxxv. 21.

the Assyrian empire. Nebuchadnez'zar, its mightiest monarch, resolved on the conquest of western Asia; and one of his earliest efforts was the expulsion of the Egyptians from Car'chemish. Nécho tried to check the progress of this formidable opponent; but he was defeated with great slaughter, and stripped of all his possessions in Syria and Judea, to the very walls of Pelúsium. Jeremíah's prophetic description of this important battle has all the minute accuracy of history.*

During his wars in Syria, Nécho did not neglect the improvement of navigation. A Phœnician fleet, equipped at his expense, sailed down the Red sea, passed the straits of Bab-el-Man'deb, and, coasting the African continent, discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, two thousand years before the rediscovery of it by Diaz and Vasco de Gama. The expedition returned to Egypt through the Atlantic ocean, the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, after an absence of three years.

During the reign of Psam'mis, the son of Nécho, a remarkable circumstance occurred (B.C. 600), tending to prove the ancient connexion between the institutions of Greece and Egypt, which has been denied by the modern historians of the German school. An embassy was sent from the city of E'lis to obtain directions for the management of the Olympic games; and the regulations suggested by the Egyptian priests were implicitly obeyed.

A'pries, the Pharaoh-Hoph'ra of Scripture, immediately after his accession (B.C. 594), attacked the Phœnician states, and conquered Sidon. He entered into a close alliance with Zedekíah, king of Judah, promising to aid him in his revolt against Nebuchadnez'zar. A'pries, in fulfilment of his engagement, led an army into Judea, and Nebuchadnez'zar, on receiving intelligence of his approach, broke up the siege of Jerusalem, and hastened to meet him: but the Egyptians were afraid to encounter the Babylonian forces, and retired, without striking a blow, to their own country, leaving their allies to bear the brunt of Nebuchadnez'zar's vengeance. For this act of perfidy, God, by the mouth of his prophet Ezekiel,† denounced severe vengeance on the Egyptians and their sovereign. Not less distinct is the prophecy of Jeremiah: "Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hoph'ra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekíah, king of Judah, into the hand of Nebuchadnez'zar, his enemy, and that sought his life."‡

The accomplishment followed close upon the latter prediction. A Grecian colony, established at Cyréne, being strengthened by fresh bodies of their countrymen, under their third king, Bat'tus the Happy, attacked the neighboring Libyans, and seized their land. An'dican, one of the dispossessed princes, applied for aid to Pharaoh-Hoph'ra, who sent a large army to his relief. The Egyptians were routed with great slaughter by the Cyreneans; and the fugitives, to excuse their defeat, averred that they had been designedly betrayed by their monarch. This calumny was the pretext for a universal revolt. After a long civil war, of which Nebuchadnez'zar took advantage to devastate Lower Egypt, A'pries was dethroned by Am'asis, and strangled in prison (B.C. 569).

* Jeremiah xlvi. 1–10. † Ezekiel xxix. 8–15. ‡ Jeremiah xliv. 30.

The usurper was a man of mean birth, but his great abilities enabled him to overcome the Egyptian prejudice of caste, especially as he had the wisdom to conciliate the affection of the priesthood. Following the policy of his predecessors, he tried to establish his supremacy in western Asia, on the decline of the Babylonian power, and entered into close alliance with Cræ'sus against Cy'rus. He was defeated, and compellled to become tributary to the conqueror. On the death of Cyrus, he attempted to assert his independence, and thus provoked the rage of Camby'ses, that monarch's successor. At the very moment when the Persian invaders were approaching, Am'asis quarrelled with Phanes, the commander of the Greek mercenaries, and his ally, Poly'crates, the king of Samos, both of whom tendered their aid to Camby'ses. But before the evil hour of the Persian invasion arrived, Am'asis died (B.C. 525), bequeathing to his son Psammen'itus a kingdom torn by internal dissensions, and menaced by a formidable enemy.

Scarcely had Psammen'itus ascended the throne, when Camby'ses appeared on the frontiers of Egypt, and laid siege to Pelúsium. This important garrison was taken, after a very weak resistance; and the Persians advanced into the open country. Psammen'itus led an army, chiefly composed of mercenaries, against them; but was so completely overthrown, that he was no longer able to save his capital. Camby'ses, provoked by the murder of one of his ambassadors, put to death the chief of the Egyptian nobles, and reduced their wives and children to slavery. He was at first inclined to spare the life of the unfortunate king; but subsequently learning that he had incautiously expressed a desire for revenge, the cruel conqueror condemned him to drink poison.

Camby'ses was the deadly enemy of the religion and the priestly caste of the Egyptians: he slew their sacred animals, destroyed their idols, scourged their priests as slaves, and pillaged their temples.

The Egyptians, instigated by the heads of the sacerdotal caste, frequently rebelled against the Persians, but were never able to establish their independence; these insurrections were punished with the most relentless severity, and thus the awful prophecy of Ezekiel was fulfilled to the letter.*

Section V.—*Egyptian Manufactures and Commerce.*

The monuments show us that the progress of the Egyptians in the mechanical arts was much greater than had been usually supposed, and that an accurate examination of their machinery might suggest useful hints for the present day.

Weaving was an important branch of industry, the cotton and flax being indigenous. It is uncertain whether silk was used. The stuffs were woven in large manufactories, under the superintendence of the priests, who had a monopoly of all the cloths used for sacred purposes, especially for the mummies. These stuffs were generally died in the wool, and many of them embroidered with thread of gold and silver wire; some of them are striped, others stained or flowered, and the

* Ezek. xxx. 13–19.

colors of all exhibit those dazzling hues of the East, which we are unable to rival in Europe.

The manufactures in metal rank next in importance. Iron appears to have been but little known: nearly all the implements not made of gold or silver, were, it would seem, either copper or brass. The workmanship of the Egyptians, both in metal and wood, was superior to that of any other ancient nation. The forms of their couches, harps, &c., the elegance of the spindles and work-baskets of the ladies, inspire a high idea of the refinement of their domestic life.

Egypt produced excellent clay for pottery, and earthen ware was used, not only for domestic purposes, but for preserving the mummies of the sacred animals. Their vases, in the indescribable variety and beauty of their shapes, rival the choicest specimens of Grecian or Etruscan art.

Ship-building did not become common in Egypt, until its rulers became masters of the Phœnician forests; but they manufactured vessels of burden for navigating the Nile.

The Thebaïd was the central point of trade between southern Asia and the western regions, and between Ethiopia and northern Africa. Besides the advantages of its position, the most ancient and productive gold mines in the world were in its neighborhood. From Ethiopia and the Negro countries were brought gold, ivory, ebony, skins, and slaves; from Arabia, incense, and from India, spices; and these were sold to the Greek and Phœnician merchants. The native commodities exported were principally corn and cloths: the corn-trade must have been particularly valuable, for Egypt was regarded as the granary of the adjacent countries.

CHAPTER II.

THE ETHIOPIANS.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Outline. Natural History.*

THE eastern districts above the Nile, now called Núbia and Sennáar, have been possessed from a remote age by two different races, the Ethiopian and the Arabian, which are even now but partially blended. The country is full of historical monuments, chiefly erected on the banks of the Nile. There were, in these countries above Egypt, all the gradations from the complete savage to the hunting and fishing tribes, and from them to the wandering herdsman and shepherd; but there was also a civilized Ethiopian people, dwelling in cities, possessing a government and laws, acquainted with the use of hieroglyphics, the fame of whose progress in knowledge and the social arts had, in the earliest ages, spread over a considerable portion of the earth.

The Nile, before its confluence with the Astab'oras (Mugrúm), runs through a very irregular valley formed by two chains of hills, which sometimes retire back, and sometimes advance to the very margin of the river. The soil of this valley was once as fertile as the richest part of Egypt, and where protected, it still continues so; but the hills on both sides are bordered by sandy deserts, against which they afford but a scanty protection. The Nubian valley below the junction of the Nile and the Astab'oras appears to have been sometimes subject to the Ethiopians of Meroë, and sometimes to the Egyptians. The navigation of the Nile is here impeded by the windings of the river, and by the intervention of cataracts and rapids; so that intercourse is more generally maintained by caravans than by boats. At the southern extremity of the valley, the river spreads itself, and encloses a number of fertile islands. Along the whole course of the Nubian valley is a succession of stupendous monuments, rivalling those of Thebes in beauty, and exceeding them in sublimity.

The productions of the Ethiopian and Nubian valleys do not differ materially from those of Egypt. The island of Meroë, as it was called from being nearly surrounded with rivers, possessed an abundance of camels, which, as we have seen, were little used in Egypt; but the ivory, ebony, and spices, which the Ethiopians sent down the river, were probably procured by traffic with the interior of Africa. Meroë had better harbors for Indian commerce than Egypt: not only were her ports on the Red sea superior, but the caravan-routes to them were shorter, and the dangerous part of the navigation of that sea was wholly avoided.

The wild tracts in the neighborhood of Meroë are tenanted by animals whose chase afforded employment to the ancient, as it does now

to the modern hunting tribes; especially that singular creature the giraffe, or camelopard, so recently known in Europe. The elephant is found in Abyssinia, not far from the southern confines of the state of Meroë.

Section II.—*History of the Ethiopians.*

The early history of Meroë is involved in impenetrable obscurity. Its monuments bear evident marks of being the models for the wondrous edifices of Egypt; but, shut out from all intercourse with civilized nations by the intervention of the Egyptians, it is only when they were invaded, or became invaders, that we can trace the history of the Ethiopians. It has been already mentioned that several of the Egyptian monarchs carried their arms into Ethiópia, and became for a time masters of the country. In the eleventh century before the Christian era, the Assyrian heroine Semir'amis is reported to have attempted its conquest; but there is some doubt of the truth of this, as indeed of many other exploits attributed to this wonderful queen. But we have certain information of the Ethiopians being a powerful nation (B. C. 971) when they assisted Shíshak in his war against Judæa "with very many chariots and horsemen." Sixteen years after this, we have an account of Judæa being again invaded by an army of a million Ethiopians, unaccompanied by any Egyptian force.* From the Scripture narrative, it appears that the Ethiopians had made considerable progress in the art of war, and were masters of the navigation of the Red sea, and at least a part of the Arabian peninsula. The kingdom must have been also in a very flourishing condition, when it was able to bear the cost of so vast and distant an expedition.

The Ethiopian power gradually increased until its monarchs were enabled to conquer Egypt, where three of them reigned in succession, Sab'bakon, Sev'echus, and Tar'akus, the Tirhákah of Scripture.† Sev'echus, called So in Scripture, was so powerful a monarch, that Hoshéa, king of Israel, revolted against the Assyrians, relying on his assistance;‡ but was not supported by his ally. This, indeed, was the immediate cause of the captivity of the Ten Tribes; for "in the ninth year of Hoshéa, the king of Assyria took Samária, and carried Israel away into Assyria," as a punishment for unsuccessful rebellion. Tirhákah was a more warlike prince: he led an army against Sennach'erib, king of Assyria,§ then besieging Jerusalem; and the Egyptian traditions, preserved in the age of Herod'otus, give an accurate account of the providential interposition by which the pride of the Assyrians was humbled.

In the reign of Psammet'ichus, the entire warrior-caste of the Egyptians migrated to Ethiópia, and were located at the extreme southern frontier of the kingdom. These colonists instructed the Ethiopians in the recent improvements made in the art of war, and prepared them for resisting the formidable invasion of Camby'ses.

* 2 Chron. xiv. 8–13.

† Mr. Hawkins, in his recent work on Meroë, identifies Tirhákah with the priest Séthos, on what we deem very insufficient grounds.

‡ 2 Kings, xvii. 4. § 2 Kings, xix. 9.

Scarcely had the Persian dynasty been established in Egypt, when Camby'ses set out to invade Ethiopia, without preparing any store of provisions, apparently ignorant of the deserts through which it was necessary for him to pass. Before he had gone over a fifth part of the route from Thebes, the want of provisions was felt; yet he madly determined to proceed. The soldiers fed on grass, as long as any could be found; but at length, when they reached the deserts, so dreadful was the famine, that they were obliged to cast lots, that one out of every ten might be eaten by his comrades.

It is said that the king of Ethiópia was always elected from the priestly caste; and there was a strange custom for the electors, when weary of their sovereign, to send him a courier with orders to die. Ergam'enes was the first monarch who ventured to resist this absurd custom: he lived in the reign of the second Ptol'emy, and was instructed in Grecian philosophy. So far from yielding, he marched against the fortress of the priests, massacred most of them, and instituted a new religion.

Queens frequently ruled in Ethiópia: one named Candace made war on Augus'tus Cæ'sar about twenty years before the birth of Christ, and though defeated by the superior discipline of the Romans, obtained peace on very favorable conditions. During the reign of another of the same name, we find that the Jewish religion was prevalent in Meroë, probably in consequence of the change made by Ergam'enes; for the queen's confidential adviser went to worship at Jerusalem, and on his return (A. D. 53) was converted by St. Philip,* and became the means of introducing Christianity into Ethiópia.

These are the principal historical facts that can now be ascertained respecting the ancient and once powerful state of Meroë, which has now sunk into the general mass of African barbarism.

Section III.—*Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures of Meroë.*

The pyramids of Meroë, though inferior in size to those of Middle Egypt, are said to surpass them in architectural beauty, and the sepulchres evince the greatest purity of taste. But the most important and striking proof of the progress of the Ethiopians in the art of building, is their knowledge and employment of the arch. Mr. Hoskins has stated that these pyramids are of superior antiquity to those of Egypt.

The Ethiopian vases depicted on the monuments, though not richly ornamented, display a taste and elegance of form that has never been surpassed. In sculpture and coloring, the edifices of Meroë, though not so profusely adorned, rival the choicest specimens of Egyptian art.

We have already noticed the favorable position of Meroë for commercial intercourse with India and the interior of Africa: it was the entrepôt of trade between the north and south, between the east and west, while its fertile soil enabled the Ethiopians to purchase foreign luxuries with native productions. It does not appear that fabrics were woven in Meroë so extensively as in Egypt; but the manufactures of metal must have been at least as flourishing. But Meroë owed its greatness less to the produce of its soil or its factories, than to its po-

*Acts vii. 33.

sition on the intersection of the leading caravan-routes of ancient commerce. The great changes in these lines of trade, the devastations of successive conquerors and revolutions, the fanaticism of the Sar'acens, and the destruction of the fertile soil by the encroachments of the moving sands from the desert, are causes sufficient for the ruin of such a powerful empire. Its decline, however, was probably accelerated by the pressure of the nomad hordes, who took advantage of its weakness to plunder its defenceless citizens.

CHAPTER III.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline.—Natural History.*

Babylónia, or Chaldæ'a, was situated between two great rivers, the Euphrátes on the west, and the Tígris on the east. The bed of the Tígris is much lower than that of the Euphrátes, its channel much deeper, and the banks so precipitous, that it very rarely overflows them.

Babylónia was properly the country on the lower Euphrátes: north of it were the extensive plains of Mesopotámia, and beyond these, the mountainous districts of Arménia, supposed by many writers to have been the first habitation of the posterity of Noah, after the Flood.

Beyond the Tígris was the region properly called Assyr'ia, a table-land, bounded on the north and east by chains of mountains, which have afforded shelter to plundering nomad tribes from the remotest antiquity. The soil, though not so rich as that of Babylónia, was generally fruitful. But almost ever since the fall of the Assyrian empire, the country has been devastated by wars between powerful monarchies and nations; and it is now little better than a wilderness, save that some patches of land are cultivated in the neighborhood of the few inconsiderable towns within its precincts.

Babylónia, in the neighborhood of the Euphrátes, rivalled the fertility of the valley of the Nile: the soil was so peculiarly suited for corn, that the husbandman's returns were sometimes three hundred fold, and rarely less than two hundred fold. The rich oily grains of the *pan'icum* and *ses'amum* were produced in luxuriant abundance; the fig-tree, the olive, and the vine, were wholly wanting; but there were large groves of palm-trees on the banks of the river. From the palms they obtained not only fruit, but wine, sugar, and molasses, as the Arabs do at the present time. Dwarf cypress-trees were scattered over the plains; but these were a poor substitute for other species of wood. To this deficiency of timber must be attributed the neglect of the river navigation, and the abandonment of the commerce of the Indian seas, by the Babylonians.

Stone and marble were even more rare in this country than wood, but the clay was well adapted for the manufacture of bricks. These, whether dried in the sun, or burnt in kilns, became so hard and durable, that now, after the lapse of so many centuries, the remains of ancient walls preserve the bricks uninjured by their long exposure to the atmosphere, and retaining the impression of the inscriptions in the arrow-headed character as perfectly as if they had only just been

manufactured. Naphtha and bitumen, or earthy oil and pitch, were produced in great abundance above Bab'ylon, near the modern town of Hit: these served as substitutes for mortar or cement; and so lasting were they, that the layers of rushes and palm-leaves laid between the courses of bricks as a binding material, are found at this day in the ruins of Bab'ylon, as perfect as if a year had not elapsed since they were put together.

Section II.—*Political and Social Condition of the Assyrians and Babylonians.*

Despotism, in its most severe form, was established in the Assyrian monarchy, and in those by which it was succeeded. The king's will was the law; no code existed to restrict his judgments; and even ancient customs were set aside at his pleasure. He was the head of the church as well as the state, and claimed divine worship. His palace was crowded with as many wives and concubines as he chose to collect, and these were placed under the guardianship of eunuchs, an unfortunate race, first brought into use in Assyr'ia.

It is impossible to determine whether the priests, usually called Chaldeans, were a caste or an order; but it is most probable that, like the Egyptians, the Jews, and the Persians, the Babylonians had an hereditary priesthood. Their religion was the kind of idolatry usually called Sábian; that is, they worshipped the sun, the moon, and the starry host. In a later age, they added to this the worship of deified mortals, whom they supposed to be in some way connected with the celestial luminaries, just as Eastern monarchs of the present day call themselves "brothers of the sun and moon." Their supreme deity was named Báal, or Bell, which signifies Lord: the mixture of the astronomical with the historical character of the idol has rendered the Assyrian mythology complicated and obscure; and the double character of their deities generally, has brought confusion not only into mythology, but history; for many of the fabulous legends respecting Nínus and Semir'amis are manifestly imperfect astronomical theories. Cruelty and obscenity were the most marked attributes of the Babylonian and Assyrian idolatry; human victims were sacrificed, and prostitution was enjoined as a religious duty. It had also much of the absurdity that belongs to the Brahminism of the present day; monstrous combinations of forms were attributed to the gods; their idols had many heads, and jumbled the limbs of men and the members of animals together; these had probably at first a symbolic meaning, which the priests preserved by tradition, but which was carefully concealed from the vulgar herd.

The condition of women was more degraded in Bab'ylon than in any other Eastern country. No man had a right to dispose of his daughters in marriage; when girls attained mature age, they were exposed for sale in the public markets, and delivered to the highest bidder. The money thus obtained for beauty was applied to portioning ugliness. Debauchery and gross sensuality were the natural results of such a system, and these evils were aggravated by the habitual intoxication of every class of society. This dissolute people were as superstitious as

they were depraved, and were the slaves of the Chaldean priests and jugglers.

The Babylonians had made considerable progress in the mechanical arts, and in mathematical science: their astronomical knowledge was very extensive, but it was so disfigured by astrological absurdities as to be nearly useless. The arts of weaving and working in metal were practised in Babylon; the naphtha and petroleum furnished excellent fuel for furnaces; and the accounts given of their skill in metal-founding show that they had made many ingenious contrivances, which supplied their natural wants of stone and wood.

The Babylonian language belongs to that class called Semit'ic, of which the Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, are branches. They possessed an alphabetic character, and wrote on bricks and earthen cylinders. It is not certain that they possessed books, their country producing no materials from which paper could be manufactured.

SECTION III.—*History of the Assyrians and Babylonians.*

FROM B. C. 2204 TO B. C. 538.

ASSYRIAN history, according to Grecian authorities, particularly Ctésias and Diodórus, is nothing more than traditions of the heroes and heroines, who, at some early period, founded a kingdom in the countries bordering on the Euphrátes—traditions without any chronological data, and in the ordinary style of Eastern exaggeration. The Assyrian history contained in the Holy Scriptnres is that of a distinct nation of conquerors that founded an empire. This history is however confined to incidental notices of the wars between the Assyrians and the Israelites and Jews. Herod'otus briefly touches on the Assyrian empire; but his narrative, so far as it goes, confirms the narrative given in the Old Testament. We shall endeavor to deduce from all these sources the most authentic account of the Assyrian monarchy.

The miraculous interruption of the building of Bábel led to the abandonment of that spot by the followers of Nim'rod, who appears to have been the first nomad chief that founded a permanent monarchy. He was the Ninus of profane history—a warrior, a conqueror, the builder of cities, and the founder of an empire. Tradition has based a long romance on these few facts, which it is not necessary to detail. The Assyrian empire appears to have been founded B. C. 1237, and Nin'eveh was its metropolis. Nínus chose for his principal queen Semir'amis, the wife of one of his officers, to whose prudent counsels he is said to have been indebted for many of his victories.

On the death of Nínus, Semir'amis assumed the administration of the empire as regent. She is said to have founded the city of Bab'ylon; but this is clearly erroneous. The additions, however, that she made to the city, and the stupendous edifices with which she adorned it, in some degree justified the tradition. Her wars were waged in the most remote countries; she is said to have conquered Egypt, and invaded Ethiópia, on one side, and to have attacked India, on the other. Semir'amis was succeeded by her son Nin'yas, who gave himself up to indolence and debauchery, keeping himself secluded in his palace, and intrusting the entire care of the administration to his ministers.

His successors for several generations followed his base example; and the Assyrian monarchy gradually decayed.

Leaving the traditions respecting Nínus and Semir'amis, in which a few historical facts are quite obscured under a cloud of fables and astronomical allegories, we come to the portion of Assyrian history founded on the authentic records of the Old Testament. The Assyrians began to extend their empire westward beyond the Euphrátes in the reign of Pul (B. C. 771). He approached the confines of the kingdom of Israel, then ruled by the usurper Men'ahem, and inspired so much terror, that his forbearance was purchased by a thousand talents of silver.*

Tiglath-pul-as'sur succeeded to the throne (B. C. 747), and prepared to pursue the plans of conquest that Pul had sketched. He conquered the kingdom of Israel, and transplanted a great number of the inhabitants to the remote parts of his empire.† Invited by A'haz, king of Judah, he made war against the ancient kingdom of Syria, stormed its celebrated metropolis, Damas'cus, and removed the vanquished people beyond the Euphrátes.

Shalman-as'sur was the next monarch (B. C. 728). He invaded the kingdom of Israel, took Samária after a siege of three years, and led the greater part of the ten tribes into captivity, supplying their place with colonies from other states. After the conquest of Israel, Shalman-as'sur invaded Phœnicia, and subdued all the principal cities except Tyre.

San-her'ib, or Sennach'erib, was the next monarch. He led an army against Hezekíah, king of Judah (B. C. 724), and also attacked Egypt. His impious blasphemies against the God of the Jews were punished by the miraculous destruction of his army; and he returned home mortified and disgraced. A conspiracy was formed against him, and he was slain by his own sons.

Assar-had'don-pul, the Esarhad'don of Scripture, and Sardanapálus of profane history, was the third son of San-her'ib, and was chosen his successor, in preference to the parricides, Adram-mel'ek and Sharez'er. The accounts given of this prince are so very inconsistent, that many have supposed that there were two of the name; but it is more probable that he was in the early part of his reign an active conqueror, and that he subsequently sunk into sensuality and sloth. He conquered the kingdom of Judah, and made some impression on Egypt; but, returning to Nin'eveh, he became the slave of intemperance, and thus disgusted the hardy warriors whom he had so often led to victory. The satraps of Média and Babylónia revolting, besieged Sardanapálus in his capital; and he, finding himself deserted by his subjects, and unable to protract his defence, made a huge pile, on which he placed his wives and his treasures; then setting it on fire, he threw himself into the midst of the flames (B. C. 717). Thus ended the Assyrian monarchy; and the supremacy of central and western Asia was transferred to the Babylonians.

The Kasdim, or Chaldeans, a northern nomad tribe from the mountain-chains of Tau'rus and the Cau'casus, appear to have been em-

* 2 Kings xv. 19. † 2 Kings xv. 29.

ployed as mercenaries by the Assyrian monarchs, and to have been stationed in Babylónia. As is not unusual in the East, these soldiers revolted against their masters, and prepared to carve out an empire for themselves. That they were a conquering horde which settled in the country, is proved by the express testimony of Isaiah. "Behold the land of the Chaldeans [Kasdím]; this people was not, until the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof."* The chronology of the Babylonian Chaldeans commences with the reign of Nabonas'sar (B. C. 747), a remarkable era in history, because the introduction of the Egyptian solar year, during the reign of that prince, first supplied the Chaldeans with an accurate mode of measuring time. There is nothing worthy of note in the history of Nabonas'sar, and his twelve immediate successors. During their reigns, indeed, Babylónia appears again to have become dependant upon Assyr'ia, and not to have recovered its freedom until the general insurrection against Sardanapálus.

Nabopolas'sar, or Nebo-pul-as'sar, became king of Bab'ylon soon after the overthrow of the Assyrian empire (B. C. 627). Pharaoh-Nécho took advantage of the distracted state of central Asia to extend his dominions to the Euphrátes. He gained possession of Car'chemish (Circésium), and induced the governors of Cœlé-Syria and Phœnicia to revolt against Nabopolas'sar. In the reduction of these provinces, the Babylonian monarch was greatly assisted by his son, Nebuchadnez'zar, or Nebo-kal-as'sar, who subsequently raised the empire to the summit of its greatness. Nebuchadnez'zar obtained a brilliant victory over Pharaoh-Nécho, at Car'chemish (B. C. 604); and was about to follow up his success by invading Egypt, when he was recalled to Bab'ylon in consequence of his father's death.

Nitoc'ris was probably the queen of Nebuchadnez'zar. She seems to have acted as regent while the king was employed in foreign wars, and her name is associated with the splendid buildings erected in Babylon in this reign.

Before invading Egypt, Nebuchadnez'zar had conquered the kingdom of Judah, and brought several of its princes to Bab'ylon as captives or hostages. Among these was the prophet Daniel.† Soon afterward the Scythians, probably some Tartar horde, invaded the Assyrian provinces, and the Jews embraced this opportunity of asserting their independence. Nebuchadnez'zar was then besieging in conjunction with Cyax'ares the Mede; but having taken and destroyed this ancient rival of Bab'ylon, he marched against Jerusalem with a resistless force. The holy city was taken and plundered, its monarch slain, his son sent prisoner to Bab'ylon, and a new king appointed as deputy to the conqueror. The Jews again revolted, relying on the promised aid of the Egyptians, but were once more subdued, and treated with barbarous cruelty. Their city was laid desolate, their lands wasted, and the bulk of the nation led into captivity. The conqueror then proceeded into Phœnicia, which he completely subdued; whence he advanced to Egypt, and plundered the lower valley of the Nile. It was after his return from this expedition, that Nebuchadnez'zar erected the golden image in the plains of

* Isaiah xxiii. 13. † Daniel ii. 1, &c.

Dúra.* Toward the close of his reign, the impiety of Nebuchadnez'zar was punished by a fit of lunacy; during which "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws."†

Evil-Mérodach succeeded, and after a short reign was murdered by his sister's husband, Neriglis'sar. But the young prince Belshaz'zar, was saved from the conspirators. He continued several years in obscurity, but did not profit by the stern lessons of adversity. At this time the power of the Medes had reached a formidable height, and the Babylonians summoned the kings of western Asia to aid in preventing its further extension. The Medes were commanded by Cyax'ares and his nephew Cy'rus. After a fierce engagement, the Babylonians were totally defeated, and their sovereign slain.

Labosoar'chad succeeded his father Neriglis'sar (B. C. 555); but on account of his tyranny was dethroned, after a reign of only a few months, and the legitimate line restored in the person of Nébo-an-dal, called also Nabonádius and Labynétus, who took the surname of Belshaz'zar, that is, the "mighty prince of Bel." As he was a youth, the regency was intrusted to Queen Nitoc'ris. She completed the works which Nebuchadnez'zar had commenced, and is said to have connected the eastern and western banks of the Euphrátes both by a bridge and a tunnel. To complete the last work, it was necessary to turn the river for a time into a new channel; and for this purpose a lake and canal were constructed to the north of Bab'ylon. When Belshaz'zar assumed the reins of government, he deserted the prudent line of policy by which Nitoc'ris had delayed the fate of the tottering empire; not only abandoning himself to licentious pleasures, but provoking the hostility of the warlike Medes. Cyax'ares, the "Darawe'sh" (Dari'us), that is, king of the Medes, accompanied by his nephew Cy'rus, invaded Babylónia, and soon laid siege to the metropolis. Confiding in the strength of the walls, Belshaz'zar laughed his enemies to scorn; and while the enemy was still before the walls, gave a great feast in honor of his expected success. Cy'rus, on the same evening, sent a detachment to open the canal leading to the lake that had been dug by Nitoc'ris, ordering his soldiers, as soon as the water should be drawn from the bed of the river, to enter the city through the deserted channel.

Meantime the revelry of the feast was disturbed by the supernatural handwriting interpreted by Daniel,‡ announcing the impending destruction of the empire. Guided by the lights that gleamed from the chambers of revelry, the Medes penetrated into the very heart of the city, and attacked the guards before the palace. The guests within, startled by the clash of arms, flung the gates open to ascertain the cause of the tumult, and thus gave admission to the enemy. Belshaz'zar, in this hour of despair, behaved in a manner worthy of his illustrious descent: he drew his sword, and at the head of a few friends attempted to drive back the enemy; but, "flushed with success, and drunk with gore, whole multitudes poured in:" he fell in his own hall; and with him fell the empire of Bab'ylon (B. C. 538).

* Daniel iii. 1, &c. † Daniel iv. 33. ‡ Daniel v. 1, &c.

Section IV.—*Description of Nineveh and Babylon.*

The city of Nin′eveh, probably so named from Nínus, its founder, stood on the east bank of the Tígris, nearly three hundred miles north of Bab′ylon. Like all the ancient cities of Asia, it was of a rectangular form, and retained the traces of the nomad encampment in which it originated. It was of enormous dimensions, being fifteen miles in length, nine in breadth, and forty-eight in circumference. Nor will this great extent seem incredible, when we reflect that the houses were not built in continuous streets, but stood apart, as the tents formerly did, each surrounded by gardens, parks, and farms, whose size varied according to the rank and wealth of the respective proprietors. Nin′eveh, in short, was less a city, according to the modern European notions, than a collection of villages, hamlets, and noblemen's seats, enclosed within one wall as a common defence. The fortifications, according to the historians, were constructed on a stupendous scale. The walls were two hundred feet in height, and so wide that three chariots might drive on them abreast, and they were further secured by fifteen hundred lofty towers. After the destruction of the city by the Medes, Nin′eveh appears to have long remained desolate; several villages were subsequently erected from its ruins, the largest of which preserved the name of the ancient metropolis. It is now a desert waste: even the wild vegetation that usually veils the ruins of fallen greatness has disappeared, and desolation is spread over the entire landscape.

Bab′ylon stood in a plain, and was perfectly square; the river Euphrátes ran through the centre of the town, and also supplied water to the ditches, which were dug in front of the walls. The streets were perfectly straight, and crossed each other at right angles.

On the western bank of the river, stood the tower of Bélus, which was probably built on the foundations of Babel. When completed by Nebuchadnez′zar, each of the sides of the city was about fifteen miles in length, and consequently the whole circumference was sixty miles. The eastern division was the most recent: it was built by the Kasdím, or Chaldeans; and there Nebuchadnez′zar erected the great palace whose circuit was equal to that of a moderate-sized city. Like the generality of steppe regions, the country between the Tígris and Euphrátes produced neither stone nor wood fit for building; but the vicinity of Bab′ylon furnished an inexhaustible supply of clay, which, dried in the sun or burnt in kilns, became so firm and durable, that the remains of ancient walls, which have been thrown down for centuries, have withstood the action of the atmosphere to the present day; and, as may be seen by the specimens in the British Museum, retain the arrow-headed inscriptions with which they were impressed. Nature also provided a plentiful supply of naphtha or bitumen, which served instead of lime. Layers of rushes and palm-leaves were laid between the strata of brick; and the traveller Niebuhr found specimens of these in the ruins of Bab′ylon, so perfect that it might have been supposed that they had not been placed together longer than a few months.

The walls of Bab′ylon were made of brick, cemented by bitumen, eighty-seven feet thick, and more than three hundred high: they were

surrounded by a deep ditch, and pierced by a hundred gates, all made of solid brass. Towers were erected for the defence of the gates and the corners of the walls, except where a morass protected the walls, and prevented the approach of an enemy. Wide, straight streets, or rather roads, from each of the gates, crossed each other at right angles, which, with the four half-streets that fronted to the walls, divided the city into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of four furlongs and a half on each side, or two miles and a quarter in circumference. These squares were, in fact, separate villages, and many of them were wholly untenanted, being used as parks or pleasure-grounds by the king and his nobles.

A bridge passed over the Euphrátes between the two palaces on the opposite banks, which, we are assured, were further connected by means of a tunnel. The length of the bridge was about a furlong, but its breadth only thirty feet; a long causeway on both sides of the river made the bridge appear of much greater extent than it really was.

The temple of Bélus was the most wondrous structure of the city. It was at its foundation a furlong in length, and about the same in breadth: its height is said to have exceeded six hundred feet, which is more than that of the Egyptian pyramids. It was built in eight stories, gradually diminishing in size as they ascended. Instead of stairs, there was a sloping terrace on the outside, sufficiently wide for carriages and beasts of burden to ascend. Nebuchadnez′zar made great additions to this tower, and surrounded it with smaller edifices, enclosed by a wall somewhat more than two miles in circumference. The whole was sacred to Bel or Bélus, whose temple was adorned with idols of gold, and all the wealth that the Babylonians had acquired by the plunder of the East. Next to the temple was the old palace, strongly fortified; and on the opposite side of the river was the new palace, whose enclosures and pleasure-grounds covered a space of eight miles round. Within its precincts were the celebrated hanging gardens, consisting of terraces one above another, raised upon pillars higher than the walls of the city, well floored with cement and lead, and covered with earth, in which the most beautiful trees and shrubs were planted.

From the time of its conquest, Bab′ylon gradually declined. Alexan′der the Great designed Bab′ylon to be the capital of his empire, and was preparing to restore its ancient splendor when he was prematurely cut off. Thenceforward, its decay was rapid; and it is now a vast heap of ruins, tenanted only by the beasts and birds that love to haunt solitary places. Thus literally has the prediction of the prophet been fulfilled: "Bab′ylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and ostriches shall fill their houses, and the daughters of the owl shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the howlers [jackals] shall cry in their desolate houses, and wild hounds in their pleasant palaces." *

* Isâiah xiii. 19–22. (Gesenius's Translation.)

SECTION V.—*Commerce and Manufactures of the Babylonians.*

WEAVING of cotton, woollen stuffs, and carpets, were the principal manufactures established in Bab'ylon; and the cotton robes called *sindónes*, probably a species of muslins, were so highly esteemed for their delicacy of texture and brilliancy of color, that they were appropriated to royal use. We read in the book of Joshua, that a "Babylonish garment" formed part of the sacrilegious spoil which A'chan hid in his tent after the conquest of Jer'icho. Articles of luxury, such as perfumed waters, carved walking-canes, engraved stones, and seal rings, were made in the city; and the art of cutting precious stones was carried to a perfection not exceeded by our modern lapidaries, as is manifest from the collection of Babylonian gems in the British Museum.

The Babylonians had an extensive commerce eastward with Persia and northern India, whence they obtained gold, precious stones, rich dye-stuffs, and the best hounds. From Kandahar and Kashmír they procured fine wool, and the shawls which are still so highly valued. Emeralds, jaspers, and other precious stones, procured from the desert of Bac'tria, the modern Cobi, were brought in great abundance to Bab'ylon, and thence transmitted to western Asia and Europe. Cochineal, or rather the Indian lac, was imported in considerable quantities; indeed, the Greeks confess that they derived their knowledge of the insect which produces this dye from the Babylonians. Gold and gold-dust were also obtained from northern India, but more as articles of tribute than of commerce. It is uncertain whether any commerce was opened with China before the latter ages of the Persian empire; but the Babylonians had certainly intercourse with Tibet and the countries round the Hindú Kúsh.

It was chiefly through their commercial allies, the Phœnicians, that the Babylonians had any trade in the Indian seas, though Isaiah plainly states that they had a navy of their own; for he mentions "the Chaldeans, whose cry [exultation] is in their ships."* The trade by sea was between the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrátes, and the western coasts of India and the island of Ceylon. From these countries they imported timber of various kinds, sugar-canes, spices, cinnamon, and pearls. This trade was completely destroyed by the Persians, through fear of the pirates who infested those seas, and who, by a sudden dash up the great rivers, like the Normans and Danes of Europe, might surprise and plunder the chief cities of the empire. To prevent this misfortune, they blocked up the Tígris with immense dams, which effectually put an end to all navigation on the river, and to the intercourse between Bab'ylon and southern India.

At a very early period the Babylonians formed commercial establishments on the Bahrein islands in the Persian gulf, whence they obtained large quantities of the finest pearls. Pearl-oysters are found on almost all the coasts in this gulf, but the most considerable bank is that which extends along the western coast, from the Bahrein islands, nearly as far as Cape Dsiulfar. The pearls are both white and yellow, they are also as hard as rock, and are therefore preferred to

* Isaiah xlii. 14.

the pearls of Ceylon, which shiver to pieces when struck with a hammer. The cotton plantations on these islands were very extensive, and the staple of the cotton wool they produced was remarkable for its length and fineness, surpassing in this respect the cotton of India. From these islands the Babylonians, and after them the Phœnicians, obtained the best timber for ship-building, probably some species of the Indian teak-wood, which continues to be highly valued for this purpose. They also imported various kinds of ornamental timber, used in the manufacture of walking-canes and inlaid work, for which the Babylonians were deservedly celebrated.

CHAPTER IV.

WESTERN ASIA:

INCLUDING

ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, AND PALESTINE.

Section I.—*Asia Minor.—Geographical Outline.*

Asia Minor is a term not used by classical writers: it was invented in the middle ages, to describe the peninsula between the Ægean, the Black sea, the Caspian, and the Levant, which by more recent authors is called Anatólia. It included a great number of petty states, whose boundaries varied at different periods. In the northern part of the peninsula, beginning from the western side, the chief countries were My'sia, Bithyn'ia, Paphlagónia, and Pon'tus. In the centre, Lyd'ia, Phry'gia, Galátia, Lycaónia, Isaúria, Cappadócia, and Arménia. In the south were Cária, Ly'cia, Pisid'ia, Pamphy'lia, and Cilic'ia.

The western part of My'sia, on the seacoast, was called Lesser Phry'gia, or Tróas. It was celebrated for the Trojan plains and the city of Troy, immortalized by Hómer.

Bithyn'ia, Paphlagónia, and Pon'tus, skirt the Black sea, and were studded with Greek colonies during the flourishing age of Grecian commerce. The Hálys and San'garis, the principal rivers of Asia Minor, fall into the Black sea.

The entire west coast of Asia Minor was colonized by the Greeks, whose commercial cities in Iónia, Æólia, and Cária, were the most flourishing free states of antiquity, before they were conquered by the Persians.

Lyd'ia, called also Mæónia, besides the Greek cities on its coasts, contained the celebrated metropolis Sar'dis, which stood on the banks of the Pactólus, at the foot of Mount Tmólus. It was the capital of the Lydian kingdom, and, after its conquest by the Persians, was regarded as one of the chief cities of their empire.

The boundaries of Phry'gia were almost constantly varying; its chief cities were Gor'dium and Celæ'næ in ancient times; but many others were erected when the Macedonians became masters of the country; of which the chief were Apaméa, Laodicéa, and Colossé.

Galátia received its name from a body of Gauls who entered that country in the third century before the Christian era. Isaúria and Lycaónia were intersected by the chain of Mount Taurus. Cappadócia lay between the Hálys and Euphrátes: its chief town was Maz'aca. Arménia was the name of the mountainous districts bordering on the Caspian sea: its chief rivers were the Cy'rus and Arax'es, both of

considerable magnitude. For a long time it was without cities; but at length Tigránes, one of its monarchs, erected Tigranocer'ta.

Cária was chiefly remarkable for the Greek colonies on the coast. Lyc'ia, Pisídia, and Pam'phylia, were mountainous districts. Cilícia bordered upon Syria, from which it was separated by Mount Am'anus: its chief cities were Tar'sus and Anchíale, both founded by Sardanapálus.

Section II.—*Ancient History of Asia Minor.*

The three kingdoms of Asia Minor that best deserve notice were the Trojan, the Phrygian, and the Lydian. The history of Troy consists of mere traditions preserved by the Greek epic and dramatic poets; its chronology is very uncertain, and the entire narrative very doubtful. Troy is said to have been originally founded by Dar'danus, a native of Samothrace (about B. C. 1400). To him succeeded Erichthónius, celebrated for his splendid herds of horses; Tros, who named the city Troy; I'lus, who changed the name to I'lium; Laom'edon, during whose reign the city was sacked by Her'cules; and Podar'kes, who was also called Príam. Alexander, or Paris, the son of Príam, being sent as ambassador into southern Greece, carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaüs, king of Sparta. The Grecian kings espoused the cause of the injured husband, and with their united forces warred against Troy. The city was taken after a siege that lasted ten years, and was pillaged and burned by the conquerors.

Phrygian history is also composed of obscure traditions; but that the Phrygians were originally a very powerful people, appears from the great diffusion of their national worship throughout Europe. The investigations of modern travellers have brought to light new proofs of the greatness of the Phrygians in their tombs and temples excavated from the solid rock. Their chief deity was Cybéle, who seems to have been a personification of the prolific powers of the earth: her priests were named Coryban'tes; celebrated for their frantic dances, in which they beat and cut themselves. Most of the Phrygian kings were named either Mídas or Gor'dius; but the order of their succession can not be ascertained. Gor'dius I., the founder of the city Gor'dium, was originally a peasant; when raised to the throne, he consecrated his cart to the gods. The beam was fastened to the yoke by a complicated knot; and a traditional oracle declared, that whoever untied the knot should be king of Asia. When this was told to Alexander the Great, he cut it through with his sword. In the reign of Mídas V., Phrygia became a province of the Lydian empire.

The Lydians, called also Mæónians, were a branch of the Carians. Three dynasties reigned over them successively. That of the Aty'adæ terminated (B. C. 1232) in the person of Om'phale, who was said to be the wife of Hercules. The race of the Heraclídæ terminated with Candaúles, who was murdered at the instigation of his queen, by Gy'ges, a Lydian nobleman (B. C. 727). Gy'ges founded the dynasty of the Merm'nadæ, under whose sway Lyd'ia rose to great power. During the reign of Ar'dys, the second of the dynasty, Asia Minor was de-

vastated by hordes of northern barbarians, called Cimmerians, who had been expelled from their original seats by the Scythians. Their ravages were continued for about half a century: but they were finally driven out by Alyat'tes, the grandson of Ar'dys. Encouraged by his success against the Cimmerians, Alyat'tes endeavored to check the growing power of the Medes, and for six years waged war against Cyax'ares. The contest was at length about to be decided by a great battle, when a total eclipse of the sun so terrified both armies in the midst of the fight, that they separated in consternation (B. C. 601). This remarkable eclipse was predicted by Thales of Milétus, and is the first recorded to have been calculated by astronomers.

Crœ'sus, the son and successor of Alyat'tes, subdued all the Grecian states in Asia Minor, and extended his empire on the eastern side to the river Hálys. The magnificence of his court at Sardis attracted visiters from different countries; but Crœ'sus was more anxious to entertain philosophers and men of learning from Greece. The illustrious Sólon was once his guest, and with honorable freedom refused to declare Crœ'sus perfectly happy until he knew the termination of his career. The Lydian monarch was deeply offended; but ere long he had reason to admire the wisdom of the Athenian sage. Seduced by the pretended oracles of Délphi, he waged war against the rising Persian empire; but was defeated by Cy'rus, and taken prisoner. Being sentenced to death by the barbarous victor, he exclaimed, when placed on the funeral pile, "O Sólon, Sólon!" Cy'rus asked the meaning of this invocation; and was so struck by the impressive example of the philosopher's wisdom, that he not only spared the life of Crœ'sus, but made him his friend and counsellor (B. C. 549).

Lydia, and the rest of Asia Minor, remained subject to the Persian empire until the time of Alexander the Great.

Section III.—*Syria.—Geographical Outline.*

The name of Syria was loosely given by the Greeks, as that of A'ram was by the Hebrews, not only to the country now called by that name, but also to Mesopotámia and part of Asia Minor; but it is properly restricted to the region between Mount Am'anus on the north, the Euphrátes on the east, Arábia on the south, and Phœnícia on the west. It has been variously divided, but the most convenient division is into three unequal portions—Syria Proper, which includes the provinces of Commagéne, Seleúcis, and Cœlé-Syria; Phœnicia and the country of the Philistines; and Palestine, of which we shall treat in a separate chapter.

The principal city of Commagéne was Samosáta on the Euphrátes: there were several trading towns of minor importance, all in the vicinity. Seleúcis was adorned with many splendid cities during the reigns of the successors of Alexander, of which the most remarkable were Antioch and Seleucia. It contained also Hierap'olis, dedicated to the Syrian goddess Berœa, the modern Aleppo, and Heliop'olis (Baal'bec), whose magnificent ruins still attract admiration. Cœlé-Syria, or Hollow Syria, was so called because it lies between two parallel chains of mountains, Lib'anus and Antilib'anus: it contained Damascus, the

ancient metropolis of Syria, which existed as a city in the days of Abraham, Ab'ila, and Laodicéa. The Syrian desert adjoins this division, in the midst of which is a fertile oasis, on which the city of Tadmor, or Palmy'ra, was founded by Solomon. Its ruins rival those of Baalbec in magnitude and beauty. Southeast of this was Thap'sacus, opposite to which the Euphrátes was fordable.

Phœnicia, or Phœníce, skirted the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, but its boundaries were almost perpetually varying. It contained Sídon, the most ancient commercial city in the world; Tyre, commonly called "the daughter of Sídon;" Ar'adus, also an insular city; Trip'olis, so called because it was colonized by the three preceding cities conjointly: Byb'lus and Bery'tus, the modern Beiroot, which is still a good harbor.

Tyre was originally a Sidonian colony, but rose rapidly above the parent state, and became a flourishing commercial city. After its capture by Alexander the Great, Tyre gradually declined, less in consequence of the conqueror's vengeance than of the founding of Alexandria in Egypt, which soon became the seat of the commerce that had previously centred in Tyre.

Section IV.—*Social and Political Condition of the Syrians and Phœnicians.*

Syria contained but one large river, the Oron'tes, a turbid and rapid stream, whose navigation is impeded by rapids, and whose waters can not be used for domestic purposes. But there are several minor rivers in the neighborhood of Damascus, which, as well as their tributary streams, are remarkable for their limpid waters and abundance of fish. The soil is generally better suited to pasturage than agriculture. Two large valleys of mineral salt added greatly to the natural wealth of the country; and the mountains of Leb'anon supplied abundance of excellent timber both for house and ship-building. Syria was consequently partly suited to a nomad, and partly to a commercial people; and this mixture of the two opposite characters, with scarcely any trace of the intermediate agricultural class, led to many revolutions in the Syrian government; the cities were more or less republican, while the rural districts were subject to petty despots. The Syrian religion appears to have been elementary; that is, the objects of worship were the personifications of some powers of nature: their most celebrated deity, Astar'te, or the Syrian goddess, represented both the moon and the prolific power of the earth, and was worshipped with the same licentious ceremonies as the Babylonian Mylit'ta.

The Phœnicians, like the Syrians, belonged to the great Aramean, or Semitic family of nations. Their narrow and short line of coast, indented with excellent bays and harbors, was covered with lofty and wooded mountains, that jut out into the sea, and form bold promontories. Several islands stud the coast, on which cities and commercial establishments were founded, as well as on the mainland. Each of these cities was an independent state; but they were generally united by a federative league, under the presidency of Sidon, and afterward

of Tyre. The religion of the Phœnicians appears to have been more sanguinary than that of most other nations. Tham′muz, or Adónis, was worshipped with very licentious rites, which were supposed to have a mystic signification.

Section V.—*History of the Syrians and Phœnicians.*

Syria was divided into a number of petty states, most of which were subdued by the Jewish king, David (B. C. 1044). Toward the close of Solomon's reign, Rézon, who had been originally a slave, threw off the yoke, and founded the Syrian kingdom of Damascus. Ben-hádad, the most powerful of his successors, waged a long and sanguinary war against the kingdom of Israel, during the reigns of Ahab and Jehóram. He was finally murdered by Házael, one of his servants (B. C. 884), who usurped the vacant throne. Házael was a warlike prince; he gained several brilliant victories over the forces of Israel and Judah, compelling the monarchs of both to resign several important provinces, and pay him tribute. He also made himself master of E′lath on the Red sea, and greatly increased the commercial prosperity of his dominions. But these advantages were lost under the reign of his inglorious son, Ben-hádad II.

The Syrians recovered some of their power under Rézin; toward the close of his reign, he entered into alliance with Pékah, king of Israel, against A′haz, king of Judah. The Syrians and Israelites gained so many advantages, that A′haz sought the protection of Tiglath-piléser, king of Assyria, who marched against Damascus, captured the city, dragged the inhabitants away captive, and put an end to the kingdom (B. C. 740).

It has been already mentioned that most of the Phœnician cities were independent states. Tyre is, however, the only one whose history can be satisfactorily traced. Its first sovereign was Ab′ical (about B. C. 1050), who was contemporary with David. His son and successor, Híram, was united by the strictest bonds of friendship to the great Jewish king, and also to his son Solomon. During the reign of Híram, Tyre acquired the supremacy of Phœnicia, and became the most flourishing emporium of commerce in the ancient world.

The most remarkable successors of Híram were Ethbáal I., the father of the wicked Jez′ebel, wife of Ahab, in whose reign some important colonies were planted in Africa; and Pygmálion, whose murder of Sichæ′us led to the foundation of Carthage (about B. C. 900). Dído, the wife of Sichæ′us, aided by numerous Tyrians, escaped by sea with her husband's treasures, and sought a new country on the northern shores of Africa. Here she erected the city of Carthage, which soon rivalled Tyre itself in commercial prosperity.

The Tyrians exercised their supremacy over the surrounding cities with so much cruelty, that the Phœnicians applied for protection to the Assyrians, and afterward to the Babylonians. The Assyrians, unable to cope with the Tyrians by sea, retired, leaving the city uninjured. But Nebuchadnez′zar so exhausted Tyre by a constant blockade, that it was almost wholly abandoned by its inhabitants, who erected the city

of New Tyre upon a neighboring island. Soon after this event, a change was made in the form of government; annual magistrates, called Shophetím, or, according to the Greek orthography, Suffétes, being chosen instead of kings. After Cyrus had conquered Babylon, the Phœnician cities submitted of their own accord (B. C. 538); but though they became dependancies of the Persian empire, they were permitted to retain their native governments. Tyre again became subject to kings, and supplied the strength of the Persian naval power. It was taken by Alexander the Great (B. C. 332), and from that time it sunk into hopeless decay.

SECTION VI.—*Phœnician Colonies and Foreign Possessions.*

THE system of colonization in commercial states has been always the greatest aid to the progress of civilization: colonies are founded by trading nations for the purpose of securing a lucrative commerce, by establishing a market for the manufactured produce of the parent state, and a carrying-trade for its merchants and seamen. Such colonies, unlike the military establishments of despotic states, require to be placed under the guidance of persons advanced in political knowledge, who know how to vary the institutions derived from the government at home, so as to suit the altered circumstances of their position and foreign relations: hence civil liberty has always advanced more rapidly in commercial colonies than in the states from which they were derived, and the science of legislation has attained greater perfection than in more ancient establishments.

In commercial states, the distinction between the citizen and the soldier is very strongly marked; and most commercial states, in ancient and modern times employed foreign mercenaries. The prophet Ezekiel, whose account of Tyre is the most perfect record of its ancient condition, enumerates the countries that supplied the Tyrian armies and navies with warriors.*

The Phœnician colonies proceeded from east to west along the coasts of the Mediterranean, occupying the principal islands. Cy'prus, called in Scripture Kittím, or Chittím, was not only a colony but a province of the Tyrians, and vestiges of their establishments on the island still exist. From Cyprus they extended their settlements to Crete and some of the islands in the Archipelago. Thence they proceeded to Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia, spreading their cities unequally along the coasts, and very rarely attempting the conquest of the interior. Their establishments in Sicily and Sardinia, indeed, appear to have been only naval stations for the vessels employed in the trade with western Europe, especially with Spain, which was the Mexico or Peru of the ancient world. The Spanish peninsula, called in Scripture Tar'shish, from the city Tartes'sus, was the country with which the Tyrians had the most lucrative trade; and the colonies they established there soon became independent states. It would seem that the Tyrians were by no means anxious to retain supremacy over their colonies, wisely preferring a close alliance, cemented by common descent,

* Ezekiel xxvii. 8–11.

language, and religion, to a hollow dependance. Colonies were also planted beyond the straits of Gibraltar, or, as they were called by the ancients, the Pillars of Hercules. Trade was extended to the British islands and the coasts of the North sea, which must have led to the establishment of colonies and naval stations along the western and northern coasts of Spain.

The colonies in northern Africa, Leptis, Carthage, Utica, &c., attained greater splendor than any of the other Phœnician cities, and rivalled Tyre itself in wealth and magnificence. It is exceedingly probable that they had also settlements in western Africa, and that they had even reached the island of Madeira. But to prevent any interference with their lucrative commerce, they designedly cast a veil of mystery over their intercourse with the western regions, of which the Greek poets took advantage to embellish their narratives of fictitious voyages and travels with the most fanciful inventions.

It is known that the Phœnicians preceded the Greeks in forming commercial establishments along the coast of Asia Minor and the shores of the Black sea; but we have no account of the mode in which they were deprived of these possessions by the Greeks. It is probable that the Phœnicians resigned this branch of commerce to attend more closely to their lucrative trade with the western regions.

In the eastern seas they had establishments on the Persian and Arabian gulfs; but their settlements on the latter were probably not made until David had conquered their commercial rivals, the Edomites, or Idumeans. From that time they paid great attention to their southern trade, and seem to have become close allies of the Egyptians.

Section VII.—*Phœnician Manufactures and Commerce.*

The textile fabrics of the Sidonians, and the purple cloths of the Tyrians, were celebrated from the earliest antiquity.

The Tyrian purple was not a single color, but was a generic name for all the shades of purple and scarlet. The dye was obtained from a shell-fish found in great abundance on the shores of the Mediterranean. Vegetable dyes of great beauty and variety were also used; the dyeing was always performed in the raw materials; and the Phœnicians alone understood the art of producing shot colors by using threads of different tints. Glass was very anciently manufactured both at Sidon and Sarepta: tradition, indeed, ascribes the invention of glass to the Phœnicians; but the Egyptians seem to have a claim at least as good to the discovery. Carvings in wood and ivory, manufactures of jewelry and toys, complete all that has been recorded of the products of Tyrian industry; and it seems probable that their commerce consisted more in the interchange of foreign commodities than in the export of their own wrought goods.

The land-trade of the Phœnicians may be divided into three great branches: the Arabian, which included the Egyptian and that with the Indian seas; the Babylonian, to which is referred the commerce with central Asia and north India; and the Armenian, including the overland trade with Scythia and the Caucasian countries.

From Yem'en, called Arabia the Happy, the southern division of the

Arabian peninsula, caravans brought through the desert frankincense, myrrh, cassia, gold, and precious stones, the gold being probably obtained from the opposite shores of Africa. But before the Phœnicians had a port on the Red sea, they obtained, through Arabia, the produce of southern India and Africa, more especially cinnamon, ivory, and ebony. This trade is fully described by Ezekiel,* by whom the traffic in the Persian gulf is also noticed.†

The Arabian trade appears to have been principally carried on by caravans. The northern Arabs, especially the princes of Kédar and the Midianites, were in ancient times great travelling merchants: and the kingdom of Edom, or Idumæa, in the north of the Arabian peninsula, attained a very high degree of commercial prosperity. On the seacoast the Idumeans possessed the ports of E′lath and E′zion-géber (Ak′aba); in the interior, they had for their metropolis Pétra, whose magnificent remains have been but recently discovered. So permanent and almost immutable is the aspect of civilization in Asia, that the commercial caravans of the present day scarcely differ in any particular from those which were used in the flourishing days of Tyre. The merchants travelled in bands organized like an army, having their goods on the backs of camels, the only animals which can endure the fatigues and privations of the desert. They were escorted by armed forces, sometimes supplied from home, but more frequently consisting of one marauding tribe, hired at a large price, to save the caravan from the exactions and attacks of the rest. The greater part of the Phœnician trade with Egypt was overland, at least so long as the seat of government was at Thebes in Upper Egypt: when Mem′phis rose into power, an entire quarter of the city was assigned to the Phœnician merchants, and the trade by sea to the mouths of the Nile grew into importance. The first branch of the eastern Phœnician trade was with Judæa and Syria Proper.‡ The dependance of the Phœnicians on Palestine for grain fully explains the cause of their close alliance with the Jewish kingdom in the reigns of David and Solomon.

But the most important branch of eastern trade was that through Bab′ylon with the interior of Asia. A great part of the route lay through the Syrian desert; and to facilitate the passage of the caravans, two of the most remarkable cities of the ancient world, Baal′bec and Palmy′ra, were founded. They were both built by Solomon: "he founded," says the Scripture, "Baálath (Baal′bec) and Tadmor (Palmy′ra) in the desert."§ They were erected by that wise monarch to procure for his subjects a share in this lucrative traffic; but this object was frustrated by the subsequent revolt of the ten tribes, and the wars between Israel and Judah.

The northern land-trade of the Phœnicians is described by no ancient writer but the prophet Ezekiel: "Jávan [Ión̈ia, and the Greek colonies], Túbal, and Méshech [the countries around the Black and north Caspian seas], they were thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy markets. They of the house of Togar′mah [Armén̈ia and Cappadócia], traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules."‖

* Ezekiel xxvii. 19–23. † Ib. xxvii. 15.
‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 17, 18. § 1 Kings ix. 18. ‖ Ezekiel xxvii. 13, 14.

But the Mediterranean sea was the great high road of Phœnician commerce: it probably commenced with piracy; for in the infancy of Grecian civilization, we find frequent mention of the kidnapping practised by corsairs from Tyre and Sidon. But when Greece advanced in power, and Athens and Corinth had fleets of their own, the Greeks became the rivals and political enemies of the Phœnicians, purchasing from them only such articles as could not be procured from their own colonies in Asia Minor. Spain was the richest country of the ancient world in the precious metals. The Phœnician colonies enslaved the natives, and compelled them to work in the mines: these metallic productions are enumerated by Ezekiel. "Tar'shish [Tartes'sus, or south-western Spain], was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."* From Spain the Phœnicians entered the Atlantic ocean, and proceeded to the south of the British islands, where they procured the tin of Cornwall; and probably to the coasts of Prussia for amber, which in the ancient world was deemed more precious than gold. In the eastern seas, the Phœnicians had establishments on the Arabian and Persian gulf, whence they traded with the coasts of India and Africa, and the island of Ceylon. During the reign of Pharaoh-Nécho, king of Egypt, they discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope; but this led to no important results, on account of the calamities that Tyre endured from the invasion of Nebuchadnez'zar. Though their voyages did not equal in daring those of modern times, yet, when we consider that they were ignorant of the mariner's compass, and of the art of taking accurate astronomical observations, it is wonderful to reflect on the commercial enterprise of a people whose ships were to be seen in the harbors of Britain and Ceylon.

* Ezekiel xxvii. 12.

CHAPTER V.

PALESTINE.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline.*

Palestine, or the Holy Land, lies between Phœnicia on the north, and Idumæ′a on the south, separated from both by chains of lofty mountains; to the east its boundaries were the Asphaltic lake, the river Jordan, and the sea of Galilee; on the west it extended to the Mediterranean. The mountains are the most remarkable features in the geography of Palestine. These mountains divided Palestine into a series of valleys and tablelands, leaving two great plains, called "the region about Jordan," and the plain of Esdraélon, or Jez′reel. These valleys and plains were of very unequal value; some were so unproductive as to be called deserts, others were the most fertile spots in western Asia.

Jordan was the only great river of Palestine; it falls into the Asphaltic lake, or Dead sea, which occupies the site of the ancient cities Sod′om and Gomor′rah. There is no outlet from the Asphaltic lake, and its waters are bitter and unwholesome. The sea of Galilee, through which the Jordan flows, is a beautiful fresh-water lake, abounding in fish.

The principal cities were Jerúsalem, the metropolis of the kingdom of Judah, and Samária, the capital of Israel. Idumæ′a lay south of Palestine, beyond the chain of Mount Seir: it was in general a rocky and barren country; but being the high road of Arabian traffic, its natural capabilities were improved to the utmost, and it contained the great city of Pétra, whose commercial wealth was deservedly celebrated. Idumæ′a, or Edom, was annexed to the kingdom of Israel in the reign of David.

The valleys of Palestine were in general very fruitful; and the varied elevations of the country, causing so many different climates, gave the country a greater variety of natural productions than is usually found in so confined a space.

A series of calamities, unparalleled in any other portion of the globe, has now reduced Palestine almost to sterility; but even now there are spots to be found whose luxuriance revives the memory of the verdure and beauty that once covered the entire country.

Section II.—*History of Palestine.*

from b. c. 1920 to b. c. 975.

God called Abram from the land of the Chaldees to Palestine, then named Cánaan, to be the founder of a nation that should be his peculiar

people (B. C. 1920). Abraham, at his death (B. C. 1821), transmitted the inheritance of the divine promise to his son Isaac; and he was deceived into making his second son Jacob, or Israel, the heir of this glorious privilege. The twelve sons of Jacob sold their brother Joseph as a slave to some Arabian merchants, by whom he was carried into Egypt. There he became the chief minister of the Pharaoh of Egypt; his brethren having come into that country to purchase corn, he made himself known to them, and invited his father, with his whole family, to dwell to the rich district of Góshen (B. C. 1705). In process of time, the Israelites became so numerous as to excite the envious alarm of the Egyptians: they were in consequence cruelly persecuted, until God raised up Moses as their deliverer. The miraculous plagues he inflicted on the land of Egypt induced the reigning Pharaoh to consent to the departure of the Israelites (B. C. 1491). Repenting of his permission, he pursued them with a mighty host; but he and all his followers perished in the Red sea.

After the miraculous deliverance of the Hebrews from the Egyptian army, and their safe passage through the Red sea, it seemed as if their chief difficulties had been overcome; that with Jehovah for their protector, and Moses for their guide, they would soon reach the frontiers of Cánaan, and find no difficulty in subduing its idolatrous inhabitants. Were there no other difficulties to be overcome than the ruggedness of the way, and the hostility of the various warlike races in and round Palestine, the wanderings of the Israelites would soon have terminated, but during their protracted bondage they had been deeply imbued with all the vices of slavery; they had become stubborn, rebellious, and inconstant; they vacillated between the extremes of cowardice and rashness, and they had acquired an almost invincible fondness for idolatry and superstition, which proved a constant source of misfortunes to themselves and of the most harassing vexations to their leader.

In the beginning of the third month after the departure from Góshen, the Israelites reached the plains around Sin'ai, where amid the most awful manifestations of the Divine presence, Moses ascended the mountain, and received from the Lord the sacred code of laws by which the Israelites were thenceforth to be ruled under God's immediate government, and which was moreover designed, both by its moral and ceremonial institutions, to be "a schoolmaster to the Jews to bring them unto Christ." The constitution thus given to the Israelites may be described as a theocracy; that is, a government in which God himself was the sovereign, communicating his will by certain authorized ministers. The priests through whom the Divine commands were made known, could only be chosen from the descendants of Aaron; and all the inferior ministers of religion belonged to the tribe of Levi. All the institutions appointed for the people were directed to one great object, the preservation of the purity of religious worship: the Israelites were not chosen to be the most wealthy or most powerful of nations, but to be the guardians of the knowledge of the true God, until the arrival of that divine Savior who was to unite both Jews and Gentiles as one flock, under one shepherd. While Moses continued on the mount, the Israelites, impatient at his long absence, formed a golden calf, or representation of a young bull, as an object for their idolatrous worship.

. When Moses, who had been now forty days on the mount, learned from the Lord the crime of which the people had been guilty, he hastily descended toward the camp; as he approached, the sight of the people, dancing round the object of their stupid veneration, filled him with such wrath that he broke the tables of stone on which the Ten Commandments had been graven by "the finger of God." The tribe of Levi, which seems not to have participated in the national guilt, slew three thousand of the worst criminals; the idol was broken to pieces, and the people compelled to drink the water with which its dust had been mingled; and atonement having been made for the sin, Moses again ascended the mountain, and, after an absence of forty days, returned with two new tables of commandments, in place of those that had been broken.

Having broken up the encampment at Sin'ai, the Israelites directed their march to the frontiers of Canaan; but notwithstanding all the signs and wonders that had been wrought in their favor, they broke out into acts of rebellion against Moses, and on every trifling occasion provoked, by their seditions, severe chastisements from the righteous anger of the Almighty; until, at length upon the very borders of the promised land, for their rebellious murmurings at the report of the spies, the Lord ordained that none of the existing generation should enter the promised land, except Joshua and Cáleb. Forty years of wandering in the Desert were to expiate the national crime, after which a new generation was to inherit the promise made to Abraham.

In their wanderings, the miraculous pillar, which had guided them from Egypt, continued still to direct them, and the manna to nourish them; their raiment and their shoes suffered no decay, and their feet were unhurt, by their long and frequent marches. Notwithstanding these signal proofs of the Divine protection, the children of Israel frequently rebelled against Moses, and provoked severe chastisements from their offended God.

Thirty-eight years after their departure from Egypt, the march to Cánaan was resumed; but being defeated in their first attempt, and, though more successful on a second trial, finding the western frontiers of Palestine difficult, the Israelites resolved to make a circuit, and attack the country more to the eastward. On this march, Moses and Aaron, having evinced a want of confidence in the divine power, were included in the sentence of not being permitted to enter the promised land.

Commanded by God to regard the descendants of Esau as their brethren, the Hebrew army avoided the land of Edom, turning their course northward, encountering various enemies, who tried to impede their passage. They gained signal victories over Síhon, king of the Amorites, and Og, the gigantic ruler of Básan, and spread the terror of their name through the surrounding nations. In a pitched battle, which the Israelites fought also against five kings of Mid'ian, the confederate monarchs fell; a terrible slaughter was made of their subjects, the cities of the land were taken and sacked, and a considerable booty brought to Moses and Eleázar, the latter of whom had succeeded Aaron in the priesthood.

Immediately after the punishment of the Midianites, Moses, by the

divine direction, took a census of the people, and assigned to the tribes by lot their future inheritance in Cánaan. He found that all the old murmuring generation, save Joshua and Cáleb, had disappeared, as God had foretold. Being warned that his own end was approaching, he solemnly constituted Joshua his successor, and assembling the people, recapitulated all the miracles which God had wrought in their favor since their departure from Egypt, and exhorted them to be firm in their allegiance to Jehovah, setting before them the blessings promised for obedience, and the curses denounced against idolatry. Having thus completed his task, he ascended Mount Nébo, by God's command, whence he was gratified with a view of the promised land; after which he breathed his last, in the one hundredth and twentieth year of his age (B. C. 1451). The place of his burial was carefully concealed, probably to prevent the Israelites from making his tomb an object of idolatrous veneration.

SECTION III.—*The Conquest of Canaan by Joshua.*

NOTHING less than the strongest assurance of divine aid could have supported Joshua's courage in so arduous an enterprise. He was now ninety-three years of age, and wanted neither experience nor sagacity to foresee the perils which he had to encounter. Though at the head of six hundred thousand fighting men, his army was encumbered by a multitude of old men, women, and children, beside servants and cattle; before him was a large river, which he was to cross, equally exposed to the arms of those he went to attack, and those he left behind. The nations he had to subdue were warlike, remarkable for their personal strength and gigantic stature; their towns were well fortified by nature and art; their forces and interests cemented by mutual treaties; they had long been aware of the meditated invasion, and had made formidable preparations for the defence of their country.

The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, preferred settling in the land east of the Jordan, but they sent a contingent of forty thousand men to aid their brethren in the subjugation of Cánaan.

Passing over the river Jordan by a miraculous passage, the Israelites celebrated the feast of the passover, which had been intermitted since their encampment on Sin'ai, from the want of corn to prepare unleavened bread; now, also, that they were in a productive land, the miraculous supply of manna ceased, being no longer necessary. So great was the alarm of the Canaanites, that no attempt was made to interrupt the Israelites while celebrating this solemn feast; when it was concluded, they advanced against the fortified city of Jer'icho, which was straightly shut up because of the children of Israel,—"none went out, and none came in. By divine command, Joshua made no military preparations for the siege of this important place, but led the army round the city once a day for six days, preserving strict silence, broken only by the sound of the sacred trumpets which accompanied the Ark of the Covenant. On the seventh day, the people "compassed the city, after the same manner, seven times; and it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said un-

to the people, Shout, for the Lord hath given you the city. . . . And the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city."

The king of A'i next became the victim of a stratagem devised by Joshua, and its citizens were utterly exterminated. Great fear spread over the land of Cánaan in consequence of the destruction of Jer'ícho and A'i; the Gibeonites, anxious to escape from impending ruin, sought a treaty of peace from Joshua, and obtained it by pretending to be natives of a distant country.

Adonized'ec, king of Jerusalem, was greatly enraged when he heard that the Gibeonites had deserted the common cause; he sent ambassies to four of the neighboring princes to aid him in punishing their defection; they readily assented, and "went up, they and all their hosts, and encamped before Gibeon, and made war against it." Joshua immediately marched to their deliverance. The five kings were completely routed; at Joshua's command "the sun stood still and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. . . . . And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man; for the Lord fought for Israel."

During the space of seven years, the Israelites were almost incessantly engaged in completing the conquest of Cánaan, but they met with no very formidable resistance after the memorable battle against the five kings before Gibeon. They did not however wholly exterminate the idolatrous tribes, as the Lord had commanded; they became weary of the protracted warfare, and the warriors of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, were naturally anxious to return to their families beyond Jordan. This impolitic act of disobedience was subsequently productive of fatal consequences, for the surviving Canaanites eagerly sought and embraced every opportunity of taking revenge for the extermination of their brethren. Even in peace they were scarcely less dangerous to the prosperity of the chosen people than in war, for they frequently seduced the Israelites to join in the impure and impious rites of their licentious idolatry.

Soon after tranquillity had been established in Palestine, and the different tribes and families had taken possession of their allotted portions, Joshua died, at the advanced age of one hundred and ten, having ruled the country as wisely as he had conquered it bravely: "And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord that he had done for Israel."

Section IV.—*History of Israel under the Judges.*

Under the theocracy, as established by Moses, the civil government of Israel was to be administered by *Shophetím*, or Judges, nominated by the divine oracle, the mysterious *Urím* and *Thummím*, which were in the custody of the high-priest; but after the death of Joshua the Israelites frequently apostatized to idolatry, the oracles of God were neglected, the appointment of chief magistrates omitted. The tribe of Judah at first actively engaged in completing the conquest which had

been left imperfect, but others entered into compact with the Canaanites, and were so insnared by the beauty of their women as to contract affinities with them. These intermarriages soon reconciled them to the worship of the false gods of the heathen, and provoked the Almighty to deliver them over to the hands of their enemies. God permitted the idolatrous Israelites to be subdued by the king of Mesopotámia, who held them in subjection for nearly eight years; but on their repentance, Oth'niel was raised up to be their deliverer, and under his administration "they had rest forty years." A second defection was punished by a servitude to the Moabites for eighteen years, at the end of which time E'hud slew the king of Moab, delivered Israel, and restored peace. Sham'gar, the third judge, repelled the incursions of the Philistines, and slew six hundred of them with an ox-goad. But "the children of Israel again did evil in the sight of the Lord, when E'hud was dead. And the Lord sold them into the hand of Jábin, king of Cánaan." For twenty years the Israelites groaned under the yoke of this despot, but they were at length delivered by the prophetess Deb'orah, aided by Bárak, a leader of established reputation.

A new apostacy was punished by a more severe servitude; "the Lord delivered them into the hand of Midian seven years. And the hand of Midian prevailed against Israel; and because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strongholds." The liberator chosen to deliver the Israelites from this miserable bondage was Gid'eon, who, with only three hundred men, made a night attack on the camp of the Midianites. Thrown into confusion by the unexpected assault, and deceived as to the number of their enemies, the Midianites turned their arms against each other, and finally fled in disorder. They were vigorously pursued, great numbers were slain, an immense quantity of valuable spoils taken, and the freedom of Israel restored.

Under Gid'eon's administration, "the land had rest for forty years;" but after his death the people of Shéchem, at the instigation of Abim'elech, a natural son of Gid'eon, slew all the legitimate children of Gid'eon except the youngest, and proclaimed Abim'elech king. This dreadful crime produced a civil war, and the fratricide was himself afterward killed by a woman.

There was nothing remarkable in the administration of the judges Tóla and Jáir; but after the death of the latter, the idolatry of the Israelites became so gross, that God delivered them into the hands of the Philistines and the Ammonites. In their distress, the children of Israel, probably by divine direction, applied to Jèph'thah, the natural son of Gil'ead, who, having been refused a share of his father's inheritance, had become the chief of a predatory band beyond Jordan.

Jeph'thah was succeeded by Ib'zan, E'lon, and Ab'don, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded. They were followed by E'li, who united in his person the office of high-priest and judge. Under his administration, the apostacy of the Israelites was punished by their being delivered over to the Philistines, who harassed them for nearly forty years. These oppressors deprived the Israelites of all their weapons of war, and of the means of procuring others.

During this period appeared Sam'son, the most extraordinary of the

Jewish heroes, whose birth and prowess were miraculously foretold to both his parents. During his life he harassed the Philistines, slaughtering them with wonderful displays of strength; and by his last act, in pulling upon himself and upon his enemies the temple of their national god, in which a general assembly of the people were gathered, the dead which "he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life."

The Israelites were too disorganized to take advantage of this extraordinary slaughter of the Philistine lords; E'li, their judge, was nearly one hundred years old, and his two sons, Hoph'ni and Phin'-ehas, who acted under him, took advantage of his weakness to commit the most profligate abominations. Samuel, whom God had called in his youth to become a prophet and the future judge of Israel, was commanded by the Lord to denounce divine vengeance against E'li; after which he became generally known as an inspired person, divinely chosen to be E'li's successor.

Samuel, though still a youth, was chosen judge of Israel after the death of E'li. He assembled the people, and impressed upon them the criminality and folly of their idolatry; they were convinced by his reasoning, and put away their strange deities, promising to serve the Lord alone. They were rewarded by a signal victory over the Philistines; after which the land had rest during the remainder of Samuel's administration.

When Samuel had judged Israel twenty years, he appointed his two sons to assist him; but these young men, like the sons of E'li, perverted justice, and the elders of Israel unanimously demanded a king to rule over them like other nations. Samuel remonstrated with them for thus abandoning their peculiar distinction of having the Lord for their king; but when the demand was renewed more urgently, on a threatened invasion of the Ammonites, he was directed by the Lord to comply with the popular request. According to the divine instructions he selected Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, to be the first monarch of the Israelites (B. C. 1095). He was presented to the tribes at Miz'peh, "and Samuel said to all the people, See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people? And all the people shouted and said, God save the king!"

SECTION V.—*History of the United Kingdom of Israel.*

MANY of the Israelites were discontented with the choice that had been made of a monarch. But these symptoms of discontent were soon checked by the signal proof which Saul gave of his military qualifications. Náhash, king of the Ammonites, invaded Israel, and laid siege to Jábesh-Gil'ead; the inhabitants proposed to capitulate, but Náhash sternly replied, "On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that I may thrust out all your right eyes, and lay it as a reproach upon Israel." When this intelligence reached the general assembly of the Israelites, they burst into loud lamentations; but Saul commanded an instant levy of the people. A numerous body of soldiers obeyed the summons; Saul marched against the Ammonites, and defeated them so effectually, that not two of them were left together.

So delighted were the people with this victory, that they proposed to punish with death all who had resisted the elevation of their young monarch; but Saul said, "There shall not be a man put to death this day; for to-day the Lord hath wrought salvation in Israel." A solemn assembly of the tribes was then convoked at Gil'gal, in order that the people should renew their allegiance. Here Samuel resigned his office.

Saul was aided in his government by his son Jonathan, a young man of heroic valor and the most generous disposition. With a select band, he attacked and stormed the Philistine garrison at Géba, which necessarily led to war. The Israelites were badly prepared for hostilities, and when the tribes met at Gil'gal, they showed the greatest timidity and confusion. They were also disheartened by the absence of Samuel, whose duty it was to offer the solemn sacrifice; and began to disperse; Saul, alarmed lest he should be entirely deserted, offered the solemn sacrifice himself; but the ceremony was not concluded when Samuel appeared, and aunounced to the too hasty monarch, that for this wilful violation of the law, the kingdom should not be hereditary in his family. The Philistines, advancing with an immense army, blockaded Saul, who had only about six hundred men under his command in the mountains of Gib'eah, but he was unexpectedly liberated from his difficulties by the daring valor of his son Jonathan, who, accompanied only by his armor-bearer, attacked a Philistine outpost, and spread such a panic through the whole army that they were easily routed by Saul.

After this victory, Saul led his forces against the different nations that harassed the frontiers of his kingdom; when these had been restrained from their incursions, Samuel, by the direction of the Lord, commanded Saul to execute divine vengeance on the Amalekites, who had been long the most bitter enemies of the chosen people. Saul smote the Amalekites with great slaughter; but, in direct violation of the Divine prohibitions, he spared the life of A'gag, their king, and brought away with him a vast booty of cattle. Samuel bitterly reproached the king for his ingratitude to God, and announced to Saul that his disobedience should be punished by the loss of his kingdom, which the Lord would transfer to a more worthy person.

Samuel departed from Saul, whom he never again visited: directed by God, he went to the family of Jes'se, in Bethlehem of Judah, where he anointed David, Jes'se's youngest son, who thenceforth was gifted with supernatural endowments. In the meantime, Saul became subject to fits of phrensy and melancholy, which his servants supposed could be best dispelled by the influence of music: they therefore sent for David, whose skill on the harp was already celebrated, and his exquisite skill frequently enabled him to dispel the gloom that depressed the king's spirits. The Philistines, probably encouraged by secret information of Saul's unhappy condition, renewed the war against Israel, and Saul led out an army to protect the frontiers. While the hostile forces were encamped in sight of each other, the gigantic Goliath of Gath came forth as champion of the Philistines, and challenged any Israelite warrior to contend against him; all were daunted by the stature, strength, and ferocity of the giant. At length David presented himself to the combat, armed only with his staff and a sling: the vaunting Philistine treated the young hero with contempt, but a stone from

the sling, striking him full in the forehead, penetrated to the brain, and laid him prostrate on the earth. Disheartened by the loss of their champion, the Philistines fled in confusion, and were pursued with great slaughter beyond the frontiers of their own country.

David's distinguished valor led to a warm and sincere friendship between him and Jonathan, but it excited bitter jealousy in the mind of Saul. The marriage of David to Míchal, Saul's daughter, did not allay the king's jealous hatred; he openly declared his intention of putting his son-in-law to death, and took active measures for the purpose. Once David was saved by the stratagem of his wife, and again by the vigilant friendship of Jonathan; but he saw that he was no longer sure of his life, if he remained within the reach of Saul, and therefore sought safety in exile. After a brief residence among the Philistines, he returned to Palestine, and became the leader of a band of men of broken fortunes, compelled to endure all the vicissitudes of such a perilous life. He was closely pursued by his vindictive enemy, Saul, and twice had it in his power to destroy his persecutor. But he was too loyal "to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed;" he therefore only informed Saul of the danger to which he had been exposed, and thus proved his own innocence. These events led to a temporary reconciliation; but David, having reason to fear that Saul meditated treachery, withdrew to the court of A'chish, one of the kings of the Philistines.

The death of Samuel left Saul in a most wretched condition; the prophets fled from him, the priests were slaughtered, "and when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urím, nor by prophets." At this crisis, the Philistines invaded the country with a numerous army. Saul was encamped on Mount Gil'boa, with forces far inferior to the enemy. Eager to learn something of his fate, he resolved to consult one of those unlawful diviners who had been in better times severely proscribed; he was conducted by his servants to a woman residing near En'dor, "who had a familiar spirit," and he persuaded her to evoke Samuel from the tomb. The image of the prophet appeared, and predicted to the terrified monarch the fatal news of his approaching defeat and death (B, c. 1055). On the second morning after this vision, Saul entered the last of his fields; the Israelites had long neglected the use of the bow, and to their superiority in this weapon the Philistines chiefly owed their victory: "the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers hit him, and he was sore wounded of the archers." Afraid of falling alive into the hands of his enemies, he fell upon his own sword; his gallant sons had previously fallen, and the overthrow of the Hebrew army was complete.

David had just returned to Zik'lag from pursuing the Amalekites, when he heard of the calamitous result of the battle on Mount Gilboa. Having consulted the Lord as to his future proceedings, he was directed to go to Heb'ron, where he was anointed king over the tribe of Judah, who regarded him as the champion of their race. In the meantime, Ab'ner, Saul's general, prevailed upon the northern tribes to elect Ish'bosheth, Saul's son, their monarch, and he removed him to Mahanáim, which was beyond Jordan, in order that he might have time to recruit his shattered army. One of David's earliest measures was to

send a message of thanks to the inhabitants of Jábesh-Gil'ead, for their honorable conduct to the deceased king and his sons: he next caused the young men of Judah to be instructed in the use of the bow, and they soon rivalled the Philistines in archery.

War was soon declared between the kings of Israel and Judah: Jóab, who commanded David's forces, inflicted a severe defeat on Ab'ner, Ish'bosheth's general, and from that time David's power began rapidly to increase. Ab'ner, while exerting himself to strengthen Ish'bosheth, incurred the displeasure of that prince; he therefore resolved to seek a reconciliation with David, whom he visited in the character of a mediator, but on his return he was treacherously slain by Joab, who probably feared that Ab'ner would become a powerful rival. The death of Ab'ner disheartened the supporters of Ish'bosheth; two of his captains murdered him in his bed, and brought the news to David, but instead of being rewarded as they hoped, they suffered the punishment of treason. No other claimant appearing for the throne, the heads of all the tribes of Israel came to Heb'ron, and recognised David as their sovereign. But the breach which had taken place between the northern and southern tribes was never completely healed; they continued to regard themselves as distinct in policy and interest, until they were finally divided into separate states by the folly of Rehobóam.

The city of Jerúsalem had long been held by the Jebusites, who, according to the traditions of the east, were a tribe of the wandering and plundering Hyk'sos. David resolved to besiege this important city with all the forces of his kingdom; the place was carried by storm, and David was so pleased with the situation of the place that he made it the capital of his dominions.

The Philistines were alarmed at the increasing power of David; assembling all their forces, they crossed the frontier, took Bethlehem by storm, and compelled David for a while to seek shelter in the cave of Adul'lam; but the Hebrew king soon gathered his forces, and he so utterly routed the Philistines in two successive engagements that they never more were able to compete with him or any of his successors. Híram, king of Tyre, entered into a firm alliance with the victorious monarch, and supplied him with workmen and materials to erect a palace in his new city. David's next care was to remove the ark from Kir'jath-jeárim to Jerusalem. The pious monarch was also anxious to build a temple for the national worship, but the prophet Náthan declared to him that it was not fit for a warrior, whose hands were so often stained with blood, to erect a temple to the God of peace, but that this glorious duty would devolve upon his son and successor.

David now directed his attention to the surrounding nations; he overthrew the Philistines, the Moabites, and the Amalekites; he compelled the Syrians and Edomites to become tributary, and he amassed a prodigious quantity of spoil, a large portion of which he dedicated as a sacred treasure to defray the future expenses of building the temple. The Ammonites and Syrians soon renewed the war, but they were again vanquished, and the dominions of David were extended to the Euphrátes. But while this war was continued David provoked the anger of the Lord, by taking Bath'sheba, the wife of Uríah, one of his bravest captains, to himself, and exposing her husband to certain death.

The prophet Náthan was sent to reprove his guilt; David humbly confessed his sin, and his remorse and repentance procured him pardon from his offended God. Domestic calamities interrupted the prosperity of David's reign; Amnon, his eldest son, was slain by his brother Ab'salom, in revenge for a gross insult offered to his sister, and the young prince was no sooner pardoned and taken into favor, than he began to plot the dethronement and probable death of his indulgent father. The standard of revolt was raised; but a numerous army headed by Jóab and his brothers marched against Ab'salom, and completely routed his forces in the forest of Ephráim. The unfortunate prince, attempting to escape, was entangled by his long hair in the branches of an oak; in this situation he was slain by Jóab, contrary to the express commands of David, who was fondly attached to his rebellious son. The northern tribes again revolted, under the command of Shéba, but they were soon subdued, and their leader punished with death.

David next turned his arms against the Philistines, whom he overthrew in four successive battles; but the joy inspired by these victories was soon changed into mourning, for David, having presumed "to number the people," was punished by a pestilence, which swept away seventy thousand of his subjects. Shortly afterward, David, being informed that his son Adoníjah was tampering with some of the nobles, in order to obtain the throne, gave orders that Solomon, his son by Bath'sheba, should be proclaimed king. When this ceremony was performed, David tranquilly prepared to meet the approach of death. He died after a troubled but glorious reign of forty years.

Sol'omon commenced his reign by putting to death Adoníjah and Jóab. In order to strengthen himself against foreign enemies, he married the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh, receiving as her dowry a portion of Cánaan which had been subdued by that monarch. The Lord appeared to Sol'omon in a dream, and promised to grant him whatever he should ask; the young king chose wisdom, and not only was his request granted, but riches, honor, and length of days, were added, on condition of his persevering in obedience to the divine commandments. The proofs which Sol'omon gave of his wisdom and discernment were so celebrated throughout the east, that the most powerful monarchs entered into alliance with him; thus tranquillity was established, and leisure afforded for the erection of the temple. Seven years and a half were spent in the building of this magnificent edifice; the costliness of its materials could only be surpassed by the beauty of the workmanship; all the resources of wealth and ingenuity were exhausted on the wondrous structure. When completed it was dedicated to Jehovah in a solemn festival, and the Shekínah, or cloud of glory, which announced the visible presence of the Lord, overspread the entire edifice.

Opposite Mount Moríah, on which the temple stood, Sol'omon erected a magnificent palace, and furnished it with unrivalled splendor. He was the first who introduced the use of chariots and horses for warlike purposes in Israel; these he procured from Egypt, through his alliance with the Pharaoh; and as cavalry was then scarcely known in western Asia, his power appeared so formidable that his authority was recognised in all the countries between the Nile and the Euphrátes. Sol'o-

mon was a distinguished patron of commerce; he opened a lucrative trade with Egypt, not only in chariot-horses but in linen-yarn and cotton manufactures; to facilitate the commercial intercourse between western and central Asia, he erected the city of Tad'mor, which, in a later age, became so celebrated under the name of Palmy'ra; finally, he built a navy at Ez'ion-géber, a convenient harbor on the gulf of Ak'aba, in the northern part of the Red sea, whence his subjects, aided by the experienced mariners of Tyre, carried on a lucrative traffic with the rich countries of southern Asia and Africa. The learning of Sol'omon was not less conspicuous than his wealth.

In his old age, Sol'omon, seduced by his numerous "strange wives," forsook the Lord, by whom he had been protected, and not only permitted, but practised the rites of an impious and licentious idolatry. Enemies were raised up against him on every side; a revolt was organized in E'dom. Damascus was seized by an independent adventurer, and Jeroboam, to whom the prophet Ahijah had predicted his future greatness, began openly to aspire at the government of the northern tribes; but being unprepared for revolt he sought shelter in Egypt, where he was protected by King Shishak. It is generally believed that Sol'omon, before his death, repented of his guilt. He died, after a reign of forty years (B. C. 975), and was buried in the city of David his father.

SECTION VI.—*The Revolt of the Ten Tribes.—The History of the Kingdom of Israel.*

REHOBOAM succeeded his father Sol'omon, and immediately after his accession went to Shechem, in order to receive the homage of the northern tribes. They had suffered severely, in the close of the late reign, from the pressure of taxation, and from the loss of trade consequent on the revolt of the Syrians; they now deputed Jeroboam, and their elders, to demand a redress of grievances, promising implicit obedience if their burdens were removed. His father's aged and experienced ministers recommended compliance with the popular demands, but the king instigated by his rash associates, returned a haughty and threatening reply. Such an answer was the signal for rebellion. The northern tribes immediately chose Jeroboam for their king; and thenceforward Israel and Judah became separate kingdoms. Rehoboam levied a large army to subdue the insurgents, but the Lord sent the prophet Shemaiah to forbid his march, and he was forced thenceforth to rest contented with reigning over the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

Jeroboam, "the son of Nebat," immediately after his elevation, prepared to break off all connexion with the kingdom of Judah, and as the unity of the national worship, and the custom of going up three times a a year to Jerusalem, greatly impeded his plan, he resolved to establish idolatrous sanctuaries in his own kingdom, and accordingly, in imitation of the Egyptians, with whom he had so long resided, erected two golden calves, one at Beth'el, and the other at Dan. The choice of these places was not the result of caprice; Beth'el had long been venerated as the place in which Jacob, the father of the Hebrew race, had his miraculous vision, and Dan had been the seat of idolatrous worship since the days of the Judges. The Levites refused to countenance

this impious innovation, and sought shelter in the kingdom of Judah; Jeroböam supplied their place by selecting priests for his new deities from the lowest of the people. A desultory warfare was maintained between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel through the whole of Jeroböam's reign, which lasted twenty-two years; but in the nineteenth year Jeroböam received so severe a defeat that he never again displayed his former spirit of enterprise.

Nádab succeeded his father Jeroböam in his kingdom, and his idolatrous courses. His brief reign of two years produced no event of importance; he was assassinated by Báasha, one of his generals. Báasha put all that remained of Jeroböam's family to death.

Báasha adopted the wicked policy of Jeroböam, and though the prophets of the Lord forewarned him that similar vengeance would overtake his family, obstinately persevered in his guilt. But many of the Israelites were secretly attached to the pure worship of their fathers, and secretly went up annually to offer their devotions at Jerúsalem. Báasha built a fortress at Rámah to intercept the pilgrims, but this was destroyed by A'sa, king of Judah, who also bribed the Syrians to invade the territories of his rival. Báasha's reign of twenty-three years was feeble and inglorious, and the warlike spirit of the Israelites seemed extinct.

E'lah, a weak and luxurious prince, succeeded Báasha; at the end of two years he was assassinated, while feasting in the house of his steward, by Zim'ri, the captain of his chariots. When the Israelite army, which was besieging Gib'bethon, heard of the murder, they elevated Om'ri, their leader, to the vacant throne, and marched against the usurping assassin. Zim'ri, hopeless of escape, fled into the palace, and setting it on fire, perished in the flames. Om'ri had still to contend against another rival, named Tib'ni, whom he easily subdued. The most important act of his reign was building the city of Samária, so named from Shémer, the proprietor of the hill on which it was erected. Samária became the capital of the kingdom of Israel, and long after the fall of that kingdom continued to be a place of great importance. "Om'ri wrought evil in the sight of the Lord, and did worse than all that went before him;" but even his iniquities were surpassed by those of his son and successor.

A'hab commenced his reign by marrying Jez'ebel, the daughter of the king of Si'don, and at her instigation introduced the worship of the Sidonian deities, which consisted in the offering of human sacrifices, and other ceremonies too abominable for description. Those who adhered to the religion of Jehovah were bitterly persecuted, the schools of the prophets were closed, and many of the teachers murdered. Elíjah, undaunted by danger, denounced Divine vengeance against such iniquity, but he was forced to fly, and seek concealment in the fastnesses on the frontier. God punished the iniquity of the land by fearful drought and famine. A'hab, in his distress, sent for Elijah, who challenged the priests of Báal to appear in sight of all the people on Mount Carmel, and there determine which deity, Báal or Jehovah, was the most powerful protector of the nation. The challenge was accepted; the superiority of the Lord was proved by the most signal miracles, and the multitude, enraged at those by whom they had been duped, put to death

all the prophets of Báal, by command of Elíjah, at the brook Kíshon. The curse was then removed from the land, plenteous rain descended, and the famine ceased. Jez'ebel was greatly enraged at the defeat of her national deity, and Elíjah once more fled into the wilderness. After having witnessed some wondrous manifestations of Divine power, he was commanded to announce to Haz'ael that he should be king of Syria, to Jéhu that he should be king of Israel, and to Elísha that he should be his successor in the office of prophet.

When A'hab had reigned eighteen years, Benhádad, king of Syria, at the head of thirty-two tributary princes, and a numerous army, laid siege to Samária. Encouraged by a prophet of the Lord, A'hab attacked this immense host with a mere handful of men, and gained a signal victory. Benhádad attempted to retrieve his losses in the following year, but was routed with terrible slaughter. A new crime provoked God's wrath against A'hab and his family; he was anxious to obtain a vineyard belonging to Náboth, a native of Jez'reel, in order to enlarge his garden. The wicked Jez'ebel contrived that the innocent man should be stoned to death, and A'hab took possession of the vineyard. In the moment of his triumph the prophet Elíjah appeared, and denounced fearful vengeance for this crime, but A'hab, by timely repentance, obtained a gracious respite, so that the evils impending over his house did not happen until after his death, which took place in a battle against the Syrians, in which the allied forces of A'hab and of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah were defeated.

Ahazíah succeeded A'hab, and like him, was devoted to idolatry. A fall from a window, in the second year of his reign, so severely injured him, that fears were entertained for his life, and he sent his servants to consult the oracle of Baalzébub, in Ek'ron. On their road the messengers were met by Elíjah, who predicted the approaching death of the king, as a punishment for having consulted false gods. Ahazíah sent two detachments, of fifty men each, to arrest the prophet, but both companies were consumed by fire from heaven. A third captain of fifty interceded with the prophet; Elíjah accompanied him to the king's presence, where he repeated his denunciation, which was soon accomplished by Ahazíah's death.

Jehóram, another son of A'hab succeeded, but was less prone to idolatry than his father and brother, for he prohibited the worship of the Sidonian Báal, though he did not remove the golden calves which Jeróbóam had set up at Dan and Bethel. It was about this time that Elíjah was taken up into heaven, without enduring the pangs of death, and his successor, Elísha, began to prove his mission by a series of stupendous miracles. Benhádad, the Syrian monarch of Damascus, defeated in several attacks on the kingdom of Israel, attributed his ill success to the prophet, and sent a body of his soldiers to make him prisoner; but the Syrian troops were smitten with blindness, and in this helpless condition easily taken captive. The Syrian monarch was not daunted; he assembled a large army, advanced against Samária, blockaded the city, and reduced the inhabitants to the greatest extremities of famine. Jehóram menaced vengeance against Elísha, but the prophet assured him, that by the next day Samária would have abundance of provisions. On that night, under the influence of supernatural terror, they fled.

The rich plunder of the vacant tents soon restored plenty to the houses of the besieged; Benhádad, after his return, was murdered by his servant Haz'ael, who usurped the throne, and became a most formidable enemy of the kingdom of Israel. Jehóram entered into alliance with Ahazíah, king of Judah, in order to recover Rámoth-Gil'ead, but their joint forces were routed by the Syrians; the king of Israel was severely wounded, and retired to Jez'reel to be healed. In the meantime, Elísha, by command of the Lord, sent a prophet to anoint Jéhu king of Israel; and the new sovereign who was a great favorite with the army, advanced toward Jez'reel. Hearing of his approach, Jehóram went out to meet him, accompanied by Ahazíah, king of Judah. Their conference was brief; Jéhu shot Jehóram through the heart, with an arrow, and ordered his body to be cast into the vineyard of Náboth, as the Lord had foretold. Ahazíah was overtaken and slain; but his servants conveyed his body to Jerúsalem, and buried it in the sepulchre of his fathers.

Jéhu advanced to Jez'reel without opposition; as he came near the palace, Jez'ebel looked out from the window, and reproached him with his treason; the servants, by Jéhu's direction, threw her headlong down on the pavement, and her mangled body was trampled under the feet of the horses. In the evening orders were given for her interment, but it was found that the greater part of the body had been devoured by dogs and beasts of prey, as the prophet Elíjah had foretold. A'hab's family was very numerous; seventy of his sons were in Samária, but they were all beheaded by the citizens, who dreaded the power of Jéhu; and forty-two of the family of the king of Judah shared the same fate. Jéhu completely extirpated the worship of Báal, but he continued the idolatry which Jeroboam had established, and therefore the duration of his dynasty was limited to his descendants of the fourth generation.

The Syrians, under Haz'ael, grievously afflicted the Israelites during the reigns of Jéhu and his son Jehoáhaz; but these visitations failed to turn the princes or the people from their impious idolatries. In the reign of the latter Elísha died, but his miraculous powers did not cease with his life, for a dead body was restored to life by touching his bones in the tomb. The Israelites gained three victories over the Syrians, and thus recovered the ancient frontiers of their kingdom; they also conquered Amazíah, king of Judah, plundered Jerúsalem, and brought its rich spoils to Samária.

The kingdom of Israel continued to flourish during the long reign of Jeroboam II.; he enlarged his hereditary dominions by the conquest of several cities belonging to the kings of Syria and Judah, and made his kingdom respected among surrounding nations. His death was followed by a period of great confusion; there was an interregnum of eleven years before Zacharíah, his son, succeeded him; and he, after a brief reign of six months, was murdered by Shal'lum, who was in his turn slain by Men'ahem. In the reign of this usurper the Israelites were attacked by a new enemy; the Assyrians under Pul, supposed by some to be the Sardanapálus of profane writers, came against the land, and Men'ahem was forced to purchase his forbearance by the payment of a large tribute. The conqueror, however, in return, pro-

tected Men'ahem against all other enemies, and the remainder of his reign was passed in tranquillity. His son Pekahíah succeeded, but at the end of two years he was murdered by Pékah, one of his generals, who usurped the throne.

Though Pékah was a wicked and sanguinary prince, yet on account of the sins of A'haz, God permitted him to prevail over the rival kingdom of Judah. In conjunction with Rez'in, king of Damascus, he invaded southern Palestine, and brought away a vast number of captives, who were, however, restored to their country upon the injunction of a prophet of the Lord. But notwithstanding this single act of obedience, the sins of the Israelites continued to increase, and the threatened punishments began to be inflicted. The Assyrian hosts ravaged all the country beyond Jordan; the interior of the kingdom was convulsed by factions, and in the midst of these tumults Pékah was slain by Hoshéa, a general of some reputation.

After nine years of civil war, Hoshéa succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne, but during the interval, the Assyrians under Tiglath-piléser, and his son Shalmanéser, overran the kingdom, and rendered it tributary. As soon as his title was established, Hoshéa became anxious to regain independence, and for this purpose entered into alliance with So or Sab'aco, an Ethiopian prince who had subdued Egypt. Shalmanéser immediately invaded the country, and laid siege to Samária. After a brave resistance of three years, the city was taken by storm, and treated with the most ferocious cruelty by the barbarous conquerors (B. C. 719). Shalmanéser carried the Israelites captives into some distant region beyond the Euphrates, and divided their country among Assyrian colonies. In consequence of the signs by which the Lord's wrath against idolatry was manifested, the new settlers adopted a corrupted form of the true religion. From them, and a portion of the old inhabitants which remained in the land, the Samaritans descended, between whom and the Jews there was always the most bitter national enmity.

SECTION VII.—*History of the Kingdom of Judah.*

REHOBÓAM'S kingdom was not so much injured by the revolt of the ten tribes as might be supposed. When idolatry was established by Jeroboám, the priests, the Levites, and a multitude of persons who still adhered to the worship of the true God, emigrated to Judah, where they were received as brethren. Rehoboám introduced the worst abominations of Ammonite idolatry, and the great body of the people participated in his guilt. His guilt was punished by an invasion of the Egyptians: "in the fifth year of King Rehoboám, Shíshak king of Egypt came up against Jerúsalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lub'ims, the Sukk'iim, and the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerúsalem." The account here given of Shíshak's power, and of his ruling over the Libyans, the Ethiopians, and the Sukk'iim, or Trog'lodytæ, is confirmed by the Egyptian monuments, for the sculptures ascribed to him on the walls of Carnak, exhibit him offering to the

deity a great number of captives belonging to different nations. Rehoboam purchased the forbearance of Shishak by the payment of a large ransom. "Shishak took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon made. Instead of which, King Rehoboam made shields of brass, and committed them to the hands of the chief of the guard that kept the entrance of the king's house."

Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, soon after his succession, had to defend his kingdom against the usurper of Israel, whose army greatly outnumbered that of Judah. The Lord gave the victory to Judah. This victory greatly depressed the Israelites, and exalted the glory of Judah; but before the king could improve his advantages, he was prematurely cut off by disease.

A'sa, who succeeded his father, was a wise and pious prince. "He took away the altars of the strange gods . . . and commanded Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment." He expelled the Egyptians from their recent conquests, and secured his frontiers by a chain of fortresses judiciously placed and strongly garrisoned. His piety was rewarded by Divine protection in the hour of danger. A vast horde of invaders approached the southern boundary of Judea: in the original, these enemies are called *Cushim*, a word usually rendered Ethiopians. A'sa prayed to the God of his fathers for aid against this enormous host; his prayers were heard. "The Lord smote the Ethiopians before A'sa and before Judah, and the Ethiopians fled."

A'sa afforded every encouragement to the emigrants from Israel, who fled from the idolatry and wickedness which prevailed in that country. Baasha, who then reigned in Israel, erected a fortress at Ramah to check the emigration, and made such formidable preparations for war, that A'sa, with culpable distrust of the Divine favor, paid a large sum to the king of Syria for support and assistance. When reproved for his crime by the prophet Han'ani, he thrust his honest adviser into prison, and thenceforward became tyrannical and oppressive. Being subsequently attacked by a disease in the feet, "he sought not to the Lord but to the physicians," and died in the prime of manhood.

Jehosh'aphat succeeded his father A'sa, and in the commencement of his reign used the most vigorous exertions to root idolatry from the land. Under this wise administration the kingdom of Judah became so prosperous, that not only the Philistines, but the distant Arabians paid tribute. Unfortunately, he contracted affinity with the wicked A'hab, and gave his son in marriage to Athaliah, the daughter of that monarch, a princess whose character was scarcely less depraved than that of her mother Jez'ebel. In consequence of this unfortunate alliance, Jehosh'apha' was present at the disastrous battle of Ramoth-Gil'ead, where A'hab was slain; he was surrounded by the enemy, and would have been killed, had he not "called upon the Lord," who rescued him from his imminent peril. Shortly after his return from the Assyrian campaign, Jehosh'aphat was attacked by the united forces of the Moabites, the Amorites, and the Edomites of Mount Seir. Jehosh'aphat threw himself on the protection of Jehovah, and the Lord sent a spirit of disunion among the invaders, which led them to destroy each other

by mutual slaughter. The people of Judah came upon their enemies thus broken, and obtained a great quantity of valuable spoil.

Anxious to restore the commerce which Sol'omon had established on the Red sea, Jehosh'aphat entered into close alliance with the wicked Ahazíah, the son of A'hab; and a navy was prepared at their joint expense, in E'zion-géber. But the unhallowed alliance was displeasing to the Lord, and the ships were destroyed in a storm. At his death Jehosh'aphat left the kingdom of Judah in a more prosperous condition than it had been since the days of Sol'omon.

Jehóram commenced his reign by the slaughter of his brethren, after which he legally established the abominations of the Sidonian idolatry in Judah. His iniquity was punished by the revolt of the Edomites, who maintained their independence, and by invasions of the Philistines and Arabians, who carried away his wives and most of his children into captivity. He was finally smitten by a loathsome and incurable disease, of which he died in great tortures.

Ahazíah, the youngest of Jehóram's children, and the only one spared by the Arabians, succeeded to the throne. During his brief reign of one year, he followed the evil courses of his father and mother. He entered into an alliance with Jehóram, king of Israel, and joined with him in the unsuccessful attempt to recover Rámoth-Gil'ead from Házael, king of Syria. Having gone to meet Jehóram, while he lay sick of his wounds at Jez'reel, just at the time of Jéhu's insurrection, he was involved in the fate of his ally, and slain by command of Jéhu.

Athalíah, the queen-mother, having heard of Ahazíah's death, usurped the royal authority, and to secure her power, murdered all the royal family, save the infant Jehóash, who was saved by his paternal aunt, wife to the chief priest Jehoíada, and for six years secretly educated in the temple. At the end of that time, Jehoíada gathered together the priests, the Levites, and the chief princes of Judah, to whom he revealed the existence of the young heir to the throne. "And Jehoíada and his sons anointed him, and said, God save the king." The acclamations of those who witnessed the ceremony alarmed the wicked queen; she rushed into the assembly, rending her garments, and exclaiming, "Treason! treason!" but she was forsaken by all her partisans, and, at Jehoíada's command, was put to death beyond the precincts of the temple.

Under the regency of Jehoíada, the worship of the true God was restored, the administration of justice purified, and the prosperity of the land re-established. He died at the great age of one hundred and thirty years. After the death of the regent, Jehóash yielded to the evil counsels of the profligate young nobles of Judah, and restored the worship of the Sidonian Báal, with all its licentious abominations. Several prophets were sent to denounce his transgressions, but he persecuted them for their fidelity, and even put to death Zecharíah, the son of his benefactor, Jehoíada, "in the court of the house of the Lord." His crime was soon punished: "the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and the Lord delivered a very great host into their hands." They had scarcely departed, when he was seized with "great diseases," and in the midst of his agony was murdered by his own servants. His subjects were so displeased by the calamities of his reign,

that they would not allow his remains to be buried in the tombs of the kings, an insult which had been previously offered to the body of Jehóram. Amazíah's first care, after his elevation to the throne, was to punish the murderers of his father. He then marched against the Edomites with an auxiliary force which he had hired from the kingdom of Israel. On the recommendation of a prophet, he dismissed his allies, by which they were so grievously offended, that they committed the most savage excesses on their way home. In the meantime, Amazíah routed the Edomites with great slaughter, and subdued all the country round Mount Seir. With strange perversity, he adopted the idolatry of the nations he had just subdued. The prophets warned him of the fearful consequences of his apostacy; but their remonstrances were vain, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. Jehóash, king of Israel, was the chosen instrument of Amazíah's punishment; he defeated the men of Judah in a decisive engagement, took the king prisoner, captured Jerúsalem, destroyed a large extent of his fortifications, and returned laden with spoil to Samária. A conspiracy was subsequently organized against Amazíah; he fled from Jerúsalem to Láchish, but was overtaken by some of the emissaries of the rebels, and put to death.

Uzzíah, the son of the murdered king, though only sixteen years of age when he ascended the throne, displayed, in the commencement of his reign, the wisdom of mature age. He restored the worship of the true God, and reformed the abuses which had crept into every department of the administration. God prospered his undertakings; he subdued the Philistines, the Arabians, and the most warlike of the nomad tribes that border on the desert. To secure his conquests he erected a chain of fortresses, and to render them profitable, he excavated a great number of tanks or cisterns, by which means large tracts of land, hitherto unprofitable, were brought into cultivation. "But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction;" he attempted to usurp the priestly office by "burning incense upon the altar of incense," and persevered in spite of every warning. But, at the very moment that he was about to consummate this act of impiety, he was struck by a leprous disease, which at once severed him from all society with his fellow-men. Compelled to reside in a separate house, and unable to transact public affairs, he transferred the reins of government to his son. On his death, his disease was assigned as a reason for refusing his body admission to the royal sepulchre, and it was interred in the adjoining field.

Jótham had been accustomed to affairs of state during the lifetime of his father, whose piety he emulated, without imitating his faults. His fidelity to the worship of Jehovah was rewarded by the conquest of the Ammonites, who paid him a large tribute; and thus "Jótham became mighty because he established his ways before the Lord his God." No particulars are recorded of his death, which took place in the seventeenth year of his reign.

The most wicked king which had yet occupied the throne of Judah, was A'haz, the successor of the pious Jótham. He not only deserted the worship of the true God, but adopted those abominable superstitions which many of the heathen viewed with horror; "he burnt in-

cense in the valley of the sons of Hin'nom, and burnt his children in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel." His dominions were invaded by the kings of Syria and Israel, who carried multitudes into captivity; but the Israelites generously released their prisoners, as has been already related. The Edomites and Philistines next attacked the kingdom of Judah: A'haz, unable to meet them in the field, sought to purchase aid from Tiglath-piléser, king of Assyria; but that monarch received the tribute, and withheld any effectual assistance. In his distress, A'haz sunk deeper into idolatry; "he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus which smote him, and he said, because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him and of all Israel." A'haz went further; he shut up the temple of the Lord, broke the sacred vessels in pieces, and erected idolatrous altars "in every corner of Jerusalem." The country was thus brought to the brink of ruin; but its fall was arrested by the death of the impious monarch. His subjects showed their resentment for the evils of his administration by refusing his body admission to the sepulchres of their kings.

Hezekíah commenced his reign by a thorough reformation of the abuses which had so nearly brought destruction on Judah. The chief adviser of the pious king was the prophet Isaíah, who had proclaimed the future advent of the Messíah, and denounced the national sins in the two preceding reigns. All the vestiges of idolatry were destroyed, the images were broken, the groves cut down, and the polluted altars overthrown; even the brazen serpent, which had been preserved since the days of Moses, was demolished, because it had become the object of idolatrous veneration. The kingdom of Judah soon acquired such strength, that Hezekíah ventured to shake off the Assyrian yoke, to which his father had submitted. Shalmanéser, who had just conquered Israel, would have immediately marched against Judah, had not the wealthy cities of Phœnicia offered a more tempting prize to his avarice and ambition. His son, Sennácherib, inherited his revenge against Judah: he advanced to Láchish with a powerful army, but Hezekíah, with culpable timidity, attempted to purchase his forbearance by a large bribe. This rich tribute only served to stimulate the cupidity of Sennácherib; he sent a large army directly against Jerúsalem, but Hezekíah, encouraged by the gracious promises of Divine protection, communicated to him by the prophet Isaíah, made the most judicious preparations for a vigorous defence. Rab'shakeh, the Assyrian general, summoned the city to surrender, in a haughty and insolent tone, speaking in the Hebrew language, that his threats might be understood by the people. Hezekíah, who was suffering under severe illness, sought protection from the Lord, and his wavering faith was confirmed by the shadow of the sun retrograding on the dial at the command of Isaíah. In a few days, the Assyrians were summoned away to defend their dominions against Tirhákah, the king of Meroë, or Ethiopia, who had conquered Egypt, and was endeavoring to extend his empire to the Euphrátes. Sennácherib defeated the Ethiopians, and, flushed with victory, renewed the siege of Jerúsalem, threatening death and destruction to the entire kingdom. But his vaunts were suddenly checked; "the angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyri-

ans a hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses." Sennácherib fled to Nin'eveh with the miserable remnant of his forces, and was soon after murdered by his own sons, "as he was worshipping in the house of Nis'roch, his god."

The intelligence of this wondrous deliverance was spread over the east; Ber'odach-Bal'adan, king of Babylon, sent ambassadors to congratulate Hezekíah, and also to inquire into the phenomenon of the retrogression of the solar shadow. Hezekíah, with foolish pride, displayed all his treasures to the ambassadors. Isaíah was sent to reprove his ostentation, and to inform him that these Babylonians would destroy the kingdom of Judah. The repentant monarch heard the rebuke with pious resignation, and submissively yielded himself to the dispensations of Providence. His death was sincerely lamented by his subjects; "they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David; and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerúsalem did him honor at his death."

Manas'seh was scarcely less remarkable for iniquity than his father for piety; He even exceeded A'haz in impiety, for he revelled in the grossest abominations of eastern idolatry. His subjects too readily imitated his example; they joined him in persecuting the prophets of the Lord, who remonstrated against their transgressions; there is a constant tradition among the Jews, that Isaíah was sawn in sunder during the reign of this merciless tyrant. But an avenger was at hand; the Assyrians invaded Judah with overwhelming forces, stormed Jerúsalem, and carried the impious Manas'seh in chains to Babylon (B. C. 676). The unfortunate monarch was treated with savage cruelty by his captors; he was so loaded with iron bands, that he could not move his head. But "when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers; and prayed unto him, and He was entreated of him, and brought him again to Jerúsalem into his kingdom." Manas'seh, thus restored, applied himself diligently to extirpate idolatry; and the remainder of his reign was spent in peace and comparative tranquillity.

Notwithstanding the fearful punishment inflicted on Manas'seh, and his example of sincere penitence, A'mon, his son and successor, revived all the infamous rites of idolatry. In a brief reign of two years, the kingdom was brought to the verge of destruction; corruption spread through every department of the administration, and crimes at which nature revolts were not only permitted, but encouraged. At length, some of the officers of the household slew the licentious monarch; they were however put to death for their treason; and Josíah, the son of A'mon, at the early age of eight years, was raised to the throne.

From the moment of his accession, Josíah eagerly applied himself to restoring the worship of the true God, and reforming the abuses of the kingdom. Josíah travelled through his kingdom, and through some of the adjoining cities of Israel which lay almost desolate, removing from them every vestige of idolatry; and having thus purified his kingdom, he celebrated the feast of the Passover with the utmost solemnity and splendor. The greater part of Josíah's reign was spent in tranquillity; but when he had been rather more than thirty years upon the throne, the overthrow of the Assyrian empire by the Medes and Bab-

ylonians, induced Pharaoh-Hoph'ra, the powerful king of Egypt, to attempt the extension of his dominions to the Euphrátes. Josíah rashly attacked the Egyptian forces in the valley of Megid'do, and was mortally wounded. His servants brought him to Jerúsalem, where he died. "And all Judah and Jerúsalem mourned for Josíah."

The people of Jerúsalem raised Jehoáhaz, the youngest son of Josíah, to the throne; but he was set aside by the victorious Pharaoh-Nécho, who gave the kingdom to the elder prince Elíakim, and changed his name to Jehoíakim. A complete revolution in the affairs of Asia was effected by the victorious career of Nebuchadnez'zar, king of Babylon. He overthrew the Egyptians at Car'chemish, "and took from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrátes, all that pertained to the king of Egypt." Jehoíakim submitted to the conqueror, and agreed to pay tribute for the kingdom of Judah, but afterward planning a revolt, Nebuchadnez'zar returned to Jerusalem, plundered the city, sent the treasures and sacred vessels of the temple as trophies to Babylon, put Jehoíakim to death as a rebel, and left his unburied corpse a prey to the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the fields. He was succeeded by his son Jehoíachin, who after a brief but profligate reign of three months, was deposed by the imperious conqueror, and sent in chains to Babylon, with a multitude of other captives.

Zedekíah, the uncle of the deposed monarch, was chosen his successor; but he did not take warning by the fate of his predecessors, and abstain from intrigues with Egypt. Instigated by Pharaoh-Hoph'ra, and encouraged by false prophets, he renounced his allegiance to the king of Babylon. When the forces of Nebuchadnez'zar approached, Pharaoh-Hoph'ra made but a faint effort to assist his unfortunate ally; on the first repulse, he retreated within the frontiers of his own kingdom, leaving Zedekíah to bear the brunt of the Assyrians' rage. Nebuchadnez'zar, after a short siege, compelled Jerúsalem to surrender unconditionally. Zedekíah and his family fled, but were overtaken by the pursuers in the plains of Jericho; the degraded king was dragged in chains before the cruel conqueror; his wives and children were slain in his presence, his eyes were put out, and he was sent in chains to terminate his miserable existence as a captive in Bab'ylon. Jerúsalem and its temple were razed to the ground; the wretched inhabitants were transported to Bab'ylon; and for seventy years the holy city had no existence save in the memory of heart-broken exiles (B. C. 568). The day on which Jerúsalem was taken, and that on which its destruction was completed, are observed even in our age, as days of fasting and humiliation, by the scattered remnant of the Jewish nation. The former event occurred on the ninth day of the fourth month; the latter on the seventh day of the fifth month.

Oriental conquerors subjected their captives to the most cruel treatment. They were bound in the most painful attitudes and driven like cattle to the slave-markets, where families were divided, by their members being sold to different masters. It is probable that the Babylonians were not less severe task-masters than the Egyptians had been; for we find in the later prophets that the memory of what the Jews had suffered ever rankled in the mind of the nation; and it is remarkable that after their deliverance they never again lapsed into idolatry.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EMPIRE OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline.*

The boundaries of Irán, which Europeans call Persia, have undergone many changes: in its most prosperous periods, its limits were the Persian gulf and Indian ocean on the south, the rivers Indus and Ox′us on the east, the Caspian sea and Caucasian mountains on the north, and the Euphrátes on the west. The most striking features of this extensive country are numerous chains of mountains, and extensive tracts of desert, interspersed with fertile valleys and rich pasture-lands. The southern coast along the Persian gulf is a sandy plain, desolated by pestilential winds from the desert of Kermán, and scarcely possessing any indentation or navigable river which could serve as a harbor. Thence to the Caspian sea and the Ox′us there is a succession of mountains and valleys of different elevation and extent. Few of the mountains are of extraordinary height, though some of the ranges are capped with perpetual snow. None of the valleys are wide, but some of them extend to the length of one hundred miles.

Persia Proper, the modern province of Phars, contained the sacred metropolis of the empire, known to us only by its Greek name, Persep′olis. This celebrated city was destroyed by Alexander; but its ruins testify that it must have rivalled the most splendid cities of antiquity.

The province of Susiána (Khuzistán) separated Persia Proper from Babylónia; between the two provinces was a range of mountains, inhabited by warlike pastoral tribes, of which the most celebrated were the Ux′ii, who compelled the Persian kings to pay them tribute when they went from Súsa to Persep′olis. Susiána was a fertile province, watered by several small streams, that supplied a vast number of canals and water-courses. Súsa, the capital of this district, once the favorite residence of the Persian monarchs, is now a vast desert, where the ruins of a city can with difficulty be traced.

Media was divided into two provinces; Atropaténe or Media Minor (Azerbiján), and Media Major (Irák Ajemí). Ecbatána (Ham′adan) was the capital of Media, and rivalled Súsa and Persep′olis in magnificence, while it exceeded them in extent and the strength of its fortifications. The eastern districts of Media, named A′ria, formed an extensive steppe, which merged in the desert of Carmánia (Kermán). The capital was named A′ria, and occupied the site of the modern Herát.

North of Media lay Par'thia and Hyrcánia (Taberistán and Mazenderán); mountainous regions, with some fertile valleys. Northeast of these were the sandy deserts now called Khirwán, tenanted by nomade tribes, who then and now practised alternately the arts of merchants, herdsmen, and robbers. East of A'ria was Bactriána, divided by the Ox'us from Sog'diana: its capital city was Bac'tra, which is usually identified with the modern city of Balkh. The metropolis of Sogdiána was Maracan'da, now called Samarcand, one of the most ancient commercial cities in the world.

East of the province of Phars were Carmánia (Kermán) and Gedrósia (Mekrán); flat and sandy, but interspersed with some very fertile tracts.

The hills in the interior of Persia are but thinly clad with vegetation, and none but those of Mazenderán and Georgia possess forests; there are but few rivers of sufficient magnitude to be navigable: the most remarkable are the Ulaí or Eulæ'us (Karún), the Ar'ras or Arax'es, and the Etyman'der (Her'mund).

The valleys of the centre of Persia abound in the rarest and most valuable vegetable productions. The orchards produce all the fruits of the temperate zone, and the most beautiful flowers of our gardens grow wild in the fields. The horses and dogs are of uncommon size, strength, and beauty; and no country possesses a more robust, active, and well-shaped race of men. In short, Persia possesses every natural advantage for becoming a powerful and prosperous empire; but from the remotest ages it has been subjected to a blighting despotism, by which its resources have been not merely neglected, but wasted and destroyed.

Section II.—*The Sources and Extent of our Knowledge respecting the Ancient Persians.*

The sources of Persian history are either native or foreign; the latter including the accounts both of the Greek historians and the Jewish prophets.

The first native authority is the Zend-a-vesta, a collection of the sacred books of the ancient Persians. In this work are contained the early traditions of the nation, the religious system and moral code ascribed to Zerdúsht, or Zoroas'ter, the great Persian legislator, and the liturgy still used by the "worshippers of fire." Connected with this is the Dabistán, written by a Mohammedan traveller about two centuries ago, in which the author treats very fully of the ancient religion of Persia, professedly deriving his information from original sources. To these must be added some minor Parsí works, collected by oriental ists in India.

Next in importance to these ranks the Sháh Námeh, or Book of Kings, an immense epic poem, written by Ferdousí, the greatest poet of Persia, about the middle of the tenth century. This historical poem was compiled from vague traditions, and from the few fragments of ancient Persian literature that survived the political destruction of national records by the Greeks and Parthians, and the fanaticism of the first Mohammedan conquerors; and, consequently, facts are so disguised by a multitude of fictions, that it is always difficult, and frequently impossible, to arrive at the truth of his representations. Mirkhond and his son Khon-

demír both wrote histories of Persia, about the close of the fifteenth century; they have, however, in general followed the narrative of Ferdousí; but in some places Mirkhond undoubtedly has used the same authorities as the compiler of the Dabistán.

Herod'otus, Xen'ophon, and the fragments of Ctésias, are the principal Greek authorities for the history of ancient Persia: of these the first is by far the most valuable, and his account of the Persian wars with Greece is entitled to our confidence. It must also be added, that many parts of his narrative are singularly confirmed by the legends preserved in the works of Mirkhond and Ferdousí.

In the Bible, the Book of Est'her is altogether a Persian history, and much important information is given incidentally in the Books of Dan'iel, Ez'ra, and Nehemíah.

Finally, much light has been thrown on ancient Persian history by the writings of modern oriental scholars; especially the philological researches of Bopp, Burnouf, and Schlegel, which have shown how closely allied the ruling people of Hindústan was with the ruling nation of Irán, by pointing out the close resemblance between the original languages of both, the Sanscrit and the Zend.

Section III.—*Social and Political Condition of Ancient Persia.*

Central Asia, from the most remote ages, has been exposed to the invasions of nomad hordes from the north and east, most of which, according to their native legends, descended from the mountainous tracts extending from the great Altaian chain to the borders of India. Recent investigations have rendered it probable that this was also the native country of the Brahmins and Hindús, at least of the higher castes; but it is impossible to discover at what period migrations commenced to the south and west. The colonists who came into Media called themselves A'rii, manifestly the same word as the Sanscrit Ar'ya, which signifies *pure men*, in opposition to the Mlêchas, or barbarians. They were a mixed priestly and warrior caste, who treated their subjects as beings of an inferior nature. Their early success was chiefly owing to their skill in horsemanship; if not the first nation of the East that employed cavalry, they were the first to make that military body the main strength of their army. A cognate race, the Persians, having nearly the same institutions, proceeded further to the southwest, and formed a nation of herdsmen and shepherds. A monarch named Jemshíd, the Achæ'menes of the Greeks, first instructed his subjects in agriculture, and they gratefully made royalty the inheritance of his family. The Medes, having long held dominion as the ruling caste, were overthrown in an insurrection of the agricultural and shepherd tribes: this political revolution was effected by Cy'rus; and it was followed necessarily by a religious change, consequent on the altered position of the priestly caste.

Under the Medes, or rather the Mági, as their priests were called, a species of the Sabian superstition seems to have prevailed: the sun, moon, and planets, received divine worship, while the more ancient belief in one supreme God, though obscured, was not wholly lost. When the Persians triumphed, the priestly caste lost much of its influence,

and seems to have been regarded as naturally hostile to the new dynasty: hence we find the Persian monarchs bitter persecutors of the priests wherever they established their sway, destroying the Chaldeans in Babylon, and the sacerdotal caste in Egypt. The nature of the religious changes made by Cy'rus can not now be determined; but the revolution was completed by Zoroáster, whose system is the most perfect devised by unassisted human reason. God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe—good and evil: the one was named Hormuzd, the other Ahrimán. Each of these had the power of creation, but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their co-action that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. But the source of good alone, the great Hormuzd, was eternal, and must therefore ultimately prevail.*

With these speculative tenets was combined a system of castes, which are described by Ferdousí, who attributes their introduction to Jemshíd.

The conservation of the ordinances that regulated public morals was intrusted to the Mágí, who were, as we have said, originally a caste or tribe of the Medes. Zoroas'ter reformed the institutions of this body, and appears to have opened the priestly dignity to persons of every caste, though few entered on the functions of public worship who were not of the Magian descent. Thus the sacerdotal rank in Persia partook of the nature both of a caste and an order. It was high in power: the court was principally composed of sages and soothsayers. The priests also were judges in civil cases, because religion was the basis of their legislation; but they were strictly bound by the ancient code. No circumstances were deemed sufficiently strong to warrant a departure from ancient usages; and hence "the laws of the Medes and Persians" were proverbial for their strictness of execution.

The king was as much bound by the national code as his meanest subject; but in every other respect his power was without control; and the satraps, or provincial governors under him, were equally despotic in their respective provinces. The court scarcely differed in any material point from the oriental courts of the present day. It was a heavy tax on the national resources to support the barbarous splendor with which the kings and satraps deemed it necessary to surround their dignity; and the exactions wrung from the cultivators of the soil always made the Persian peasantry the most miserable even in Asia. The army was another source of wretchedness to the country: a vast amount of standing forces was always maintained, and hordes of the wandering tribes on the borders of Persia kept in pay: beside this, in case of any emergency, every man capable of bearing arms was enrolled in his own district, and forced to become a soldier on the first summons. This constitution enabled the Persians to make rapid conquests, but it prevented their empire from becoming permanent: the soldiers fought for pay or plunder, and were held together by no common principle, save attachment to their leader; hence the fall or flight of the commander-in-chief instantly decided the fate of a Persian army

* Sir JOHN MALCOLM'S *Persia*, vol. i., p. 194. The Jews have a tradition that Zoroaster was instructed in the true religion by one of the prophets.

however great its numbers; and when the army was defeated, the kingdom was subdued. The great oriental monarchies were liable to vicissitudes scarcely known in European states. There was no patriotic spirit in the people, no love of independence in the nation; if the invader prevailed in the battle-field, he had no further enemies to dread; the mass of the population cared little for a change of rule, which left unaltered the miseries of their situation.

Section IV.—*History of the Medes and Persians under the Kaianian Dynasty.*

from B. C. 710 to B. C. 522.

Media and Persia were provinces of the great Assyrian empire; and their native legends preserve the memory of the cruelty with which they were treated by the monarchs of Nineveh. When that empire was broken to pieces after the death of Sardanapálus, Media fell into a state of anarchy, from which it was delivered by Deióces (B. C. 710), the Kai-Kóbad of oriental writers: he built the city of Ecbatána, and greatly strengthened his new kingdom by inducing his subjects to form permanent settlements; but in the midst of his useful career, he was summoned to check the rising power of the Babylonians, and fell in battle. The Median power was restored by Phraor'tes, who succeeded his father; but it attained its highest glory under Cyax'ares, the third monarch of this dynasty.

In the early part of his reign, Cyax'ares had to encounter many formidable difficulties. While he was engaged besieging Nineveh, the Scythian hordes from the north entered Media, and overran the greater part of central and western Asia. Their ravages were continued for twenty-eight years, and they had compelled the Medes to give them free admittance to their houses, when they were simultaneously destroyed by a conspiracy of their hosts, which Cyax'ares had organized. A party that had escaped the general massacre entered into the service of the Median monarch; but finding reason to dread the fate of their countrymen, they transferred their allegiance to the king of Lydia, and thus caused a war between the two monarchs. The most memorable event of this war, which lasted five years, was the total eclipse of the sun, that took place in the midst of a battle, and so alarmed the contending parties, that both the Medes and Lydians fled in confusion from the field. A peace was soon after concluded between the two crowns, and Cyax'ares renewed his war against the Assyrians. Aided by the king of Babylon, he besieged and took Nineveh, and totally destroyed that ancient city (B. C. 601). The allies next attacked the districts that the Egyptians possessed in Syria, defeated Pharaoh-Nécho at Car'chemish, and subdued the principal part of western Asia. It seems probable that the supremacy of the Medes over the Persian principalities was first established during the reign of Cyax'ares, who is generally identified with the Kai Káoos of Mirkhond and Ferdousí.

Asty'ages, called in the book of Daniel Ahasuérus,* that is, "the mighty hero" (Achash Zwerosh), an epithet given to several oriental

* Daniel ix. 1.

monarchs, was the next king. To reconcile the Persians to his authority, he gave his daughter in marriage to Cam'byses, of the family of the Achæmen'idæ, and the royal tribe of the Pasargádæ. The issue of this union was Agrad'ates, subsequently named Cy'rus, Khorésh, or Khosrau, different forms of a Persian word which signifies the sun.

The main facts of the romantic legend that Herodotus has preserved respecting the early years of Cyrus, are confirmed by the oriental historians; and when stripped of some embellishments, can scarcely be deemed incredible. The following are the facts in which the Greek and Persian historians confirm each other's testimony; the Persian names of the principal actors are enclosed in parentheses. Camby'ses (Siyáwesh) is said to have sought refuge at the court of Asty'ages (Afrasiáb), king of a country north of Persia (Turán), to avoid the effects of his father's jealousy. He obtained the hand of his host's daughter Mandáne (Ferangíz) in marriage. Envious courtiers prejudiced the Median king against his son-in-law; he resolved to destroy him, and the child of which his own daughter was pregnant. The Persian prince, according to the oriental historians, was murdered; but the princess and her unborn child were saved by Har'pagus (Pirán Wisáh), the tyrant's prime minister. The posthumous child of Cam'byses was the celebrated Cyrus: he was brought up in obscurity until he approached the age of manhood, when he learned the secret of his birth. With all the courage of enthusiastic youth, he went among his countrymen, who revered the memory of his father, and were weary of the tyranny of Asty'ages; they flocked to his standard, and the young prince, entering Media, dethroned Asty'ages, and threw him into prison. Instead, however, of seizing the crown for himself, he submitted to the rule of Cyax'ares II. (Kai Kaoos), his maternal uncle, whom the Persians describe as his paternal grandfather.

Cyax'ares, immediately after his accession to the dignity of Darawesh, or king of Media (B. C. 560), sent his nephew to invade the Babylonian empire, which had now fallen from its high estate. Cy'rus invested the city of Bab'ylon, and, after a long siege, took it, in the manner that has been already related. Cyax'ares, whose title of Darawesh, or Darius, is frequently mistaken for a proper name, removed the seat of his government to the newly-acquired city, where becoming acquainted with the merits of the prophet Dan'iel, he took him into his service, and appointed him his chief vizier. Some envious courtiers attempted to ruin him by means of his well-known piety, and procured an edict from the Darawesh, forbidding any one, for thirty days, to offer up prayers to any one but the king, under penalty of being exposed to lions. Dan'iel disobeyed the impious command, and was thrown into the lions' den; but God closed the mouths of the ferocious animals, and he was taken out uninjured. He was immediately restored to his office, which he retained to the end of his life; and it deserves to be added, than in consequence of his fidelity to the Median and Persian kings, he is described as a renegade in some ancient Jewish traditions.

Cy'rus succeeded Cyax'ares in the kingdom; and thus the supremacy was transferred from the Medes to the Persians (B. C. 534). But long before he reigned alone, he had been associated with his uncle in the government, and had the sole command of the army that subdued

Ly'dia, Assyr'ia, Babylónia, and western Asia, to the confines of Egypt. Immediately after his accession, he issued an edict permitting the Jews to return to their native land, and rebuild the walls and temple of Jerúsalem, as the prophet Isaíah had predicted a hundred years before his birth. For seven years he ruled his empire in peace and prosperity, directing his attention to establishing a stable government in his extensive dominions, and endeavoring, as we have good reason to believe, to restrict the extravagant privileges claimed by the Magi, or priestly caste.

Whatever may have been the manner of his death, about which there is some doubts, it is certain that he was buried at Pasargádæ, where the remains of his tomb may still be see. In the age of Strábo, it bore the following inscription, "O man, I am Cy'rus, who founded the Persian empire: envy me not then the little earth which covers my remains."

Cam'byses (Lohorásp) succeeded to the throne (B. C. 529), and immediately prepared to invade Egypt. He soon made himself master of Pelúsium, and, being aided by the local information of Phánes, a Greek deserter, he overthrew Psammenítus, the last Egyptian monarch, and subdued the entire country. His fierce hostility to the sacerdotal caste, which he inherited from his father, made him a persecutor of the Egyptian priests, who, in revenge, have portrayed him as the worst of tyrants. After the conquest of Egypt, he resolved to annex Ethiopia to his dominions, and, at the same time, to plunder the Ammónium, or great temple of Júpiter Am'mon, built on an oásis in the midst of the desert. In the midst of the desert the Persians were deserted by their perfidious guides, and the greater part of them were finally overwhelmed by the moving sands that winds sometimes raise in the desert.

Camby'ses intended to have carried his arms into western Africa; but his designs were frustrated by the refusal of the Phœnician mariners to serve against their Carthagenian brethren. To secure his throne, he, with the cruel precaution so common in Asia, put his brother Smer'dis to death; but was soon alarmed by hearing that a usurper, under his brother's name, had seized the Persian crown. On his return home, Camby'ses died of an accidental wound from his own sword, having first solemnly assured his officers of the falsehood practised by the pretended Smer'dis. As Camby'ses died without heirs, the Kaianian dynasty, which, as we have seen, included both Medes and Persians, became extinct (B. C. 522).

SECTION V.—*History of the Persians under the Hystaspid Dynasty.*

FROM B. C. 522 TO B. C. 330.

THE real history of the false Smer'dis appears to be slightly disguised in the narratives of the Grecian writers: he was manifestly raised to the throne by a conspiracy of the priestly caste, who were desirous of restoring their own supremacy, and that of their allies, the Medes. The Persian nobles combined to prevent such a calamity, destroyed the usurper, and chose for their sovereign, or darawesh, Hystas'pes (Gushtásp), who appears to have been a member of the family of the Achæ'menidæ. Darius Hystas'pes appears to have been the

first who used the old title of royalty (Darawesh or Darius) as a proper name. When fixed upon the throne, he persecuted the magi with great severity, and patronised the religious system ascribed to Zerdusht, or Zoroas'ter. The Persian legends describe this philosopher as his contemporary; and this is rendered exceedingly probable by a comparison of the various accounts given of this great reformer.*

To secure his title, Darius, for henceforth he will be best known by this name, united himself in marriage with the two surviving daughters of Cy'rus, and then prepared to punish the Babylonians, who, in consequence probably of the ancient connexion between the Chaldeans and the sacerdotal caste of the Medes, had not only revolted but murdered all whom they regarded as useless mouths, to prove their determined obstinacy. Baby'lon sustained a siege of twenty months; and might have baffled its besiegers, had not a Persian noble mutilated himself, and gone over to the citizens as a deserter who had escaped from the inhuman cruelty of his sovereign. His wounds gave credit to his words: he was intrusted with the command of an important post, which he betrayed to Darius, and thus enabled that monarch to become master of the rebellious city. The attention of the conqueror was next directed to quelling an insurrection of the Greek commercial cities of western Asia; he added Thrace to his dominions, and undertook an invasion of Scythia. The Danube was passed on a bridge of boats; and the Persians advanced without opposition through a difficult and barren country, until they had advanced beyond the reach of their supplies. Darius was forced to retreat, and his safety was purchased by the loss of the greater part of his followers.

Having severely punished a subsequent revolt of the Greeks of Asia Minor, Darius resolved to extend his vengeance to their Grecian allies, and collected a large naval and military force, which he intrusted to the command of his son-in-law Mardónius. Mardónius crossed the Hellespont into Thrace, whence he passed into Macedonia, at that time a Persian province. All the neighboring countries submitted; but his fleet was shattered in a storm, while doubling Mount A'thos, and his army soon afterward was attacked unexpectedly by the barbarous Thracian tribes, who slew a great many of the soldiers, and severely wounded Mardónius himself. A second expedition was sent to Greece, under the command of Dátis and Artapher'nes, who forced a passage into the northern parts of that country, stormed Eret'ria, and were menacing Athens, when they were totally routed by the Athenians under Miltíades, at the memorable battle of Mar'athon (B. C. 490). To avenge these losses, Darius resolved to invade Greece in person; but an insurrection of the Egyptians, and disputes among his children respecting the succession, and not long after his own death, frustrated his designs.

Xer'xes, immediately after his accession (B. C. 485), marched against the Egyptian rebels, whom he completely subdued. Elated by this success, he prepared to invade Greece, and collected the largest army that had ever been assembled. His naval preparations were on an equally extensive scale. But on the very threshold of Greece, at the mountain-pass of Thermopylæ, his countless hordes were checked and

* See Professor Shea's admirable translation of Mirkhond, p. 274.

repulsed by a handful of men under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta. Treachery enabled him to turn the flank of the gallant warriors, and he entered Greece; but the account of his campaigns belongs properly to Grecian history. It is sufficient to say, that after having suffered unparalleled losses by sea and land, he returned to Persia covered with disgrace. The forces that he left behind him under Mardónius were annihilated at the battle of Platéæ; and the Greeks, following up their success, destroyed the power of the Persians in the Mediterranean, and made them tremble for the security of their provinces in Asia Minor.

Xer'xes is unknown by name to the oriental historians; they name him Esfendíar, and ascribe to him the most eminent qualities of a general and soldier. It is probable that the memory of Xer'xes's exploits in youth were alone preserved in eastern Persia. It is generally thought that Xer'xes was the Ahasuérus (Achash Zwerosh, that is, "brave hero") mentioned in the book of Est'her.

Xer'xes was murdered by a captain of his guards, named Artabánus (B.C. 470), and his eldest son shared his fate. The assassin conferred the crown on Artaxer'xes, the third son of the deceased monarch, surnamed Macrócheir, or "the long-handed," called by the native historians Ardeshír Bahmán, who is celebrated for his just and beneficent administration. But his virtues were insufficient to check the decline of the empire, which began to exhibit signs of weakness in every quarter. After countless humiliations, Artaxer'xes was forced to sign a disgraceful peace, by which he recognised the independence of the Asiatic Greeks; consented that his fleet should be wholly excluded from the Ægean: and that the Persian army should not come within three days' march of the coast (B. C. 449).

Internal wars and rebellions were of frequent occurrence; the royal forces were often defeated and the empire kept in a state of turbulence and confusion. On the death of Artaxer'xes (B. C. 424), his only legitimate son, Xer'xes, ascended the throne; but within forty-five days was murdered by his natural brother, Sogdiánus; and he again was deposed by another illegitimate prince, O'chus, who, on his accession, took the name of Daríus II.

Under the administration of Daríus II., surnamed Nóthus, that is, "illegítimate," the empire declined rapidly, chiefly owing to the increased power and consequent turbulence of the provincial satraps. On the death of Daríus, his son Artaxer'xes, surnamed Mnémon, from the strength of his memory, ascended the throne (B. C. 405); but was opposed by his brother Cy'rus, who had the support of the queen-mother, Parysátis, and of an army of Greek mercenaries, which he was enabled to levy through his connexion with Sparta. Cy'rus, at first successful, was slain at the battle of Cunax'a (B. C. 401); but his ten thousand Greek auxiliaries, under the guidance of Xen'ophon, a renegade Athenian, though a delightful historian, succeeded in forcing a safe passage to their native land. During the remainder of his reign, the weak Artaxer'xes was the mere puppet of his mother, Parysátis, whose inveterate hatred against Queen Statíra, and all whom she suspected of having contributed to the overthrow of her favorite son, Cy'rus, filled the palace with murders, treasons, and assassinations. While the

court was thus disgraced, Agesiláus, king of Sparta, joined with the Asiatic Greeks, was making rapid conquests in western Persia; and he would probably have dismembered the empire, had not the troubles excited in Greece by a lavish distribution of Persian gold, compelled him to return home.

The remainder of the reign of Artaxer'xes was singularly unfortunate: he attempted to reduce Egypt, but his efforts failed, owing to a disagreement between the Athenian auxiliaries and the Persian commanders; Cy'prus regained its independence; and the spirit of revolt spread through all western Asia. His domestic calamities were still more afflicting: he was obliged to punish his oldest son Darius with death, for conspiring against him; O'chus, his youngest son, murdered his brother, to open a path to the succession; and Artaxer'xes, overcome by such a complication of miseries, died of a broken heart.

O'chus, on the accession (B. C. 360), took the name of Artaxer'xes III.; and, to secure himself on the throne, put to death no fewer than eighty of the royal family. Artabázus, the satrap of Asia Minor, attempted to take advantage of the unpopularity which those crimes brought on the monarch; and, aided by the Thebans and Athenians, made a vigorous effort to seize the throne. O'chus, however, was as conspicuous for his military prowess as for his crimes; he defeated Artabázus, and forced him to seek refuge in Greece. He next marched against the Phœnician insurgents, who were supported by the Cypriots and Egyptians: the treason of the general of the confederates gave O'chus an easier victory than he had expected, and he levelled the city of Sidon with the ground. Being joined by a powerful body of Greek auxiliaries, he recovered the island of Cy'prus, and once more reduced it to a Persian province. But the king's cruelties were not compensated by his victories; and he was at length poisoned by the eunuch Bagóas, who placed Ar'ces, the youngest son of O'chus, on the throne.

Ar'ces, after a brief reign, suffered the fate of his father; and the treacherous Bagóas transferred the crown to Darius Codoman'nus, a descendant of Darius Nóthus (B. C. 336). The eunuch hoped that by raising so remote a branch to the throne, he would be permitted to retain royal power in his hands; but Darius soon asserted his independence, and Bagóas prepared to remove him by poison. The treachery was discovered; and Darius compelled the baffled eunuch to drink the medicated portion that he had prepared. But the fate of the Persian empire was now at hand; Alexan'der the Great of Macedon appeared in Asia, and his brave little army scattered the myriads of Persia like chaff before the wind. After the loss of the two battles of Is'sus and Arbéla, Darius, while seeking refuge in a remote part of his empire, was murdered by the eunuch Bes'sus; and Asia received a new master.*

The Persians inherited the commercial power of the Babylonians and Phœnicians; but they opened no new branch of trade, and scarcely maintained those they found already established. It is not, therefore, necessary to repeat here what has been said in the preceding chapters on the commerce of central Asia.

* See the history of Macedon in a following chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

PHŒNICIAN COLONIES IN NORTHERN AFRICA,

ESPECIALLY

CARTHAGE.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline of Northern Africa.*

Although Africa was circumnavigated at a period of very remote antiquity, the interior of the country still remained unexplored, and the southern part, on account of the difficulty of navigation in the ocean, was neglected until the knowledge of its discovery was forgotten. But the northern coast bordering on the Mediterranean became the seat of flourishing Greek and Phœnician colonies. This extensive district was divided by nature into three regions, or bands, of unequal breadth, nearly parallel with the sea-line: 1, the maritime country, consisting generally of very fertile districts, whence it was called Inhabited Africa, is now named Barbary; 2, a rugged mountainous country, whose loftiest peaks form the chain of Mount Atlas, abounding in wild beasts and palm-groves, whence it was called by the ancients the Land of Lions, and by the moderns Beledulgerid, or the Land of Dates; the Romans usually named it Gætúlia; 3, a vast sandy desert, which the Arabs call Sahára.

From the chain of Mount Atlas several small rivers flow into the Mediterranean by a short northern course; but there are no streams of importance on the south side of these mountains, and no great river in the interior until we reach the remote Niger, concerning which the ancients had very imperfect information; indeed, nothing was known with certainty of its true course, until the recent discovery of its mouth by the Landers.

Proceeding westward along the shore from Egypt, Africa presented the following political divisions: 1, Marmar'ica, a sandy tract tenanted by nomad tribes; 2, Cyrenaica, a fertile territory, occupied by Greek colonies, extending to the greater Syr'tis; its chief cities were Cyréne, and Bar'ca; 3, Régio Syr'tica, the modern kingdom of Trip'oli, a sandy tract subject to the Carthaginians, but almost wholly occupied by nomad hordes; 4, the domestic territory of Carthage, which forms the modern kingdom of Túnis; 5, a very fruitful country subject to the Carthaginians, the northern part of which was named Byzacéna, and the southern Zeugitána; and, 6, Numid'ia and Mauritánia, occupied during the Carthaginian age by nomad hordes; but having some Carthaginian colonies along the coasts.

Carthage was built on a peninsula in the interior of a large bay, now called the gulf of Tunis, formed by the projection of the Hermæan promontory (now Cape Bon) on the east, and the promontory of Apollo (now Cape Zebid) on the west. The peninsula was about midway between U'tica and Tunis, both of which could be seen from the walls of Carthage; the former being about nine, and the latter only six miles distant: it was joined to the land by an isthmus averaging three miles in length; and on the seaside there was a narrow neck of land projecting westward, which formed a double harbor, and served as a mole or breakwater for the protection of shipping. Toward the sea the city was fortified only by a single wall; but the isthmus was guarded by the citadel Byr'sa, and a triple wall eighty feet high and about thirty wide.

The African territory of Carthage extended westward along the coast of the pillars of Hercules, and eastward to the altars of the Philæ'ni, which marked the frontier between the territories of Cyrene and Carthage. Southward, the dominions of Carthage extended to the Tritonian lake; but many of the nomad tribes beyond these limits paid nominal obedience to the republic.

The fertile provinces of Carthage, occupied by people who tilled the soil, extended from Cape Bon, in a direct line, to the most eastern angle of the Triton lake, a distance of nearly two hundred geographical miles. Its average breadth was one hundred and fifty miles.

The foreign possessions of Carthage included the Balearic islands, Cor'sica, Sardínia, and the smaller islands in the Mediterranean, the southern part of Sicily and Spain, some settlements on the western coast of Africa, and the Fortunate islands in the Atlantic, which are probably the Canaries, and the fertile Madeira.

Section II.—*Social and Political Condition of Carthage.*

The government of Carthage was formed by circumstances; it was originally monarchical, like Tyre, its parent state; but at a very early period it assumed a republican form, in which aristocracy was the prevailing element, though the power of the people was not wholly excluded. There were two kings, or chief magistrates, called suffetes (the *shophetim*, or judges, of the Hebrews), who appear to have been nominated by the senate, and then presented for confirmation to the general assembly of the people. There was a double senate; a syned'rium, or house of assembly, and a select council, denominated gerúsia, which was composed of a hundred of the principal members of the syned'rium, and formed the high court of judicature.

Public affairs were not submitted to the assembly of the people, except when there was a difference of opinion between the suffétes and the senate, when the decision of the general assembly was final.

In one particular the Carthaginian government was more constitutional than that of Rome, or most of the Grecian republics; it kept distinct the civil and military power: the dignity of chief magistrate was not united to that of general without an express decree for the purpose. When a king was sent to conduct a war, his military powers expired at the close of the campaign, and previously to a new one a fresh nomina-

tion was necessary. There are also instances of a general being elected one of the suffétes, or kings, while he was engaged in conducting war. Other foreign expeditions were sometimes intrusted to the kings; for Hanno, who conducted an armament to establish colonies along the coast of western Africa, is expressly called king of the Carthaginians.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the same as that of their ancestors the Phœnicians, and was consequently polluted by sanguinary rites and human sacrifices. But the Carthaginians were not averse to the introduction of foreign goods; they adopted the worship of Céres from the Sicilians, and sent ambassadors to the oracle of Delphi. It does not appear that there was a distinct sacerdotal caste, or even order, in Carthage; the priestly functions were united with the magisterial.

A species of national banking was established at Carthage which was very curious. Pieces of a compound metal, the secret of whose composition was strictly preserved, in order to prevent forgery, were sewed up in leather coverings, and marked with a government seal, which declared their nominal value. This money was, of course, current only in Carthage itself. The public revenues of Carthage were derived from the tribute imposed on the dependant cities and African tribes, from the customhouse duties collected in the port, and from the Spanish mines, the richest of which were in the neighborhood of Carthágo Nova, the modern city of Carthagena.

The Carthaginians, like their ancestors the Phœnicians, paid great attention to naval affairs, and long possessed maritime supremacy over the western Mediterranean. They were eminent for their skill in shipbuilding, and it was after the model of a Carthaginian galley, accidentally stranded, that the Romans built their first fleet.

The Carthaginians most commonly used *triremes*, or galleys with three banks of oars, but we read of their using ships with five banks, and in one instance with seven. The rowers were composed of slaves bought by the state for this particular purpose, and as they required constant practice, formed a permanent body, which was not disbanded in time of peace. The office of admiral was rarely united to that of general, and the naval commanders, even when acting in concert with the military, received their orders direct from the senate.

Carthage supported numerous land armies; but, unlike most other ancient states, its forces were chiefly composed of mercenaries and slaves; the citizens themselves, engrossed by commercial pursuits, were unwilling to encounter the hardships and perils of a campaign. There was, however, always one Carthaginian corps, which was regarded as the pride of the army.

Section III.—*History of Carthage from the Foundation of the City to the Commencement of the Syracusan Wars.*

from b. c. 880 to b. c. 416.

Di'do, after having escaped from the tyranny of her brother Pygmálion, chose for her new country the Carthaginian peninsula. She is said to have acquired by a fraudulent purchase, the ground on which the city was built; but this legend is unworthy of serious notice. At

first the Carthaginians were compelled to pay tribute to the neighboring barbarian princes; but when their riches and strength increased, they shook of this degrading yoke, and extended their dominion by the subjection of the nearest native tribes in the interior, and by new establishments along the coasts. The more ancient Phœnician colonies, such as U'tica and Lep'tis, far from feeling jealous of the rising power of Carthage, joined in a federation, of which the new city was recognised as the head. The Greek settlers at Cyréne, whose state had attained great commercial prosperity, viewed the Carthaginians with more jealousy, and war soon broke out between the rival cities.

While the Persian empire was rising into importance in the east, Carthage was fast acquiring supremacy over the western world, chiefly by means of the family of Mágo—a family that held the chief power of the state for more than a century. But just as they were rising into eminence, they had to encounter a formidable enemy in the western Mediterranean, whose proved skill and courage threatened dangerous rivalry. This led to one of the first naval engagements recorded in history, and arose from the following circumstances:—

After Cy'rus had overthrown Crœ'sus, he intrusted the subjugation of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor to Har'pagus, one of his generals, and returned to complete the conquest of Babylónia. One of the first places against which Har'pagus directed his efforts was Phocæ'a, the most northern city of Iónia (B. C. 589). Its inhabitants were celebrated for their commercial enterprise and skill in navigation; they had frequently visited the coast of Spain, and ventured beyond the pillars of Hercules. But they had not strength to resist the myriads of Persia; and when summoned by Har'pagus, they begged for a short interval to deliberate on his proposals. During this period, they embarked their wives, children, and moveable property, on board their galleys, and abandoned the naked walls of their city to the Persians. They proceeded to the island of Cor'sica, part of which was already occupied by the Carthaginians, and prepared to establish themselves on its coasts. The Carthaginians and the Tyrrhenians, or Tuscans, dreading the rivalry of the enterprising Phocæans, entered into an alliance for their destruction, and sent a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail to drive them from Cor'sica. The Phocæans, with half the number of vessels, gained a brilliant victory; but, conscious that their numbers were too weak to sustain repeated attacks, they abandoned Cor'sica for the shores of Gaul, where they founded the city of Marseilles.

In the year that the Tarquins were expelled, a treaty was concluded between the republics of Rome and Carthage (B. C. 509); from the terms of which it appears that the Carthaginians were already supreme masters of the northern coast of Africa and the island of Sardinia, and that they possessed the Balearic islands, and a considerable portion of Sicily and Spain.

Ever since the seafight off Cor'sica, the Carthaginians had a jealous dread of Grecian valor and enterprise, which was naturally aggravated by the increasing wealth and power of the Greek colonies in Sicily and southern Italy. When Xer'xes, therefore, was preparing to invade Hel'las, they readily entered into alliance with the Persian monarch, and agreed to attack the colonies, while he waged war against

the parent state. An armament was accordingly prepared, whose magnitude shows the extensive power, and resources of Carthage. It consisted of two thousand ships of war, three thousand transports and vessels of burden, and a land army amounting to three hundred thousand men. The command of the whole was intrusted to Hamil'car, the head of the illustrious family of Mágo. This immense army consisted chiefly of African mercenaries, and was composed of what are called light troops. They were, however, wholly undisciplined, and if defeated in the first onset could rarely be persuaded to renew the attack.

A landing was effected, without loss, at Panor'mus (the modern Palermo); and when the troops were refreshed, Hamil'car advanced and laid close siege to Himéra. The governor Théron, made a vigorous defence, though pressed not only by the overwhelming forces of the enemy, but by the still more grievous pressure of famine. Foreseeing, however, that the town, unless speedily relieved, must be forced to surrender, he sent an urgent request for assistance to Syracuse.

Gélon, king of Syracuse, could only collect about five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot. With this very disproportionate force he marched against the Carthaginians, to take advantage of any opportunity that fortune might offer. On his road he fortunately captured a messenger from the Selinuntines to Hamil'car, promising on a certain day to join him with the auxiliary force of cavalry that he had demanded. Though his forces were formidable, in point of numbers, Hamil'car was too prudent to trust such undisciplined hordes, unless aided by regular soldiers, and had therefore offered large bribes to win over some of the Grecian states in Sicily to his side. The Selinuntines alone listened to his terms, and promised to aid him against their old enemies the Syracusans. Gélon sent the letter forward to Hamil'car; and having taking measures to intercept the treacherous Selinuntines, he despatched a chosen body of his own troops to the Carthaginian camp in their stead at the specified time. The Syracusans being admitted without any suspicion, suddenly galloped to the general's tent, slew Hamil'car and his principal officers, and then, hurrying to the harbor, set fire to the fleet. The blaze of the burning vessels, the cries of Hamil'car's servants, and the shouts of the Syracusans, threw the whole Carthaginian army into confusion; in the midst of which they were attacked by Gélon with the rest of his forces. Without leaders and without command, the Carthaginians could make no effective resistance; more than half of the invaders fell in the field; the remainder, without arms and without provisions, sought shelter in the interior of the country, where most of them perished. It is remarkable that this great victory was won on the same day that the battle of Thermop'ylæ was fought, and the Persian fleet defeated at Artemis'ium; three of the noblest triumphs obtained in the struggle for Grecian freedom (B. C. 480).

The miserable remnant of the Carthaginian troops rallied under Gis'gon, the son of Hamil'car; but the new general found it impossible to remedy the disorganization occasioned by the late defeat, and was forced to surrender at discretion.

For seventy years after this defeat, little is known of the history of Carthage, except that during that period the state greatly extended its power over the native tribes of Africa, and gained important acquisi-

tions of territory from the Cyrenians. Sicily was, in the meantime, the scene of a war which threatened total annihilation to Syracuse, the Athenians having invaded the island, and laid siege to that city. But when the Athenians were totally defeated (B. C. 416), the Carthaginians had their attention once more directed to Sicilian politics by an embassy from the Segestans, seeking their protection against the Syracusans, whose wrath they had provoked by their alliance with the Athenians.

SECTION IV.—*History of Carthage during the Sicilian Wars.*

FROM B. C. 416 TO B. C. 264.

THE Carthaginians gladly seized the pretext afforded them by the Segestan embassy; and a new expedition was sent against Sicily, under the command of Han'nibal, the son of Gis'gon. This new invasion was crowned with success; Selinun'tum and Himéra were taken by storm, and their inhabitants put to the sword. The Sicilians solicited a truce, which was granted on terms extremely favorable to the Carthaginians.

So elated was the state at this success, that nothing less than the entire subjugation of Sicily was contemplated. In'ules, the son of Han'no, and Han'nibal, at the head of a powerful armament, proceeded to besiege Agrigen'tum, the second city of the island. During the siege, which lasted eight months, the assailants suffered severely from pestilential disease, and the garrison from famine. After having endured with wonderful patience the severest extremities of famine, the Agrigentines forced their way through the enemies' lines by night, and retreated to Géla, abandoning the aged, the sick, and the wounded, to the mercy of the Carthaginians. Himil'co, who had succeeded to the chief command on the death of his father Han'nibal, ordered these helpless victims to be massacred. Géla soon shared the fate of Agrigen'tum; and Diony'sius I., the king of Syracuse, who had taken the command of the confederated Sicilians, deemed it prudent to open negotiations for peace. A treaty was concluded (B. C. 405), which neither party intended to observe longer than the necessary preparations for a more decisive contest would require. Scarcely were the Carthaginians withdrawn, when Diony'sius sent deputies to all the Greek states in Sicily, exhorting them by a simultaneous effort to expel all intruders, and secure their future independence. His machinations were successful; the Carthaginian merchants who, on the faith of the late treaty, had settled in the principal commercial town, were perfidiously massacred; while Diony'sius, at the head of a powerful army, captured several of the most important Carthaginian fortresses.

All the forces that the wealth of Carthage could procure were speedily collected to punish this treachery; and Himil'co advanced against Syracuse, and laid siege to it with the fairest prospects of success. But a plague of such uncommon virulence broke out in the Carthaginian camp, that the living were unable to bury the dead, and information of this state of things being conveyed to Sy'racuse, Diony'sius sallied forth with all his forces, and assaulted the Carthaginian camp. Scarce

any attempt was made at resistance: night alone put an end to the slaughter; and when morning dawned, Himil'co found that nothing but a speedy surrender could save him and his followers from total ruin. He stipulated only for the lives of himself and the Carthaginians, abandoning all his auxiliaries to the vengeance of the Syracusans.

The Carthaginians sent another armament, commanded by Mágo, a nobleman of high rank, to retrieve their losses in Sicily; but their forces were routed with great slaughter, and the leader slain. The younger Mágo, son of the late general, having received a strong reinforcement from Africa, hazarded a second engagement, in which the Syracusans were totally defeated. Diony'sius was induced by this overthrow to solicit a peace, which was concluded on terms honorable to both parties.

The conclusion of the Sicilian war was followed by a plague, which destroyed multitudes of the citizens of Carthage (B. C. 347); and scarcely had this visitation passed away, when insurrections broke out in the African provinces, and in the colonies of Sicily and Sardinia. But the Carthaginian senate showed itself equal to the crisis; by a course of policy in which firmness was tempered by conciliation, these dangers were averted, and the state restored to its former vigor and prosperity.

In the meantime, Sy'racuse was weakened by the death of Diony'sius I., who, though stigmatized as a tyrant by the Greek historians, appears to have been a wise and prudent sovereign. "No one," said Scip'io Africánus, "ever concerted his schemes with more wisdom, or executed them with more energy, than the elder Diony'sius." His son, Diony'sius II., was a profligate prince, whose excesses filled the state with tumult and distraction. The Carthaginians eagerly embraced the opportunity of accomplishing the favorite object of their policy, the conquest of Sicily; and a great armament was prepared, of which Mágo was appointed the chief commander.

Mágo, at the very first attack, made himself master of the harbor of Sy'racuse. The Syracusans, destitute of money, of arms, and almost of hope, solicited the aid of the Corinthians; and Timóleon, one of the greatest generals and purest patriots of antiquity, was sent to their assistance. A great portion of the Carthaginian army had been levied in the Greek colonies; Timóleon, hoping to work on their patriotic feelings, addressed letters to the leaders of these mercenaries, expostulating with them on the disgrace of bearing arms against their countrymen: and though he did not prevail on any to desert, yet Mágo, having heard of these intrigues, felt such distrust of his followers, that he at once abandoned Sy'racuse, and returned home.

Great was the indignation of the Carthaginians at this unexpected termination of the campaign; Mágo committed suicide to escape their wrath. New forces were raised to retrieve their losses in Sicily; two generals, Han'nibal and Hamil'car were appointed to the command, and were intrusted with an army of seventy thousand men, and a fleet consisting of two hundred war-galleys, and a thousand ships of burden.

Timóleon hasted to meet the invaders, though his forces barely amounted to seven thousand men. He unexpectedly attacked the Carthaginian army on its march, near the river Crimísus; and the confu-

sion produced by the surprise terminated in a total rout. The Syracusans captured town after town, until at length the senate of Carthage was forced to solicit peace, and accept the terms dictated by the conqueror.

While Carthage was thus unfortunate abroad, her liberties at home narrowly escaped destruction. Han'no, one of the principal leaders of the state, resolved to make himself master of his country by poisoning the leaders of the senate at a banquet. This diabolical plot was frustrated by a timely discovery, and the exasperated traitor resolved to hazard an open rebellion. Having armed his slaves, to the number of twenty thousand, he took the field, and invited the native African tribes to join his standard. This appeal was disregarded; and before Han'no could levy fresh forces, he was surrounded by an army hastily raised, his followers routed, and himself made prisoner. He was put to death with the most cruel tortures; and, according to the barbarous custom of Carthage, his children and nearest relatives shared the same fate.

New dissensions in Sy'racuse afforded the Carthaginians a fresh pretext for meddling in the affairs of Sicily. Agathoc'les, an intriguing demagogue of mean birth, had acquired great influence among his countrymen, and, finally, by the secret aid of the Carthaginians, became master of the state. But he soon showed little regard for the ties of gratitude, and declared his resolution to expel his benefactors from the island. The Carthaginian senate immediately sent Hamil'car with a powerful army against this new enemy. Agathoc'les was completely defeated, and forced to shut himself up within the walls of Sy'racuse. The city was soon closely invested, and everything seemed to promise Hamil'car complete success at no distant day, when Agathoc'les suddenly baffled all his calculations, by adopting one of the most extraordinary measures recorded in history. Having assembled the Syracusans, he declared that he could liberate them from all dangers, if an army and a small sum of money were placed at his disposal; adding, that his plan would be instantly defeated, if its nature was divulged. An army of liberated slaves was hastily levied, the sum of fifty talents intrusted to his discretion, and a fleet prepared in secret; when all was ready, Agathoc'les announced his design of transporting his forces into Africa, and compelling the Carthaginians, by the dread of a nearer danger, to abandon Sicily.

Having eluded the vigilance of the blockading squadron, Agathoc'les arrived safely in Africa before the Carthaginians had received the slightest notion of his intention (B. C. 309). To inspire his soldiers with a resolution to conquer or die, he cut off all chance of retreat by burning his transports; then fearlessly advancing, he stormed Túnis and several other cities, the plunder of which he divided among his soldiers, and instigated the African princes to throw off the yoke of Carthage. Han'no and Bomil'car were sent to check the progress of this daring invader, with forces nearly four times as great as the Sicilian army; but Agathoc'les did not decline the engagement. His valor was rewarded by a decisive victory. Following up his success, Agathoc'les stormed the enemies' camp, where were found heaps of fetters and chains, which the Carthaginians, confident of success, had prepared for the invading army.

Dreadful consternation was produced in Carthage by the news of this unexpected defeat. Hamil'car, who was vigorously pressing forward the siege of Sy'racuse, was surprised by the unexpected order to return home and defend his own country. He broke up the siege, and sent home five thousand of his best troops. Having supplied their place by hiring fresh mercenaries, he again invaded the Syracusan territories; but was unexpectedly attacked, defeated, and slain.

Ophel'las, king of Cyrene, had joined Agathoc'les with all his forces; but the Syracusan monarch, jealous of his influence, had him privately poisoned. Having thus removed his rival, he thought he might safely revisit Sicily, and intrust the command of the African army to his son. But, during his absence, the fruits of all his former labors were lost: the army under a young and inexperienced general, threw aside the restraints of discipline; the Greek estates, indignant at the murder of Ophel'las, withheld their contingents; and the African princes renewed their allegiance to Carthage. Agathoc'les hearing of these disorders, hasted to remedy them: but finding all his efforts vain, he fled back to Sicily, abandoning both his sons and his soldiers. The army, exasperated by his desertion, slew their leaders, and surrendered themselves to the Carthaginians; and Agathoc'les died soon after, either from grief or poison.

After the death of this formidable enemy, the Carthaginians renewed their intrigues in Sicily, and soon acquired a predominant influence in the island. Finding themselves in danger of utter ruin, the Greek colonies solicited the aid of Pyr'rhus, king of Epirus, who had married a daughter of Agathoc'les, and was then in Italy endeavoring to protect the colonies of Magna Græ'cia from the increasing power of the Romans (B. C. 277). Pyr'rhus made a very successful campaign in Sicily, every Carthaginian town, except Lilybæ'um, submitted to his arms. But he was soon induced to return to Italy; and the fruits of his victories were lost almost as rapidly as they had been acquired, notwithstanding the heroic exertions of Hiero, king of Sy'racuse.

SECTION V.—*From the Commencement of the Roman Wars to the Destruction of Carthage.*

FROM B. C. 264 TO B. C. 146.

WHEN Pyr'rhus was leaving Sicily, he exclaimed to his attendants, "What a fine field of battle we are leaving to the Carthaginians and Romans?" His prediction was soon verified, though the circumstances that precipitated the contest were apparently of little importance. A body of mercenaries in the pay of Agathoc'les, after the death of that monarch, treacherously got possession of Messina, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Hiero, king of Sy'racuse, marched against the Mamertines, as the independent companies that had seized Messina were called, and defeated them in the field. Half the Mamertines invoked the aid of the Carthaginians, and placed them in immediate possession of the citadel, while the others sought the powerful protection of Rome. After much hesitation, the Romans consented to grant the required aid. The citadel of Messina was taken after a brief siege, and the Carthaginians were routed with great slaughter. Thus com-

menced the first Punic war, which lasted twenty-three years, the details of which will be found in the chapters on Roman history.

In this war Carthage lost Sicily, and its supremacy in the western Mediterranean, which involved the fate of all its other insular possessions. The treasury was exhausted, and money was wanting to pay the arrears due to the soldiers. The mercenaries mutinied, and advancing in a body, laid siege to Tú'nis. Thence they marched against U'tica, while the light African cavalry that had joined in the rebellion ravaged the country up to the very gates of Carthage. The revolters were subdued; but not until they had reduced the fairest provinces of the republic to a desert. The mercenaries in Sardinia had also thrown off their allegiance; and the Romans, in violation of the recent peace, took possession of the island; an injury which Carthage was unable to resent.

Hamil'car Bar'ca,* grieved to see his country sinking, formed a project for raising it once more to an equality with its imperious rival, by completely subduing the Spanish peninsula. His son Han'nibal, then a boy only nine years of age, earnestly besought leave to accompany his father on this expedition; but before granting the request, Hamil'car led the boy to the altar, and made him swear eternal hostility to Rome.

During nine years Hamil'car held the command in Spain, and found means, either by force or negotiation, to subdue almost the entire country. He used the treasures he acquired to strengthen the influence of the Barcan family in the state, relying chiefly on the democracy for support against his great rival Han'no, who had the chief influence among the nobility.

Has'drubal, the son-in-law of Hamil'car, succeeded to his power and his projects. He is suspected of having designed to establish an independent kingdom in Spain, after having failed to make himself absolute in Carthage. He built a new capital with regal splendor, which received the name of New Carthage; the richest silver-mines were opened in its neighborhood, and enormous bribes were sent to Carthage to disarm jealousy or stifle inquiry. Unlike other Carthaginian governors of provinces, he made every possible exertion to win the affections of the native Spaniards, and he married the daughter of one of their kings. The Romans were at length alarmed by his success, and compelled him to sign a treaty, by which he was bound to abstain from passing the Ibérus (Ebro), or attacking the territory of the Saguntines.

When Has'drubal fell by the dagger of an assassin, the Barcan family had sufficient influence to have Han'nibal appointed his successor, though he had barely attained his legal majority (B. C. 221). The youthful general having gained several victories over the Spaniards, boldly laid siege to Sagun'tum, and thus caused the second war with the Romans, for the details of which we must refer to the chapters on Roman history.

During the course of this war, the Carthaginian navy, the source of its greatness and the security of its strength, was neglected. The spirit of party also raged violently in Carthage itself. At the conclusion of the

* Barca signifies "thunder" in the Phœnician language, and also in Hebrew, which is closely allied to Phœnician. The Hebrew root is ברק to thunder.

war, Carthage was deprived of all her possessions out of Africa, and her fleet was delivered into the hands of the Romans. Thenceforward Carthage was to be nothing more than a commercial city under the protection of Rome. A powerful rival also was raised against the republic in Africa itself by the alliance of the Numidian king Massinis'sa with the Romans; and that monarch took possession of most of the western Carthaginian colonies.

Han'nibal, notwithstanding his late reverses, continued at the head of the Carthaginian state, and reformed several abuses that had crept into the management of the finances and the administration of justice. But these judicious reforms provoked the enmity of the factious nobles who had hitherto been permitted to fatten on public plunder; they joined with the old rivals of the Barcan family, and even degraded themselves so far as to act as spies for the Romans, who still dreaded the abilities of Han'nibal. In consequence of their machinations the old general was forced to fly from the country he had so long labored to serve; and, after several vicissitudes, died of poison, to escape the mean and malignant persecution of the Romans, whose hatred followed him in his exile, and compelled the king of Bithynia to refuse him protection. The mound which marks his last resting-place is still a remarkable object.

But the Carthaginians had soon reason to lament the loss of their champion: the Romans were not conciliated by the expulsion of Han'nibal; and Massinis'sa, relying upon their support, made frequent incursions into the territories of the republic. Both parties complained of each other as aggressors before the Roman senate (B. C. 162); but though they received an equal hearing, the decision was long previously settled in favor of Massinis'sa. While these negotiations were pending, Carthage was harassed by political dissension; the popular party —believing, and not without reason, that the low estate of the republic was chiefly owing to the animosity that the aristocratic faction had shown to the Barcan family, and especially to Han'nibal, on account of his financial and judicial reform—convened a tumultuous assembly, and sent forty of the pricipal senators into banishment, exacting an oath from the citizens that they would never permit their return. The exiles sought refuge with Massinis'sa, who sent his sons to intercede with the Carthaginian populace in their favor. The Numidian princes were not only refused admittance to the city, but ignominiously chased from their territory. Such an insult naturally provoked a fresh war, in which the Carthaginians were defeated, and forced to submit to the most onerous conditions.

The Roman senate, continually solicited by the elder Cato, at length came to the resolution of totally destroying Carthage; but it was difficult to discover a pretext for war against a state which, conscious of its weakness, had resolved to obey every command. The Carthaginians gave up three hundred of their noblest youths as hostages, surrendered their ships-of-war and their magazines of arms; but when, after all these concessions, they were ordered to abandon their city, they took courage from despair, and absolutely refused obedience. War was instantly proclaimed; the Romans met with almost uninterrupted success; and at the close of the four years that the war lasted, Carthage

was taken by storm, and its magnificent edifices levelled with the ground.

Section VI.—*Navigation, Trade, and Commerce of Carthage.*

The colonial and commercial policy of the Carthaginians was far less generous than that of their ancestors, the Phœnicians; the harbors of the capital were open to the ships and merchants of foreign nations, but admission was either wholly refused to all the remaining ports in the territory of the republic, or subjected to the most onerous restrictions. This selfish system, which has been imitated by too many modern commercial states, was forced upon the Carthaginians by peculiar circumstances. Their trade with the barbarous tribes of Africa was carried on principally by barter; the ignorant savages exchanged valuable commodities for showy trifles; and the admission of competition would at once have shown them how much they lost in the exchange. Had the Carthaginians, under such circumstances, permitted free trade, they would, in fact, have destroyed their own market.

The principal commerce of the Carthaginians in the western Mediterranean was with the Greek colonies in Sicily and the south of Italy, from which they obtained wine and oil, in exchange for negro slaves, precious stones, and gold, procured from the interior of Africa, and also for cotton cloths manufactured at Carthage and in the island of Malta. Cor'sica supplied honey, wax, and slaves; Sardinia yielded abundance of corn; the Balearic islands produced the best breed of mules; resin and volcanic products, such as sulphur and pumice-stone, were obtained from the Lipari islands; and southern Spain was, as we have already said, the chief source whence the nations of antiquity procured the precious metals.

Beyond the pillars of Hercules the Carthaginians succeeded the Phœnicians in the tin and amber trade with the south British islands and the nations at the entrance of the Baltic. After the destruction of Carthage, this trade fell into the hands of their earliest rivals, the Phocæans of Marseilles, who changed its route; they made their purchases on the north shore of Gaul, and conveyed their goods overland to the mouth of the Rhone, in that age a journey of thirty days.

On the west coast of Africa the Carthaginian colonies studded the shores of Morocco and Fez; but their great mart was the island of Cer'ne, now Suána, in the Atlantic ocean (29° 10′ N. lat., 10° 40′ W. long.). On this island was the great depôt of merchandise; and goods were transported from it in light barks to the opposite coast, where they were bartered with the native inhabitants. The Carthaginian exports were trinkets, saddlery, linen, or more probably, cotton webs, pottery, and arms; for which they received undressed hides and elephants' teeth. To this trade was added a very lucrative fishery: the tunny fish (*thynnus scomber*), which is still plentiful on the northwestern coast of Africa, was deemed a great luxury by the Carthaginians. There is every reason to believe that these enterprising merchants had some intercourse with the coast of Guinea, and that their navigators advanced beyond the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia; but the caution with which everything respecting this trade was concealed, renders it impossible to determine its nature and extent with accuracy.

It is very difficult to discover any particulars respecting the caravan-trade which the Carthaginians carried on from their southern settlements with the interior of Africa. From the districts bordering on the desert the chief articles obtained were dates and salt; but from beyond the desert, the imports were negro slaves and gold-dust. The nature of this lucrative commerce was the more easily concealed, as the caravans were formed not at Carthage, but at remote towns in the interior, and all the chief staples were situated on the confines of the Great Desert.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOUNDATION OF

THE GRECIAN STATES.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline of Hellas.*

Greece was bounded on the north by the Cambúnian mountains, which separated it from Macedónia; on the east by the Ægean, on the south by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Ionian seas. Its extent from north to south was about two hundred and twenty geographical miles, from east to west one hundred and sixty miles, and consequently its area was about 34,000 square miles; making a small, indeed too small, a reduction for the irregularity of its outline. No European country was so advantageously situated; on the eastern side, the Ægean sea, studded with islands, brought it into close contact with Asia Mínor and the Phœnician frontiers; the voyage to Egypt was neither long nor difficult, though it afforded not so many resting-places to the mariners; and from the west there was a short and easy passage to Italy. The entire line of this extensive coast was indented with bays and harbors, offering every facility for navigation; while the two great gulfs that divided Hel'las, or northern Greece, from the Peloponnésus, or southern Greece, must have, in the very earliest ages, forced naval affairs on the attention of the inhabitants.

Nature herself has formed three great divisions of this very remarkable country. The Saronic and Corinthian gulfs sever the Peloponnésus from Hel'las; and this latter is divided into two nearly equal portions, northern and southern, by the chain of Mount Œ'ta, which traverses it obliquely, severing Thes'saly and Epírus from central Hel'las.

Thes'saly, the largest of all the Grecian provinces, may be generally described as an extensive table-land, enclosed on three sides by the mountains, and by the Ægean sea, close to whose shores rise the lofty peaks of Os'sa and Olym'pus. Its principal, indeed almost its only river, is the Péneus, which rises in Mount Pin'dus, and flowing in an easterly direction, falls into the Ægean sea. Thes'saly was ruined by its natural wealth; the inhabitants rioted in sensual enjoyments; anarchy and tyranny followed each other in regular succession; and thus Thes'saly prepared for the yoke of a master, was the first to submit to the Persian invaders, and afterward to the Macedonian Philip.

Epirus was, next to Thes'saly, the largest of the Grecian provinces; but it was also the least cultivated. It was divided into two provinces; Molos'sis, and Thesprótia. The interior of Epírus is traversed by wild

and uncultivated mountains. The wildness of the country, and the rudeness of the inhabitants, have given occasion to the Greeks to represent the rivers Ach'eron and Cocȳtus, which flow into the gulf of Acherúsia, as rivers belonging to the infernal regions. Its oxen and horses were unrivalled; and it was also celebrated for a large breed of dogs, called Molossin, whose ferocity is still remarked by the traveller.

Central Greece, or Hel'las, contained nine countries: 1, At'tica; 2, Meg'aris; 3, Bœótia; 4, Phócis; 5, eastern Lócris; 6, western Lócris; 7, Doris; 8, Ætólia; 9, Acarnánia.

At'tica is a headland extending in a southeasterly direction about sixty-three miles into the Ægean sea. It is about twenty-five miles broad at its base, whence it gradually tapers toward a point, until it ends in the rocky promontory of Súnium (*Cape Colonna*), on the summit of which stood a celebrated temple of Minerva. It was not a fertile country, never being able to produce sufficient corn for the support of its inhabitants; but it had rich silver mines in Mount Lárium, excellent marble quarries in Mount Pentel'icus, and the ranges of hills, by which it is intersected in every direction, produced abundance of aromatic plants, from which swarms of industrious bees formed the most celebrated honey.

Mega'ris, the smallest of the Grecian territories, lay west of At'tica, close to the Corinthian isthmus. It capital was Meg'ara, a town of considerable strength.

Bœótia was a large plain, almost wholly surrounded by mountains: it was divided by Cithæ'ron from At'tica, a mountain celebrated by the poets for the mystic orgies of Bac'chus, the metamorphosis of Actæ'on, the death of Pen'theus, and the exposure of Œ'dipus. On the west were the chains of Parnas'sus and Hel'icon, sacred to the Muses, separating it from Phócis; and on the north it was divided from eastern Lócris by a prolongation of the chain of Mount Cnémis. On the east was Mount Ptoüs, extending to the Eurípus, a narrow strait that divides the island of Eubœ'a from the mainland. The climate was cloudy, and the soil marshy, as might be conjectured from the position of the country; but it was a fertile and well-watered district, and the most densely populated in Greece.

Phócis, a district of moderate size and unequal shape, extended from the mountain chains of Œ'ta and Cnémis, southward to the Corinthian gulf. It contained several important mountain-passes between northern and southern Greece, the chief of which, near the capital city Elateía, was early occupied by Philip in his second invasion of Hel'las. Mounts Hel'icon and Parnas'sus, and the fountains of Aganippé and Hippocrené, are names familiar to every reader of poetry; and these, with the temple and oracle of Del'phi, render the soil of Phócis sacred. Del'phi (*Castri*) was situated on the south side of Mount Parnas'sus, overshadowed by its double peak; and above the city was the magnificent temple of Apol'lo. Here, under the patronage of the god, were collected all the masterpieces of Grecian art in countless abundance, together with costly offerings from nations, cities, and kings. Here the Amphictyonic council promulgated the first maxims of the law of nations; here the Pythian games, scarcely inferior to those of Olympia,

exercised the Grecian youth in athletic contests; while the poets, assembled round the Castalian fountain, chanted their rival odes in noble emulation.

East Lócris extends along the Eurípus: it was inhabited by two tribes, the Opun'tii and Epicnemid'ii, deriving their names from Mounts O'pus and Cnémis. The most remarkable place in the province is the pass of Thermop'ylæ, so memorable for the gallant stand made there by Leon'idas against the Persian myriads.

Western Lócris, separated by Phócis from the eastern province, joined the bay of Cor'inth; its inhabitants were called Ozólae.

The mountainous district of *Dòris*, though a small territory, was the parent of many powerful states. The province was enclosed between the southern ridge of Œ'ta and the northern extremity of Mount Parnas'sus.

Ætólia extended from Mount Œ'ta to the Ionian sea, having the Locrian territory on the east, and the river Achelóüs on the west.

Acarnánia, the most western country of Hel'las, lay west of the river Achelóüs, from which it extended to the Ambracian gulf. It was very thickly covered with wood; and the inhabitants remained barbarians after other branches of the Hel'lenic race had become the instructers of the world.

Section II.—*Geographical Outline of the Peloponnésus.*

Southern Greece, anciently called the A'pian land, was named the Peloponnésus in honor of Pélops, who is said to have introduced the arts of peace into that peninsula from Asia Minor. It consists of a mountainous range in the centre, whence hills branch out in various directions, several of which extend to the sea. Its modern name, the Moréa, is derived from its resemblance to a mulberry leaf, which that word signifies. It was divided into eight countries, 1, Arcádia; 2, Lacónia; 3, Messénia; 4, E'lis; 5, Ar'golis; 6, Achaia; 7, Sicyónia; and 8, the Corinthian territory.

Arcádia, so renowned in poetical traditions, occupied the central mountainous district of the Peloponnésus, nowhere bordering on the sea. It resembles Switzerland in appearance; and this similarity may be extended to the character of the inhabitants, both being remarkable for their love of freedom and their love of money. Arcádia is supposed by many writers to have been the cradle of the Pelasgic race; but though this is doubtful, it certainly was retained by that people long after the Hel'lenes had occupied every other part of Greece.

Lacónia occupied the southeastern division of the Peloponnésus: it was rugged and mountainous, but was nevertheless so densely inhabited, that it is said to have contained nearly a hundred towns and villages. The chief city, Spar'ta, on the river Eurótas, remained for many ages without walls or gates, its defence being intrusted to the valor of its citizens; but fortifications were erected when it fell under the sway of despotic rulers.

Messénia lay to the west of Lacónia, and was more level and fruitful than that province. Mes'sene (*Mauromati*), the capital, was a strongly-fortified town; and when the country was subjugated by Spar'-

ta, its citizens escaping to Sicily gave the name of their old metropolis to the principal town of the colony they formed, which it still retains with very slight alteration.

Ar'golis was a foreland on the south side of the Saronic gulf, opposite At'tica, and not unlike it in shape, extending southward from Arcádia fifty-four miles into the Ægean sea, and terminating in the Scyllæan promontory. The chief chief city was Argos, on the river In'achus, a stream that had disappeared even in ancient times. During the reign of Perseus the seat of government was transferred to Mycénæ, the celebrated city of Agamem'non; but soon after the Trojan war it was besieged by the Argives, and levelled to the ground.

E'lis, in the west of the Peloponnésus, was the holy land of Greece. It was safe from the din of arms; and when bands of warriors traversed the sacred soil, they laid aside their weapons. It was subdivided into three districts: the northern, named E'lis Proper, from the chief city of the province. The central district, Pisátis, was named from the city of Pisa, in the neighborhood of which the Olympic games were celebrated every five years.

The maritime district occupying the northwestern portion of the Peloponnésus was originally called Ægí'lus, or Ægialeía, either from some hero, or from its situation on the coast. Its inhabitants were afterward blended with a colony of Ionians from Africa, when it took the name of Ióna; but these being subsequently expelled by the Achæans, it received and retained the denomination of *Achaia*, by which it is best known in history. It was a narrow strip of country, watered by a multitude of mountain-streams, which descended from the lofty Arcadian ridges; but it was not eminent either for fertility or population. The inhabitants were a peaceful, industrious people, aspiring to neither eminence in war nor literature, but attached to liberty, and governed by wise laws.

The territory of *Sicyónia*, frequently regarded as a part of Achaia, was remarkable only for the city of Sic'yon, the most ancient in Greece, having been founded more than two thousand years before the Christian era.

The Peloponnésus was connected with Hel'las by the *Corinthian* isthmus, having the Saronic gulf on the eastern side, and the Corinthian on the western. Several attempts were made to join these seas by a canal; but the nature of the ground to be cut through presented insuperable difficulties; and hence "to cut the Corinthian isthmus" was a proverbial expression for aiming at impossibilities. On this narrow pass the Isthmian games were celebrated in honor of Neptune, near the national temple of that deity, which stood in the midst of a grove of fir-trees. Here also a stand has frequently been made in defence of the liberties of Greece; the narrowness of the isthmus easily admitting of fortification. At the south of the isthmus stood the wealthy city of Corinth, anciently called Ephy're, more than four miles in extent: it was erected at the foot of a lofty hill, called the Ac'ro-Corin'thus, on which the citadel was built. This was the strongest fortress in Greece, and perhaps no other spot in the world afforded so brilliant a prospect. The Corinthian territory was one of the smallest in Greece; but commerce, not dominion, secured the strength of Corinth, and trade render-

ed it rich and powerful; like Venice, whose prosperity was never greater than when the republic possessed not a single square mile on the continent.

SECTION III.—*The Grecian Islands in the Ægean and Mediterranean Seas.*

THE Thracian islands occupy the north of the Ægean sea: the principal were, Thásos, Sam'othrace, and Im'brus.

Opposite to Im'brus, on the Asiatic coast, at the entrance of Hellespont, was the island of Ten'edos, remarkable for a temple dedicated to Apollo, under the name of Smin'theus.

Southwest of Ten'edos was Lem'nos (*Stalimene*), dedicated to Hephæs'tus or Vulcan, because the poets asserted that Vulcan, when flung from heaven by Jupiter, had fallen in this island. South of these were Scíathus (*Sciatica*). Scop'elos (*Scopelo*), and Scỳros (*Skiro*), where Achilles was concealed by Thetis.

South of Ten'edos, and opposite the city of Eph'esus, on the Asiatic coast, was Lesbos (*Metelin*). Further to the south was Chíos (*Scio*), whose wines were deemed the best in the ancient world. It also contained quaries of beautiful marble.

The largest island in the Ægean was Eubœ'a (*Egripo*), separated from the Bœotian coast by a narrow strait called the Eurípus, which is now choked up.

In the Saronic gulf were the islands of Sal'amis and Ægína.

Southeast of Eubœ'a were the Cyc'lades, a cluster of islands deriving their name from their nearly forming a circle round the island of Délos. Orty'gia, or Délos, is celebrated in mythology as the birthplace of Apol'lo and Dian'a.

The other remarkable islands in this group were An'dros; Céos; Páros, celebrated for its white marble; Mélos; Nax'os, sacred to Bac'chus; and I'os, said to have been the burial-place of Homer.

East of the Cyc'lades, and close along the Asiatic coast, was another cluster of islands called the Spor'ades, from their being irregularly scattered over the sea. The chief of these were, Sámos, sacred to Juno, and the birthplace of the philosopher Pythag'oras; Pat'mos, where St. John wrote the Revelations; Cos, the native country of the celebrated physician Hippocrates; Car'pathus (*Scarpanto*), which gave name to the Carpathian sea; and Rhodes.

Creté (*Candia*), the largest of the Grecian islands except Eubœa, lies at the entrance of the Ægean. In ancient times it was celebrated for its hundred cities. Northeast of Creté is Cy'prus, the favorite island of Venus, whose Paphian bower is not yet forgotten in song, and whose loveliness has been celebrated by poets of every age and nation.

SECTION IV.—*The Ionian Islands.*

CORCY'RA, formerly called Drepanè (*Corfu*), is celebrated by Homer, under the name of Phæacia, for its amazing riches and fertility. It was opposite that part of Epirus named Thesprotia, from which it was separated by a narrow strait called the Corcyrean.

Leucádia (*Santa Maura*), was originally a peninsula, but the isthmus that joined it to the mainland was cut through to facilitate navigation.

The Echin'ades (*Curzolari*) were a small cluster of islands near the mouth of the river Achelóus, of which the most celebrated was Dulichium, part of the kingdom of Ulys'ses. Near it was the little island of Ith'aca (*Theaki*), immortalized by Homer.

Cephalónia, anciently called Schéria, was the largest of the western Grecian islands, and the least noted in history.

South of this was Zăcyn'thus (*Zante*), with a capital of the same name, celebrated for its fertile meads, its luxuriant woods, and its abundant fountains of bitumen.

West of the Peloponnésus are the Stroph'ades (*Strivoli*), more anciently called *Plotæ*, because they were supposed to have been floating islands; and south of them is the island of Sphactéria (*Sphagiæ*), which guards the entrance of Py'los (*Navarino*).

South of the Peloponnésus is the island of Cyth'erea (*Cerigo*), sacred to Venus, and celebrated in ancient times for its fertility and beauty.

Section V.—*Social and Political Condition of Greece.*

It is useless to investigate the social condition of the Greeks in what are called the heroic ages, because we have no credible account of that period. But when the certain history of Greece commences, we find the country divided between two races, the Ionian and the Dorian, distinguished from each other by striking characteristics, which were never wholly obliterated. We know, also, that two other races, the Æolian and Achæan, existed; but they seem to have become in a great degree identified with one or other of the two former.

The Ionians were remarkable for their democratic spirit, and consequent hostility to hereditary privileges. They were vivacious, prone to excitement, easily induced to make important changes in their institutions, and proud of their country and themselves. Their love of refined enjoyments made them diligent cultivators of the fine arts, but without being destitute of martial vigor. They were favorably disposed toward commerce; but, like too many other free states, they encumbered it with short-sighted restrictions, and they were cruel masters to their colonial dependancies.

The Dorian race, on the contrary, was remarkable for the severe simplicity of its manners, and its strict adherence to ancient usages. It preferred an aristocratic form of government, and required age as a qualification for magistracy, because the old are usually opposed to innovation. They were ambitious of supremacy, and the chief object of their institutions was to maintain the warlike and almost savage spirit of the nation. Slavery in its worst form prevailed in every Dorian state; and the slaves were almost deprived of hope—for the Dorian legislation was directed chiefly to fix every man in his hereditary condition. Commerce was discouraged on account of its tendency to change the ranks of society, and the fine arts all but prohibited, because they were supposed to lead to effeminacy.

The differences between these two races is the chief characteristic

of Grecian politics; it runs, indeed, through the entire history, and was the principal cause of the deep-rooted hatred between Athens and Sparta. Next to this, the most marked feature in the political aspect of Greece is, that it contained as many free states as cities. At'tica, Meg'aris, and Lacónia, were civic rather than territorial states; but there are few of the other divisions of the country that were united under a single government. The cities of A'chaia, Arcádia, and Bœótia, were independent of each other, though the Achæan cities were united by a federative league; and Thebes generally exercised a precarious dominion over the other cities of Bœótia. The supremacy of the principal state was called by the Greeks *Hegem'ony;* it included the right of determining the foreign relations of the inferior states, and binding them to all wars in which the capital engaged, and all treaties of peace which it concluded; but it did not allow of any interference in the internal administration of each government. This parcelling out of a small country, added to the frequent revolutions, facilitated by the narrow limits of each state, necessarily led to a more rapid development of political science in Greece than in any other country.

Divided as the Greeks were, there were many circumstances that united the whole Hellenic race by a common bond of nationality. Of these the chief was unity of religion, connected with which were the national festivals and games, at which all the Hellenes, and none others, were allowed to take a share. If, as is commonly supposed, the Greeks derived the elements of their religion from Asia or Egypt, they soon made it so peculiarly their own, that it retained no features of its original source. All Asiatic deities are more or less of an elementary character; that is, they symbolize some natural object, such as the sun, the earth, an important river; or some power of nature, such as the creative, the preserving, and the destroying power. In many instances both were combined, and the visible object was associated with the latent power. On the other hand, the gods of Greece were human personages, possessing the forms and the attributes of men, though in a highly exalted degree. The paganism of Asia was consequently a religion of fear; for it was impossible to conceive deities of monstrous forms sympathizing with man: hence, also, the priesthood formed a peculiar caste; for the mystery which veiled the god was necessarily extended to the mode in which he should be worshipped.

Instead of this gloomy system, the Greeks had a religion of love; they regarded their gods as a kind of personal friends, and hence their worship was cheerful and joyous. The priesthood was open to all; the office was commonly filled for a limited time only, and was not deemed inconsistent with other occupations. There is no doubt that the Grecian religion received its peculiar form from the beautiful fictions of the poets, especially Homer and Hesiod; for in all its features it is essentially poetical. We need scarcely dwell on the beneficial effects produced by this system on the fine arts, or its facilitating the progress of knowledge, by separating religion from philosophy.

The oracles of Dodóna and Del'phi, the temples of Olym'pia and Délos, were national; they belonged to the whole Hellenic race. The responses of the oracles were more reverenced by the Dorian than the Ionian race, for the latter early emancipated itself from the trammels

of superstition. The worship in all was voluntary, and the large gifts emulously sent to them were the spontaneous offers of patriotic affection. Del'phi was under the government of the Amphictyon'ic council; but this body did not limit its attention to the government of the temple: by its influence over the oracle, it acquired no small share in the affairs of different states; and it superintended the administration of the law of nations, even when the states represented in it were engaged in war.

The great public games were the Olympian, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian. Foreigners might be spectators at these games, but Hellenes alone could contend for the prize. This right belonged to the colonies as well as to the states in the mother-country; and, as it was deemed a privilege of the highest value, it preserved the unity even of the most distant branches of the Hellenic race.

All the constitutions of the Grecian states were republican; but they varied so much in the different cities, that hardly any two were alike. In general, however, it may be stated, that in all the most severe public and private labors were intrusted to slaves; and in many, as Lacónia, agriculture was managed by them exclusively. This degraded manufacturing industry, and led to an undue depression not only of artisans and retailers, but even of master manufacturers. Foreign merchants were treated with unwise jealousy, and could never obtain the privileges of citizens. The right of coinage was reserved to the state; but it was not until a very late period that the Greeks began to pay attention to finance. Little or no taxation was necessary while the citizens served as voluntary soldiers; and the magistrates were rewarded with honor, not money. But when mercenary armies were employed, and ambassadors sent into distant lands, when the importance of a navy induced cities to outbid each other in the pay of their sailors, heavy taxes became necessary, and these brought many of the cities into great pecuniary embarrassment.

Another source of expense was the provision for public festivals and theatrical shows; to which was added, in Athens and other places, the payment of the *dicasts*, or persons analogous to our jurymen; though, instead of their number being limited to twelve, they frequently amounted to several hundreds, and had no presiding judges. This was doubly injurious; the multitude of the dicasts not only entailed a heavy expense upon the state, but the sum paid being small, few save those of the lower classes attended, whose decisions were not unfrequently guided by prejudice and passion, instead of law and justice.

The poetical nature of its religion, and the free constitution of its states, not only rendered Greece peculiarly favorable to the progress of literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, but gave these, in turn, a decided influence on the government. The tragic and lyric poets produced their pieces in honor of the gods; the comic poets at Athens discussed public affairs on the stage with a freedom, or rather licentiousness, which the wildest excesses of the modern press have never equalled; and the influence of the orators at Athens rendered them the leaders of the state.

The seeds of dissolution were thickly sown in the social system of the Greeks. The rivalry between the Dorian and Ionian races; the

turbulence and sedition natural to small republics; and the gradual decline of religion, followed by a consequent corruption of morals—rendered the duration of the constitution as brief as it was glorious.

Section VI.—*The traditional History of Greece from the earliest Ages to the Commencement of the Trojan War.*

FROM AN UNKNOWN PERIOD TO ABOUT 1200 B. C.

Sacred history, confirmed by uniform tradition, informs us that Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, were peopled at an earlier period than the other portions of the western world. The first inhabitants were tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose earliest approaches to civilization were associations for mutual defence against robber-tribes, and the Phœnician corsairs that swept the coast of the Ægean to kidnap slaves. The Pelas'gi were the first tribe that acquired supremacy in Greece: they were probably of Asiatic origin; and the first place in which they appear to have made a permanent settlement was the Peloponnésus, where they erected Sic'yon (*B. c. 2000), and Argos (*B. c. 1800). In'achus was regarded by the Pelas'gi as their founder: he was probably contemporary with Abraham; but nothing certain is known of his history.

To the Pelas'gi are attributed the remains of those most ancient monuments generally called Cyclopian. They are usually composed of enormous rude masses piled upon one another, with small stones fitted in between the intervals to complete the work. From the Peloponnésus the Pelas'gi extended themselves northward to Attica, Bœotia, and Thessaly, which they are said to have entered under three leaders, Achæ'us, Phthius, and Pelas'gus; though by these names we ought probably to understand separate tribes rather than individuals. Here they learned to apply themselves to agriculture, and continued to flourish for nearly two centuries. (From *B. c. 1700 to *B. c. 1500.)

The Hellénes, a more mild and humane race, first appeared on Mount Parnas'sus, in Phócis, under Deucálion, whom they venerated as their founder (*B. c. 1433). Being driven thence by a flood, they migrated into Thessaly, and expelled the Pelas'gi from that territory. From this time forward the Hellénes rapidly increased, and extended their dominion over the greater part of Greece, dispossessing the more ancient race, which only retained the mountainous parts of Arcádia and the land of Dodóna. Numbers of the Pelas'gi emigrated to Italy, Creté, and some of the other islands.

The Hellenic race was subdivided into four great branches, the Æolians, Ionians, Dorians, and Achæans, which, in the historic age of Greece, were characterized by many strong and marked peculiarities of dialect, customs, and political government; we may perhaps add, religious, or at least, heroic traditions, only that these appear to be connected rather with the localities in which they settled than with the stock from which they sprung. There were many smaller ramifications of the Hellenic race; but all united themselves to one or other of the four great tribes, whose names are derived from Deucálion's immediate posterity. It is the common attribute of ancient traditions to describe the achievements of a tribe or army as personal exploits of the leader;

and hence we find the history of the tribes and their migrations interwoven with the personal history of Deucálion's descendants.

Hel'len, the son of Deucálion, gave his name to the whole Hellenic race: he had three sons, Æolus, Dórus, and Xúthus; of whom the first settled in the district of Thessaly called Phthiótis, and became the founder of the Æolian tribe; the second settled in Estiæótis, and there established the Dorian tribe; the third, expelled by his brethren, migrated to Athens, where he married Creúsa, the daughter of king Erec'theus, by whom he had two sons, I'on and Achæus. After the death of Erec'theus, Xúthus was forced to remove to Ægialeía (the province of the Peloponnésus afterward called Achaia), where he died. His son I'on, the founder of the Ionian race, became general of the Athenian forces, and lord of Ægialeía, to which he gave the name of Ionia. Achæus, the founder of the Achæan race, obtained possession of the greater part of the Peloponnésus, especially Argolis and Lacónia.

The Æolian tribe spread itself over western Greece, Acarnánia, Ætolia, Phócis, Lócris, E'lis in the Peloponnésus, and the western islands. The Dorians, driven from Estiæótis by the Perrhæbians, spread themselves over Macedónia and Creté; a part of them subsequently returning, crossed Mount Œ'ta, and settled in Doris on the Doric Tetrap'olis, where they remained until they migrated into the Peloponnésus under the guidance of the Heracleídæ; an important revolution, which will soon engage our attention.

The Ionians inhabited At'tica and Ægialeía; but they were expelled from the latter by the Achæans at the time of the great Dorian migration, and the name of the country changed to Achaia. The Achæans retained Argolis and Lacónia until they were expelled by the Dorians, when, as we have just said, they established themselves in Ægialeía.

From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century before Christ, several colonies from Egypt, Phœnícia, and Phry'gia, settled in different parts of Greece, bringing with them the improvements in the arts and sciences that had been made in their respective countries, and thus greatly advancing the progress of civilization in Greece. The chief of these colonies were:—

An Egyptian colony was led from Saïs in the Del'ta to At'tica by Cecrops (*B. C. 1550): he is said to have introduced the institution of marriage and the first elements of civilization.

A second colony, from Lower Egypt, was led by Danaus, who fled from a brother's enmity, and settled in Ar'gos (*B. C. 1500). The fable of his fifty daughters is well known; but its historical foundation is altogether uncertain.

A Phœnician colony, under Cad'mus, settled in Bœotia, and founded Thebes, nearly at the same time that Cecrops established himself at At'tica. He was the first who introduced the use of letters into Greece.

Pelops led a colony from Phry'gia, the northwestern kingdom of Asia Minor, into the Peloponnésus (*B. C. 1400): he did not acquire so large a kingdom as the settlers mentioned before; but his descendants, by intermarriages with the royal families of Ar'gos and Lacedæ'mon, acquired such paramount influence, that they became supreme over the peninsula, and gave it the name of their great ancestor.

Several circumstances, however, impeded the progress of civilization. The coasts of Greece were temptingly exposed to the Phœnicians,

Carians, and islanders of the Ægean, who at first made the art of navigation subservient to piracy rather than commerce; and the Thracians, the Amazons, and other barbarous tribes from the north, made frequent incursions into the exposed Hellenic provinces. To resist these incursions the celebrated Amphictyonic league was founded by Amphictyon, a descendant of Deucálion: the federation was constantly receiving fresh accessions, until it included the greater part of the Grecian states; deputies from which met alternately at Del'phi and Thermop'ylæ.

Like Europe in the middle ages, Greece at this period was infested by bands of robbers, who deemed plunder an honorable profession, and some of whom exercised the most atrocious cruelties on the hapless passengers. The adventurers who acquired most fame by their exertions in destroying the freebooters were Perseus, Her'cules, Beller'ophon, Theséus, and the Dioskoúroi Cas'tor, and Pol'lux, whose romantic histories form a very large portion of Grecian mythology.

The most celebrated events in this period of uncertain history are, the Argonautic expedition, the two Theban wars, the siege of Troy, the return of the Heracleídæ, and the migration of the Ionian and Æolian colonies to Asia Minor. It is not easy to discover the real nature and objects of the Argonautic expedition: it appears certain that in the thirteenth century before the Christian era, a Thessalian prince, named Jáson, collected the young chivalry of Greece, and sailed on an expedition, partly commercial and partly piratical, in a ship named Argo, to the eastern shores of the Euxene sea. The Argonauts fought, conquered, and plundered; they planted a colony in Col'chis, and their chief brought a princess of that country home to Thessaly. But though impenetrable darkness veils the nature of this expedition, there can be no doubt of its results. From the era of the Argonauts, we may discover among the Greeks not only a more daring and more enlarged spirit of enterprise, but a more decisive and rapid progress toward civilization and humanity.

The worship of Diony'sus or Bac'chus was established at Thebes by Cad'mus; and the Phœnician mythology is full of the miseries and crimes that debased and ruined the family of Cad'mus. Œ'dipus, the most remarkable of his descendants, having been removed from the throne for an involuntary series of crimes, his sons, Eteoc'les and Polynices, seized the kingdom, and agreed to reign in turn. Eteoc'les refused to perform the agreement; and Polynices being joined by six of the most eminent generals in Greece, commenced the memorable war of "the Seven against Thebes" (*B. C. 1225). The result was fatal to the allies; Eteoc'les and Polynices fell by mutual wounds; and Créon, who succeeded to the Theban throne, routed the confederate forces, five of whose leaders were left dead on the field. After the lapse of about ten years, the sons of the allied princes, called the Epig'oni, marched against Thebes to avenge the death of their fathers. After a sanguinary conflict, the Thebans were routed with great slaughter, their leader slain, and their city captured. In consequence of these wars the Thebans were long odious to the rest of the Greeks, and they repaid this hatred by infidelity to the Hellenic cause during the Persian war.

When the family of Pélops became powerful in southern Greece, they appear to have attempted to retaliate the injuries that had driven their ancestors into exile. In one of their plundering expeditions to the Phrygian coast, a young prince named Podar'kes was carried away captive, and detained until a large ransom had been paid for his liberation. From this circumstance, he was afterward named Príam, or "the purchased." At a subsequent period, Príam having become king of Troy, sent his son Páris, or Alexan'der, as an ambassador to the Peloponnesian princes, probably to negotiate a peace. He seduced Hel'en, the beautiful wife of Meneläus, king of Sparta, and conveyed her, with some valuable treasures, to Troy. The injured husband applied to his countrymen for redress. A large army, raised by the confederate kings, was placed under the command of Agamemnon, the brother of Meneläus.

Troy was at this time the capital of a powerful kingdom, possessing numerous allies and subjects. It mustered, according to Homer, an army of fifty thousand men; its walls could defy the imperfect machines then used in sieges, and its citadel was impregnable. Against this powerful kingdom the Greek princes undertook their expedition, with an army of about one hundred thousand men, conveyed in eleven hundred and eighty-six ships. These vessels were of very rude construction, having only halfdecks, and stones instead of anchors; the soldiers acted as rowers, and when they reached their destination the ships were hauled upon land.

The war was protracted ten years, during which several battles were fought under the walls of Troy; and we find that the military weapons used were in every respect similar to those employed by the ancient Egyptians. The city was finally taken by stratagem, and razed to the ground; most of the inhabitants were slain or taken, and the rest were forced to become exiles in distant lands. The victors, however, suffered nearly as much as the vanquished. During the protracted absence of the chiefs, usurpers had seized many of their thrones, aided by faithless wives and the rising ambition of young men. These circumstances necessarily led to fierce wars and intestine commotions, which greatly retarded the progress of Grecian civilization.

Section VII.—*Grecian History from the Trojan War to the Establishment of the Greek Colonies in Asia.*

from *B. C. 1183 to B. C. 994.

We have seen how the posterity of Pélops, by various means, obtained possession of the entire Peloponnésus, to the exclusion of the more ancient dynasties. Their rivals were the Perseídæ, who claimed, through their ancestor Per'seus, the honors of a divine descent, and who could boast of having in their family such heroes as Per'seus, Beller'ophon, and Her'cules. From the last-named hero a powerful branch of the Perseid family received the name of the Heracleídæ: they were persecuted by the Pelop'id sovereigns, and driven into exile. After having been hospitably received by the Athenians, they retired to the mountainous district of Dóris, and became masters of that wild and

barren province. The Dorian mountains were ill-calculated to satisfy men whose ancestors had inherited the fertile plains of the Peloponnésus. When the consequences of the Trojan war filled Greece with confusion, the Heracleídæ were encouraged to make an effort to regain their ancient rights; twice they attempted to break through the Corinthian isthmus, but were each time repulsed with considerable loss. Warned by these misfortunes, they abandoned the design of entering the Peloponnésus by land, and resolved to try their fortune in a naval expedition.

Their rendezvous was Naupac'tus (*Lepanto*), on the Corinthian gulf, where they were joined by a body of Ætolians, and by several of the Dorian tribes. By secret intrigues, a party was gained in Lacedæ'mon. A favorable gale, in the meantime, wafted their armament to the eastern coast of the Peloponnésus. Lacónia was betrayed to the invaders; Ar'golis, Messénia, E'lis, and Córinth, submitted to their authority; the mountainous districts of Arcádia, and the coast province, Ægialeía (afterward Achaía), were the only parts of the peninsula that remained unsubdued. The revolution was effected with little bloodshed; but not without great oppression of the ancient inhabitants, many of whom emigrated, while those who remained were reduced to slavery.

The associated victors divided the conquered provinces among themselves by lot. Aristodémus, who obtained Lacónia, happening to die, the kingdom was secured for his twin children, Eurys'thenes and Prócles, and from that time forth Sparta was governed by two kings. The commander of the Pelop'id forces at the isthmus, instead of attempting to recover his kindgom, invaded Ægialeía, expelled the Ionians, and gave that province the name of Achaía, which it ever after retained (B. C. 1104). Many of the fugitives sought refuge in At'tica, where they were hospitably entertained by the Athenians, who were alarmed by the success and ambition of the Dorians. A still greater number passed over into Asia Minor, and founded the colonies of Iónia, Æólia, and Cária.

The jealousy of the Athenians was soon proved to be derived from reasonable fears. In the reign of Códrus the Dorians passed the boundaries of At'tica, and seized the territory of Meg'ara, on the northern coast of the Saronic gulf. A cruel war ensued; Códrus in vain attempted to drive the intruders from their stronghold: at length, hearing that a superstitious rumor prevailed among them, that they would be successful as long as they refrained from injuring the Athenian king, he entered their camp in disguise, provoked a quarrel with a Dorian soldier, and suffered himself to be slain. On recognising the body, the superstitious Peloponnesians, despairing of success, abandoned their hostilities; and the Athenians, out of respect for his memory, declared that none of the human race was worthy to succeed Códrus, and therefore abolished royalty altogether (B. C. 1068).

Two of the Pelop'idæ, having unsuccessfully traversed the northern part of Greece in search of new settlements, finally crossed the Hellespont eighty-eight years after the taking of Troy, and established themselves along the coast of the ancient kingdom of Priam. Their colonies gradually extended from the peninsula of Cýzicus on the Propontis to the

mouth of the river Her'mus, which delightful country, together with the island of Les'bos, received the name of Æólia. The younger sons of Códrus, dissatisfied with the abolition of royalty, collected a numerous band of Athenians and Ionian exiles, with which they crossed the sea, and established themselves along the coast from the river Her'mus to the promontory of Posideíon, expelling the ancient inhabitants. The islands of Chíos and Sámos were subsequently seized, and all these countries were united by the common name of Ióna, or, as it was sometimes called, the Pan-Ionian confederacy.

The renewal of hostilities between the Athenians and Dorians led to the establishment of a third series of Greek colonies in Asia (B. C. 994). The Dorians having been driven from their stronghold in Meg'ara, were ashamed to return to the Peloponnésus ; part of them sailed to the islands of Creté and Rhodes, already peopled by Doric tribes ; the rest settled in the peninsula of Cária, to which, in honor of their mother-country, they gave the name of Doris.

At a later period, the tide of emigration turned toward the west, and colonies were established in Sicily, and on the coasts of southern Italy. The Greeks seldom made settlements in the interior of the country; for most of their colonies were designed to extend commerce rather than conquests. Most of these colonies were independent states, and their institutions were generally improvements on those of the parent-country. Owing to their freedom and their superiority to their neighbors in the arts of civilized life, many of the colonies not only equalled but greatly surpassed their parent states in wealth and power.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE GRECIAN STATES AND COLONIES,

BEFORE THE PERSIAN WAR.

SECTION I.—*Topography of Sparta.*

THE city of Spar'ta, called also Lacedæ'mon, a name properly belonging to the suburbs, was built on a series of hills, whose outlines are varied and romantic, along the right bank of the Eurótas, within sight of the chain of Mount Taygétum. We have already mentioned, that it was not originally surrounded by walls; but the highest of its eminences served as a citadel, and round this hill were ranged five towns, separated by considerable intervals, occupied by the five Spartan tribes. The great square or forum, in which the principal streets of these towns terminated, was embellished with temples and statues: it contained also the edifices in which the senate, the ephori, and other bodies of Spartan magistrates, were accustomed to assemble: there was besides a splendid portico, erected by the Spartans from their share of the spoils taken at the battle of Platæ'a, where the Persians were finally overthrown. Instead of being supported by pillars, the roof rested on gigantic statues, representing Persians habited in flowing robes.

On the highest of the eminences stood a temple of Miner'va, which, as well as the grove that surrounded it, had the privileges of an asylum. It was built of brass, as that at Delphi had formerly been.

The greater part of these edifices had no pretensions to architectural beauty; they were of rude workmanship, and destitute of ornament. Private houses were small and unadorned; for the Spartans spent the greater part of their time in porticoes and public halls. On the south side of the city was the Hippodromos, or course for horse and foot races; and at a little distance from that, the Platanis'tæ, or place of exercise for youth, shaded by beautiful palm-trees.

SECTION II.—*Legislation of Lycurgus, and Messenian Wars.*

FROM *B. C. 880 TO B. C. 500.

THE DORIAN conquerors of Lacónia formed themselves into a permanent ruling caste, and reduced the greater part of the inhabitants of the country to a state of vassalage, or rather perfect slavery. During two centuries the Spartans were engaged in tedious wars with the Argives,

and their state was agitated by domestic broils, resulting from the unequal division of property, the ambition of rival nobles, and the diminished power of the kings. At length, Lycur'gus having obtained the supreme authority, as a guardian of his nephew Charilâus, directed his attention to establishing a system of law, which might prevent the recurrence of such disorders. The legislation of Lycur'gus was not a written code; and many things of later origin, have been erroneously attributed to this lawgiver. His great object, was to insure the continuance of the Spartans as a dominant military caste, by perpetuating a race of athletic and warlike man; and hence his laws referred rather to domestic life and physical education than to the constitution of the state, or the form of its government.

He continued the relation of caste between the Spartans and Laconians, and the double line of kings as leaders in war and first magistrates in peace. He is said to have instituted the *gerûsia*, or senate, of which no one could be a member who had not passed the age of sixty; but it is uncertain whether he founded the college of the five eph'ori, or inspectors, chosen annually, with powers somewhat similar to those of the Roman tribunes; he certainly did not invest them with the power they assumed in later ages. There were also popular assemblies; but they could originate no law, nor make any alteration in the resolutions submitted to them by the kings and the senate, their power being confined to a simple approbation or rejection.

The chief regulations in private life were, the equal distribution of lands, the removal of every species of luxury, the arrangement of domestic relations so as to insure a race of hardy citizens, and the complete establishment of slavery. Thus a military commonwealth was established in Greece, which for ever banished a chance of tranquillity; since the Spartan citizens must have been impelled to war by the restlessness common to man, when all the occupations of household life and of agriculture were intrusted to the care of the Hélots, as their slaves were usually called. The strength of the Spartan army lay in its heavy-armed infantry; they usually fought in a phalanx or close column, and were remarkable for the skill and rapidity of their evolutions. They marched to the charge with a measured regular step, and never broke their ranks either to plunder or pursue a flying enemy. After battle, every soldier was obliged to produce his shield, as a proof that he had behaved bravely and steadily.

The first great war in which the Spartans engaged was with their neighbors the Messenians (B. C. 743). After a long series of sanguinary engagements, whose horrors were aggravated by cruel superstitions, the Messenians were totally subdued, and forced to give up half the revenue of their lands to the Spartans (B. C. 722). During this war, the Spartan army, consisting of the greater part of the citizens who had attained the military age, bound themselves by a voluntary oath not to return home until they had subdued their enemies. The war being protracted beyond expectation, the senate, fearing that the Spartan race would become extinct, invited the young men, who had not taken the obligation, to return home, and permitted them to have promiscuous intercourse with the women. The offspring of these irregular connexions were called Parthen'iæ; they had no certain father, nor were they,

though citizens of Sparta, entitled to any inheritance. Finding themselves despised by the other Spartans, they entered into a conspiracy with the Hélots, which was detected at the moment it was about to explode. The senate, however, was afraid to punish so powerful a body; sufficient means of transport, arms, and munitions, were supplied to the Parthen'iæ, who, under the guidance of Phalan'tus, proceeded to southern Italy, where they founded the city of Taren'tum.

The oppression of the Spartans drove the Messenians to revolt, and they found a worthy leader in Aristom'enes, a youth descended from the ancient line of Messenian kings. So rapid and decisive were his successes, that the Spartans sought the advice of the oracle, and received the mortifying response, that they should solicit a general from the Athenians. Ambassadors were sent to urge this request; and the Athenians sent back the poet Tyrtæ'us, who had, indeed, borne arms, but was never distinguished as a warrior. His patriotic odes roused the spirit of the Spartan soldiers, and they renewed the war with more zeal and greater success than ever. Notwithstanding these advantages acquired by the Spartans, Aristom'enes protracted the defence of his country more than eleven years; but at length Messéne was taken by treachery, aud its heroic defenders forced to seek refuge in Arcadia. Here Aristom'enes planned an expedition against Sparta, whose citizens were engaged in plundering Messénia; but he was betrayed by the Arcadian monarch, and his last plan for the redemption of his country frustrated (B. C. 671).

Sparta had conquered, but the struggle had greatly weakened the strength of the state; and in her subsequent wars with the Tegeans and Argives, she was far from maintaining her ancient superiority in arms. The important island of Cythéra was, however, wrested from the Argives, about B. C. 550.

SECTION III.—*Topography of Athens.*

ATHENS was situated in a plain, which on the southwest, extended for about four miles toward the sea and the harbors, but on the other side was enclosed by mountains. Several rocky hills arose in the plain itself; the largest and highest of which was fortified by Cécrops as the citadel, or Acropolis, and was sometimes called Cecrópia. Around this the city was built, most of the buildings, however, spreading toward the sea. The summit of the hill was nearly level for a space of about eight hundred feet in length and four hundred in breadth; as if Nature herself had prepared a fit locality for those masterpieces of architecture which announced at a distance the splendor of Athens. The only road that led to the Acrop'olis passed through the Propylæa, a magnificent gateway adorned with two wings, and two temples full of the finest pieces of sculpture and painting. It was erected under the administration of Per'icles, by the architect Mnesic'les, and was decorated with admirable sculptures of Phid'ias. Through these splendid portals was an ascent by marble steps to the summit of the hill, on which were erected the temples of the guardian deities of Athens. On the left was the temple of Pallas Athenè (*Minerva*), the protectress of cities, containing a column fabled to have fallen from heaven, and an olive-tree

believed to have sprung spontaneously from the earth at the mandate of the goddess. Beyond this was a temple of Neptune. On the right side arose the Par'thenon, sacred to the virgin Minerva, the glory of Athens, the noblest triumph of Grecian architecture. From whatever quarter the traveller arrived, whether by land or sea, the first thing he saw was the Par'thenon rearing up its lofty head above the city and the citadel.

At the foot of the Acrop'olis, on one side, was the Odéum, or music-hall, and the Theatre of Bacchus, where the tragic contests were celebrated on the festival of that deity; on the other side was the Prytanéum, where the chief magistrates and most meritorious citizens were honorably entertained at a table furnished at the public expense.

A small valley called Cœlè (*the hollow*) lay between the Acrop'olis and the hill on which the court of Areop'agus held its sessions; and it also separated the Areop'agus from the Pnyx, a small rocky hill on which the general assemblies of the people were held. It was remarkable only for the meanness and simplicity of its furniture, which formed a striking contrast to the grandeur of the neighboring buildings. Here the spot from which the eminent orators addressed the people may still be seen: for it is imperishable, being cut in the natural rock, and it has been recently cleared from rubbish, as well as the four steps by which it was ascended.

Beyond the Pnyx lay the Ceramícus, or pottery-ground, containing the market-place. This was a large square, surrounded on all sides with statues and public buildings; at the south was the senate-house, and the statues of the Epon'ymi, ten heroes from whom the tribes of Athens received their respective names. At the east were erected two splendid *stoai*, or porticoes; that of the Her'mæ, or statues of Mercury, on which were inscribed the names of the citizens, allies, and slaves, who had distinguished themselves in the Persian war; and that called Poëcilé, ornamented with many splendid paintings, particularly one representing Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. Under this *stoa* the philosopher Zeno used to lecture his pupils, whence his followers are called Stoics.

There were three principal gymnásia, or places of public exercise, near the city, where philosophers and rhetoricians delivered their lectures. The most celebrated of these was the Academy, deriving its name from having been the country-seat of the wealthy Académus, who spent the greater part of a large fortune in ornamenting this delightful spot. Here Pláto delivered his eloquent lectures, and hence his followers are called Academics. The Lycéum, on the opposite side of the city, near the Ilys'sus, was chosen by Aristotle for his school after his return from Macedon, the Academy having been pre-occupied by Xen'ocrates. He generally instructed his pupils while walking about the groves and avenues of this highly-cultivated place, and on this account his followers were called Peripatetics. Cynosar'ges was about a mile from the Lycéum, and was the residence of Antis'thenes, the founder of the Cynic sect.

The whole country round Athens, particularly the long road to the Peiræ'us, was ornamented with monuments of all kinds, especially with tombs of great poets, statesmen, and warriors. This road was enclosed

by a double wall, called the northern and southern, erected under the administration of Themis'tocles: it was nearly five miles in length on both sides, and enclosed the two harbors Peiræ'us and Phal'ereus. It was rather more than eighty feet high, built entirely of freestone, and so broad that two baggage-wagons could pass each other. The Peiræ'us and Phal'ereus, but especially the former, might be regarded as little cities, with public squares, temples, market-places, &c.; and the commercial crowd that enliven the quays gave the chief harbor a more animated appearance than Athens itself. The Munychian port lay east of Athens, and, like the others, was formed naturally by the bays of the coast. It was a place of considerable natural strength, and was garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians after they had subdued Athens.

SECTION IV.—*The History of Athens to the Beginning of the Persian War.* FROM *B. C. 1300 TO B. C. 500.

THE political history of Athens begins properly with the reign of Théseus, who succeeded his father Ægeus about B. C. 1300. Certain institutions, such as the court of Areop'agus, and the division of the people into eupat'ridæ (*nobles*), geórgi (*husbandmen*), and demiur'gi (*mechanics*), are so manifestly derived from the Egyptian system of caste, that we may without hesitation assign them to Cécrops. Théseus, however, deserves to be regarded as the founder of the state, since, instead of the four independent districts, or démoi, into which Attica was divided, he established one body politic, and made Athens the seat of government. Among his successors, the most remarkable were Mnes'theus, who fell before Troy, and Códrus, whose generous devotion, as has been already related, led to the total abolition of royalty. After the abolition of royalty (B. C. 1068), thirteen archons of his family ruled in succession, differing from kings only in being accountable for their administration. The first was Médon, the last Alcmæon; after his death (B. C. 752), archons were chosen every ten years from the family of Códrus. There were seven of these, the last of whom ceased to rule B. C. 682. Nine annual archons were then appointed by the powerful class of nobility, consisting not only of the descendants of such foreign princes as had taken refuge in Athens, but of those Athenian families which time and accident had raised to opulence and distinction. The powers of these magistrates were not equal; their rank and offices were so arranged, that the prerogatives of the former kings and the preceding archons were divided among the first three of the nine. Nothing was gained by the great body of the people during these revolutions. The equestrian order, so called from their fighting on horseback, enjoyed all authority, religious, civil, and military. The Athenian populace were reduced to a condition of miserable servitude; the lives and fortunes of individuals were left at the discretion of magistrates, who were too much disposed to decide according to party prejudices or their own private interests.

In this confusion, Dráco was chosen to prepare a code of laws (B. C. 622). He was a man of unswerving integrity, but of unexampled severity. His laws bore the impress of his character; the punishment of death was denounced against all crimes, small as well as great; and this in-

discriminate cruelty rendered the whole code inoperative. Human nature revolted against such legal butchery; and Dráco, to avoid the public indignation, fled to Ægína, where he died an exile.

This ineffectual effort only augmented the divisions of the state; the excesses of the aristocratic factions produced the most violent indignation. The state was in fact reduced to perfect anarchy. To remedy these disorders, Sólon, who had already won the confidence of his countrymen by planning and accomplishing an enterprise for the recovery of Sal'amis, was unanimously raised to the dignity of first magistrate, legislator, and sovereign arbiter (B. C. 594). He was eminently qualified for this important station. Descended from the ancient kings of Athens, he applied himself in early life to commercial pursuits, and having secured a competency by honorable industry, he travelled to distant lands in search of knowledge. Such was his success, that he was reckoned the chief of the sages commonly called the Seven Wise Men of Greece, who in his age laid the foundation of Grecian philosophy.

The chief object of Sólon's legislation was to restrain the excessive power of the aristocracy, without, however, introducing a pure democracy. He abolished all the laws of Dráco, except those against murder. The state of debtors calling loudly for relief, he made an equitable adjustment of the claims of creditors; but at the same time conciliated capitalists by raising the value of money. He abolished slavery and imprisonment for debt, which had led to great abuses and cruelties.

Without abolishing the ancient local divisions he arranged the citizens in four classes, according to their property, measured in agricultural produce. 1. The first class were the pentacos'i-medim'ni, whose annual income exceeded five hundred bushels (medim'ni; 2, the knights (hippéis), whose revenue was equal to four hundred; 3, the zeugítæ, who had three hundred; and 4, the thétes, whose yearly revenue fell short of that sum. Citizens of all classes had a right of voting at the popular assemblies and in the courts of judicature; but magisterial offices were limited to the first three classes. The archonship was left unaltered; but it was ordained that none of these magistrates should hold military command during his year of office. A council of four hundred was chosen from the first three classes, possessing senatorial authority: the members were selected by lot; but they were obliged to undergo a very strict examination into their past lives and characters before they were permitted to enter upon office. The archons were bound to consult the council in every important public matter; and no subject could be discussed in the general assembly of the people which had not previously received the sanction of the four hundred.

The popular assemblies consisted of all the four classes, and usually met on the rocky hill called the Pnyx, described in the proceeding section. They had the right of confirming or rejecting new laws, of electing the magistrates, of discussing all public affairs referred to them by the council, and of judging in all state trials.

According to Sólon's plan, the court of Areop'agus should have been the chief pillar of the Athenian constitution. Before his time it was a mere engine of aristocratic oppression; but Sólon modified its constitution, and enlarged its powers. It was composed of persons who had

held the office of archon, and was made the supreme tribunal in all capital cases. It was likewise intrusted with the superintendence of morals, with the censorship upon the conduct of the archons at the expiration of their office; and it had besides the privilege of amending or rescinding the measures that had passed the general assemblies of the people.

Soon after this constitution was established, Sólon was sent as a deputy to the Amphictyon'ic council at Del'phi, and had no small share in stimulating that body to undertake the first sacred war against the Crisséans who had invaded the sacred territories, and not only ravaged the country, but even plundered the shrine of Apol'lo. The war was protracted ten years; but it terminated in the final destruction of the Crisséan community, and the dedication of their territory to the deity whose temple they had sacrilegiously plundered (B. C. 590). The termination of the war was celebrated by the revival of the Pythian games, which had been discontinued during the contest.

Scarcely had the liberties of Athens been established, when they were again subverted by the usurpation of Peisis'tratus. Like Sólon, the usurper was descended from the ancient kings of Athens. He was also possessor of an enormous fortune, which he distributed to the poor with lavish munificence. His generosity, his eloquence, and his courteous manners, won for him universal favor: but he had the art to persuade the lower ranks of his countrymen, that his popularity had rendered him odious to the nobles, and that the protection of a body-guard was necessary to the safety of his life. Scarcely had this been granted, when he seized on the Acrop'olis, and made himself absolute master of Athens (B. C. 561). Sólon refused the usurper's offers of favor and protection: he went into voluntary exile, and died, or at least was buried, at Sal'amis. Meg'acles, the chief of the powerful family of the Alcmæon'idæ, retired, with all his attendants and political friends, beyond the boundaries of At'tica; but he entered into a secret intrigue with Lycur'gus, the chief of another faction, and by their joint efforts Peisis'tratus was driven into exile about twelve months after he had obtained the sovereignty.

Meg'acles soon quarrelled with Lycur'gus, and opened a negotiation with Peisis'tratus, offering to restore him, if he would become his son-in-law. The terms were accepted, and Peisis'tratus was again summoned to assume sovereign power, amid the general exultation of the people. A quarrel with Meg'acles drove him a second time into banishment; but he returned again at the head of an army, and having recovered the reins of power, held them without interruption to the day of his death. The power thus illegally acquired, was administered with equity and mildness. Peisis'tratus ceased not to exert himself to extend the glory of Athens, and secure the happiness of the Athenians.

On the death of Peisis'tratus (B. C. 528), his sons Hippar'chus and Hip'pias succeeded to his power, but not to his prudence and abilities. After a joint reign of fourteen years, Hippar'chus was murdered by two young Athenians, Harmódius and Aristogeíton, whose resentment he had provoked by an atrocious insult (B. C. 514). The cruelty with which Hip'pias punished all whom he suspected of having had a share in his brother's death, alienated the affections of the people, and encour-

aged the Alcmæonídæ to make an effort for his expulsion. By large bribes to the Delphian priesthood, they obtained a response from the oracle commanding the Spartans to expel the Peisistrat'idæ; and that superstitious people immediately sent an army for that purpose (B. C. 510). After a brief struggle Hip'pias was forced to abandon Athens, and thenceforward lived in perpetual exile.

Scarcely was the tyrant expelled, when the state was rent in sunder by the rivalry of contending factions. Clis'thenes, the son of Meg'acles, headed one; the other, chiefly composed of the aristocracy, was led by Isag'oras. Isag'oras received armies to support his cause from the Spartans, the Corinthians, the Bœotians, the Chalcidians, and the Æginetans. But the confederates could not agree; and these dissensions broke up the alliance. After some time, the Spartans, having discovered the trick played upon them by the Delphian oracle, wished to restore Hip'pias; but, finding their allies universally opposed to the project, they abandoned him to his fate, and he fled to the court of Persia, where his exertions greatly contributed to the forcing Darius into a war against Greece.

SECTION V.—*Historical Notices of the minor Grecian States previous to the Persian War.*

FROM *B. C. 1100 TO B. C. 500.

AFTER the capture of Thebes by the Epig'oni, the Bœotians were expelled by Thracian hordes, and retired to Ar'ne in Thessaly, but about the time of the great Dorian migration they returned to the land of their forefathers, and became united with some Æolian tribes.

Royalty was abolished upon the death of Xúthus (B. C. 1126), and the Bœotians formed a confederation of as many states as there were cities in the province: at the head of which was Thebes, but with very indefinite privileges. The constitutions of the states were unfixed; and they continually fluctuated between a licentious democracy and a tyrannical oligarchy. This great evil, combined with the unsettled nature of the confederation, prevented the Bœotians from taking a leading share in the affairs of Greece.

Acarnánia, Ætólia, and Lócris, offer nothing remarkable; and the most important event in the history of Phócis was the sacred war, which has been described in the last section. The states of Thessaly were for the most part governed by arbitrary individuals.

In the Peloponnésus, Corinth was the most remarkable state next to Sparta. At the time of the Dorian conquest of southern Greece, its throne was seized by Alétes, whose descendants retained the power and title of royalty for five generations. On the death of Teles'sus, the last of the Alétian race, Bac'chis usurped the throne (B. C. 777), and his descendants, called Bacchíadæ, held the regal authority for five generations more. Teles'tes, the last of these kings, having been murdered, the kingly office was abolished, and a species of oligarchy established in its stead, under yearly magistrates, called prytanes, chosen exclusively from the house of Bac'chis. It would have been scarcely possible for such a narrow oligarchy to maintain its ground, even if it had

used its power with moderation and wisdom; but the Bacchiads, proud of their race and great commercial wealth, insulted their subjects; and Cyp'selus, an opulent citizen of Æolian descent, aided by the commonalty, usurped the government (B. C. 657), and held the supreme power for thirty years. On his death, he was succeeded by his son Perian'der, who is sometimes ranked among the Seven Wise Men of Greece, though he is described by many writers as a rapacious, oppressive, and cruel despot. His reign lasted forty years, and yet is supposed to have been shortened either by violence or grief for the loss of his son. He was succeeded by his nephew Psammet'ichus, whose reign lasted only three years, when he was expelled by his subjects, assisted by a Spartan army (B. C. 584). This revolution was followed by the establishment of a commercial aristocracy, whose exact constitution is unknown, but which long kept Corinth in close alliance with Sparta. The Corinthian trade consisted chiefly in the exchange of Asiatic and Italian merchandise, for which her position gave her many peculiar advantages. The period of Corinth's highest prosperity closed with the government of the Cyp'selids; and the loss of Corcy'ra one of her colonies which had been kept in subjection by Per'iander, but revolted after his death, proved a blow to her power which she never recovered. The naval engagement between the Corcyrians and Corinthians (B. C. 650) is the first sea-fight recorded in history.

The history of Sic'yon and the other Achæan states presents a series of revolutions similar to those of Corinth. After various revolutions and usurpations, they all adopted republican institutions, about the time that the Cyp'selids were expelled from Corinth.

The constitution of Arcádia became republican when Aristodémus, its last king, was stoned by his subjects for having betrayed Aristom'enes and the Messenians.

The regal dignity was abolished in Argos so early as B. C. 984; but nothing is known of the circumstances that led to the change, or the peculiar nature of the republic by which it was succeeded.

E'lis preserved its internal peace, owing to the wise laws of Iph'itus, a contemporary of Lycur'gus; while the sanctity of its soil ensured its external security. After the abolition of royal power two supreme magistrates were chosen, called Hellanodícæ, to whose office was added the charge of superintending the Olympic games. Their number was subsequently increased to ten, one being chosen from each of the Elian tribes; and their power was limited by a senate of ninety, whose members were chosen for life.

SECTION VI.—*History of the principal Grecian Islands.*

THE revolutions in the Grecian islands were very similar to those on the continent, republican constitutions having succeeded to monarchy in most of them. After the Athenians had acquired the sovereignty of the sea, the insular states lost their independence; for though they were called confederates, they were treated as subjects; no change, however, was made in their internal constitutions. We shall only notice the islands that were most remarkable in history.

Corcy'ra was occupied by a Corinthian colony under Chersic'rates

(B. C. 753), who expelled or subdued the former inhabitants. As the leader and most of his companions had been driven into exile by political commotions, they retained but little affection for the parent state; while the rapid progress of the Corcyrean power excited the commercial jealousy of Corinth. These circumstances led to an open war. The Corcyrean constitution appears to have been originally aristocratic or oligarchical, like that of most Dorian states; but after the Persian wars a democratic faction arose, powerfully supported by the Athenians, which produced the most violent internal commotions, and ended in the total ruin of Corcy'ra.

Ægína, first colonized B. C. 1358, rapidly grew, by commerce, and navigation, to be one of the first Grecian states. It even established colonies of its own in Creté and Pontus. Ægína was long the successful rival of Athens; it was subdued by Themis'tocles (B. C. 485).

The island of Eubœ'a received many different colonies from the mainland of Greece; but its cities were not united by any confederation, each possessing a separate constitution. It was subdued by the Athenians after the Persian wars; but the islanders made several sanguinary struggles to regain their independence.

The Cyc'lades were all, except Délos, rendered tributary to Athens, when that state acquired the supremacy of the sea.

Creté was celebrated in the heroic ages for the laws of Mínos (*B. C. 1300). After the death of Clean'thus (*B. C. 800), republican constitutions were adopted in the principal cities, which thenceforth became independent states. The Cretans rarely engaged in foreign wars, but they were almost incessantly involved in mutual hostilities; a circumstance that tended greatly to degrade the national character.

Cy'prus was only partially colonized by the Greeks, whose principal settlement was at Sal'amis, founded by Teucer, a little after the Trojan war (B. C. 1100). The island was successively subject to the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Persians. The kings of Sal'amis frequently revolted against their Persian masters, and always maintained a qualified independence. When Alexander the Great besieged Tyre (B. C. 332), he was voluntarily joined by the nine Cypriot kings, and thenceforth the island was annexed to the Macedonian monarchy.

The history of Rhodes belongs properly to the portion of this work which treats of the successors of Alexander, to which we refer our readers.

SECTION VII.—*History of the Greek Colonies in Asia Minor.*

FROM B. C. 1200 TO B. C. 500.

THE colonies founded by the Greeks, between the period of the Dorian migration and the final subversion of Grecian liberty by the triumph of the Macedonians, were the most numerous and important established by any nation, and all acted a very conspicuous part in accelerating the progress of civilization.

The colonies that first engage our attention are those that were established along the western coast of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the confines of Cilic'ia, in consequence of the revolutions produced by the Dorian migration and conquest of the Peloponnésus. They were

established by the Æolians, Ionians, and Carians; their commerce soon exceeded that of the parent states; and in them were produced the first of Grecian poets, Hómer and Alcæ'us; and the first of Grecian philosophers, Thales and Pythag'oras.

The ÆOLIANS, after the conquest of the Peloponnésus, settled for a time in Thrace, whence they passed over, after the lapse of a generation, to Asia (*B. C. 1124), and occupied the coasts of Mýsia and Cária giving to the strip of land they colonized the name of Æólis. They acquired possession, also, of the islands of Les'bos, Ten'edos, and the cluster called the Hecatonnési (hundred islands). Twelve cities were erected on the mainland by the Æolians, of which the chief were Cymé and Smyr'na. The latter city was destroyed by the Lydians (*B. C. 600), and was not restored until four hundred years later, when it became a flourishing Macedonian colony. The Æolian cities maintained their independence until the age of Cy'rus, when those on the mainland were subdued by the Persians. When Athens acquired supremacy by sea, the insular states were forced to submit to her authority, and were in general ruled with great severity.

The IONIAN migration took place some years after the Æolian, about B. C. 1044. It was the largest that ever left Greece; and fortunately it is that, with whose details we are best acquainted. It originated in the abolition of royalty at Athens: the sons of Códrus reluctant to live as private individuals, declared their design of leading a colony into Asia: they were readily joined by the Ionian exiles from the northern Peloponnésus, who were straitened for room in At'tica, and by large bands of emigrants from the neighboring states, actuated by political discontent, or the mere love of change. They were supplied liberally with ships and munitions of war. They pursued their voyage to Asia Minor, and landed on the coast south of Æ'olis. After a long series of sanguinary wars, the native barbarians resigned their lands to the intruders; and the Ionians acquired possession of the whole of the valuable district between Milétus and Mount Sip'ylus.

The Ionians then began to erect cities; they established twelve, united by an Amphictyon'ic confederacy; viz., Eph'esus, Ery'thræ, Clazom'enæ, Colophon, My'us, Milétus, Priéne, Phocæ'a, Leb'edos, Sámos, Téos, and Chíos, of which the last three were insular stations. Milétus was the chief of the Ionian colonies: but Eph'esus was the most renowned of the cities.

All the Ionian cities were united by an Amphictyon'ic confederacy. Deputies from the different states met, at stated times, in a temple of Nep'tune, erected on the headland of Mycále, which they named Helicónean, from Helíce, the chief of their ancient cities in the northern Peloponnésus. Here they deliberated on all matters that affected the Pan-Ionian league; but the council never interfered with the domestic government of the several cities. They also celebrated festivals and public games, which rivalled in magnificence those of Greece. In the midst of their prosperity, the Ionian cities became engaged in a long and arduous struggle with the Lydian kings, which continued almost without intermission until both were absorbed in the rising greatness of the Persian empire.

Neither the extent nor progress of the Dorian colonies could com-

pare with those we have just described. Limited to a narrow and not very fruitful territory, their confederation always continued in a state of feebleness; and, with the exception of Halicarnas'sus, which, at a comparatively recent age, became the capital of an opulent monarchy, and the isle of Rhodes, whose daring navigators rivalled those of the most potent commercial states, there is scarcely a Dorian state that rose above mediocrity.

The DORIANS, after the conquest of the Peloponnésus, meditated new acquisitions; but, being checked by the Athenians at Meg'ara, they proceeded in detached bands to the coast of CARIA, and to the islands of Cos and Rhodes. It is impossible to assign the exact age of these migrations; but they were certainly later than the Ionian and Æolian; they appear also to have been conducted without any definite plan, and to have taken place at very different times. The six cities forming the Doric confederation, called Hexapolis, were Halicarnas'sus and Cnídus on the Carian peninsula, Cos in the island of the same name, and Halys'sus, Camírus, and Lin'dus, in the island of Rhodes.

The Dorians submitted without a struggle to the Persian power, and seem to have made no effort to regain their independence.

SECTION VIII.—*The Greek Colonies on the Euxine Sea, the Coasts of Thrace, Macedon, &c.*

MOST of the Greek colonies on the shores of the Propon'tis, the Euxine sea, and the Pálus Mæótis, were founded by the citizens of Milétus between the eighth and sixth centuries before the Christian era. That city, whose commerce occupied four harbors, and whose naval power amounted to eighty or a hundred galleys of war, owed its greatness to its possession of the northern trade; and to secure this lucrative commerce, it planted several colonies, all of which became prosperous marts of trade. Their commerce was not confined to the seacoasts: their merchants penetrated into southern Russia, and advanced even beyond the Caspian to the countries which now form the kingdoms of Khíva and Bokhára. The Phocæans shared the honor of founding these important colonies; but they were too much devoted to the western trade to waste their energies on the northern; and it may be generally stated, that the settlements on the Euxine depended chiefly on Milétus.

On the Propon'tis adjoining the Hellespont, stood Lamp'sacus, originally founded by some Phocæans, who obtained a grant of the site of the city from one of the native princes whom they had assisted in war. It was afterward occupied by the Milesians, under whom it became a place of great wealth and extensive commerce.

Cyz'icus, erected on an island joined by bridges to the Asiatic coast, was a very ancient city; it is said to have been colonized in the earliest ages by the Tyrrhenian Pelas'gi, and afterward by the Argonauts. About B. C. 751, it was occupied by the Milesians, who at the same time took possession of the neighboring island of Proconnésus (*Marmora*). Cyz'icus, in a late age, under the dominion of the Romans, became one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities in Asia.

Opposite to Cyz'icus on the Thracian coast, was Perin'thus, at a la-

ter age called Heracleía, founded by a Samian colony; on the European side of the Thracian Bosphorus was Byzan'tium (*Constantinople*); and over against it, on the Asiatic coast, Chal'cedon (*Scutari*), both colonized from Meg'ara.

The first Greek city on the Black sea was Heracleía, on the Bithynian coast, which appears to have been successively colonized from Meg'ara and Milétus.

Sinópe, in Paphlagonia, was the most powerful of the Greek states on the Euxine sea. Amísus, in Pon'tus, was, next to Sinópe, the best harbor on the Euxine sea. After having been long subject to Milétus, it was seized by the Athenians in the age of Per'icles, and its name changed to Peiræ'æus. During the days of its prosperity, Amísus is said to have become the parent of a colony that soon surpassed itself in importance, Trap'ezus (*Trebisonde*).

On the eastern coast of the Euxine were Phásis, Dioscúrias, and Phanagória. In the Macedonian age, Phanagória became the capital of the Greek cities on the Asiatic side of the Bos'phorus: its prosperity was owing to its being the chief mart for the slave-trade, which has always prevailed in the countries round the Caúcasus, and also to its being the staple for the goods brought from central and southern Asia by the route of the Caspian sea and the Oxus.

The Milesians formed several establishments in the Tauric Chersonese (*Criméa*), and wrested the greater part of that peninsula from its barbarous inhabitants. The city of Panticapæ'um was the most important, and probably the most ancient, of these settlements. It became the capital of the little Greek kingdom of the Bos'phorus, and continued to maintain its independence until, in the Roman age, it was seized by Mithridátes the Great, who laid there the foundations of his subsequent power.

The coasts of Thrace and Macedon were covered with Greek colonies, principally derived from Corinth and Athens.

On the coasts of Africa was the celebrated Greek city of Cyréne, long the commercial rival of Carthage, founded by a Dorian colony from the island of Théra (B. C. 651), in obedience to the directions of the Delphic oracle. The government was at first monarchical, the crown being hereditary in the family of Bat'tus, the founder. About B. C. 450, royalty was abolished, and a republic formed; but the citizens of Cyréne never were able to form a permanent constitution; and their state continued to be rent by factions until it was annexed to the Egyptian kingdom, in the age of the Ptolemies.

The history of the Greek states in Sicily and southern Italy being closely connected with the Roman wars, will be found in the chapters on Italy.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PERSIAN WARS TO THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

FROM B. C. 500 TO B. C. 336.

SECTION I.—*The First Persian War.*

FROM B. C. 500 TO B. C. 490.

WHEN Darius Hystas'pes invaded Scythia, he intrusted the guard of the bridge of boats that he had constructed over the Danube to the Greeks of Asia and Thrace, who had been so recently brought under subjection to the Persians. Many of those were anxious to recover their freedom, and they deliberated seriously on the propriety of destroying the bridge, and leaving the Persians to perish without resource in an inhospitable desert. The proposal was strenuously advocated by Miltiades, the king or tyrant, as he was called, of the Thracian Chersonese; but he was opposed by Histiæ'us, the tyrant of Milétus, whose selfish counsels finally prevailed. Miltiades retired to Athens, his native city, where he subsequently rose to the highest honors; Histiæ'us accompanied the monarch he had saved to the court of Persia. But the gratitude of absolute princes is not permanent: Histiæ'us soon found that the very magnitude of his services exposed him to danger; and he concerted with his nephew, Aristag'oras, a revolt, which included all the Ionian colonies. In order that the insurrection should have any reasonable prospects of success, it was necessary that it should be supported by the Grecian states; and to engage this assistance, Aristag'oras came to Lacedæ'mon.

Being repulsed at Spar'ta, Aristag'oras proceeded to Athens, where he was more generously received (B. C. 500). Twenty ships were prepared for him with all convenient speed; and these being reinforced by five more from the little state of Eret'ria, in the island of Eubœ'a, sailed over to the harbor of Milétus, and commenced the war. The allies were at first very successful. Sar'dis, the wealthy capital of Lydia, was taken and plundered; but Aristag'oras had not the talents of a general; the fruits of success were lost as soon as won; the several divisions of the army quarrelled and separated; and the Asiatic Greeks were left to bear the brunt of the vengeance of their merciless masters. Milétus was taken, its walls razed, and its citizens massacred; several minor cities suffered similar calamities. Aristag'oras

fled to Thrace, where he was murdered by the barbarians; and Histiæ'us, after a vain attempt to escape, was crucified at Sar'dis by command of the Persian satrap.

Darius next turned his resentment against the Greeks, who had aided this revolt; he sent ambassadors to demand homage from the Grecian states, especially requiring the Athenians to receive back Hip'pias, their exiled tyrant. All the states, insular and continental, except Athens and Spar'ta, proffered submission; but those noble republics sent back a haughty defiance, and fearlessly prepared to encounter the whole strength of the Persian empire.

Darius, having prepared a vast armament, intrusted its command to his son-in-law Mardónius, who soon subdued the island of Thásus, and the kingdom of Macedon (B. C. 493). But his fleet, while doubling Mount A'thos, was shattered by a violent storm; three hundred vessels were dashed against the rocks, and twenty thousand men are said to have perished in the waves. Mardónius returned home to excuse his disgrace, by exaggerating the cold of the climate, and the dangers of the Ægean sea.

A second and more powerful armament was prepared (B. C. 490), over which Darius placed his two best generals, Dátis, a Mede, and Artapher'nes, a Persian nobleman. The fleet passed safely through the Cyc'lades, and arrived at the island of Eubœ'a. Thence the Persians crossed the Eurípus, and, by the advice of the exiled Hip'pias, encamped with an army said to exceed five hundred thousand men on the plains of Mar'athon, within forty miles of Athens.

The Athenians could only muster an army of ten thousand citizens, and about double that number of slaves, who were armed in this extremity. The little city of Platæ'a sent an auxiliary force of a thousand men; but the Spartans, yielding either to superstition or jealousy, refused to send their promised aid before the full of the moon. Miltíades dissuaded his countrymen from standing a siege, because the immense host of the Persians could completely blockade the city, and reduce it by starvation. He led the army to Mar'athon; but when the Persian hosts were in sight, five of the ten generals, commanding jointly with himself, were afraid to hazard a battle; and it was not without difficulty that Callim'achus was prevailed upon to give his casting vote in favor of fighting. But when the bold resolution of engaging was adopted, all the generals exerted themselves to forward the wise plans of their leader (B. C. 490).

Miltíades formed his lines at the foot of a hill that protected his rear and right flank; his left was secured by an extensive marsh, and his front protected by trunks of trees, strewn for some distance, to break the force of the Persian cavalry. The Athenian citizens occupied the right wing, the Platæans the left, while the raw levies of slaves were stationed in the centre. Dátis saw the advantages of this position; but confident in his superior numbers, he gave the signal for battle. The Greek centre was broken at the moment that the two wings had routed the divisions opposed to them: this had been foreseen; and Miltíades directed the victorious wings to attack the Persians rushing incautiously through the broken centre on both flanks. Surprise is fatal to an oriental army; in a few minutes the Asiatics

were wholly routed, and fled in confusion to their ships. The Greeks pursued them vigorously, and destroyed seven of their vessels. But the Persian fleet was still powerful, and its commanders deemed it possible to suprise Athens before the army could return. Miltíades, however, baffled this attempt by rapidly marching from the field of battle to the city, and securing the posts before the hostile navy could get round the promontory of Súnium. Thus disappointed, the Persians took advantage of a favorable gale, and returned to Asia.

Miltíades was subsequently accused of having taken a bribe, convicted on rather doubtful evidence, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine, which not being able to pay, he was thrown into prison, where he died of his wounds.

Themis'tocles, the most able statesman, and Aristídes, the most uncorrupt patriot of Greece, for a time shared the power that had been previously possessed by Miltíades. Their struggle for power ended in the banishment of Aristídes; but when his wise counsels were required in the hour of emergency, he was recalled on the motion of his successful rival. Themis'tocles directed all his efforts to improving the naval power of Athens, and he succeeded in securing for his country the complete supremacy of the Grecian seas.

In the interval between the two Persian wars nothing remarkable occurred in any other of the Grecian states, save that in Spar'ta, one of its kings, Demarátus, was deposed and driven into exile by the intrigues of the other, Cleom'enes. Demarátus sought refuge in the court of Persia; Cleom'enes perished by his own hand, a victim to remorse. Leoty'chides succeeded the former, Leon'idas the latter.

Section II.—*The Second Persian War.*

from b. c. 480 to b. c. 449.

Nine years after the battle of Mar'athon, Xer'xes, the son and successor of Daríus, resolved to attempt the conquest of Greece, and for this purpose collected an army, which, after making every allowance for the exaggerations of historians, appears to have been the most numerous ever assembled. When he reached the pass of Thermópylæ, through which lay the road from Thessaly to Greece, he found a body of eight thousand men, commanded by the Spartan Leon'idas, prepared to dispute the passage. The haughty Persian instantly sent a herald, commanding these warriors to surrender their arms, and was maddened by the contumelious reply, "Come and take them."

After many ineffectual efforts to break the Grecian lines, all of which were repulsed with great slaughter, Xer'xes was on the point of retiring in despair, when the treachery of Ephial'tes, a Trachinian deserter, revealed to him a path leading to the top of the mountain, that secured the Grecian flank. Leon'idas advised his allies to retire, declaring that he and his Spartans were forbidden by law to abandon their posts. Retaining with him only a thousand men, he resolved to attack the Persian camp by night, hoping in the confusion and darkness to reach the royal tent, and, by the slaughter or capture of Xer'xes, to put an end to the war. The plan had nearly succeeded when morning dawned on the assailants, wearied with slaughter; they then retreated

to the upper part of the pass, where they were soon surrounded by multitudes; but they still fought with all the energies of despair, until they sunk, fatigued rather than vanquished.

About the same time the Greeks obtained a victory over the Persian fleet off the headland of Artemis'ium, in the island of Eubœ'a; but this triumph was rendered fruitless by the loss of the pass of Thermópylæ; and Themis'tocles persuaded the allies to remove the navy into the Saronic gulf, where they anchored off the island of Sal'amis.

Xer'xes, having entered Phócis, divided his army, sending a large detachment to plunder and destroy the temple of Del'phi. They were attacked by the Phocians, and hewn down almost without resistance. A miserable remnant escaped to Xer'xes, who, having destroyed Thes'piæ and Platæ'æ, was rapidly advancing against Athens. On his approach, the Athenians, by the persuasion of Themis'tocles, abandoned their beloved city; those capable of bearing arms retired to the island of Sal'amis, while those whom age or sex rendered unfit for war, found shelter in the hospitable city of Trœzéne. Athens was burned to the ground; and Xer'xes, in the pride of success, resolved to annihilate the last hopes of Greece in a naval engagement.

Eurybíades, the Spartan, who commanded the allied fleet, was induced by Themis'tocles to adopt the plan of hazarding an engagement. Fearing, however, some change, the crafty Athenian sent a spy, as a pretended deserter, to Xer'xes, informing him that the Greeks were preparing to disperse and escape; upon which the whole Persian navy was sent to blockade the harbor of Sal'amis. Themis'tocles learned the success of his stratagem from Aristídes, who crossed over from Ægína in a small boat with the intelligence; a circumstance that at once put an end to the rivalry between these great men.

Xer'xes witnessed the battle of Sal'amis from Ægaléos, a rocky eminence on the coast of At'tica: he had the mortification to see his magnificent navy utterly annihilated. From that moment Xer'xes resolved to return into Asia, leaving three hundred thousand men under Mardónius to prosecute the war. When he reached the Hellespont, he found his magnificent bridge broken down, and he was forced to cross the strait in a common fishing-boat.

Mardónius having wintered in Thes'saly, before opening the next campaign, sent the king of Macedon as an ambassador to the Athenians, offering them the rebuilding of their city, and the friendship of his master, on condition of their seceding from the alliance. These offers were rejected. The confederates encamped at the foot of Mount Cithæ'ron, in front of the Persian lines. Several skirmishes took place, in all of which the Greeks had the advantage; but being distressed for want of water, they broke up their camp to seek a better position.

Mardónius, believing that his enemies were in full retreat, ordered his soldiers to pursue the fugitives and complete the victory. A battle ensued not far from the city of Platæ'æ, which ended in the total defeat of the Persians, and the annihilation of their army, with the exception of forty thousand that escaped to the Hellespont under Artabázus. Two hundred thousand of the barbarians are said to have fallen in this memorable battle, and the value of the plunder found in the Persian

camp exceeds calculation. On the very same day (September 22d, B. C. 479), an equally important victory was gained by the confederate fleet, commanded by the Athenian Xanthip'pus and the Spartan Leoty'chides at Mycále, on the coast of Asia Minor. Dreading the heroism of the Greeks, the Persians had drawn their ships on shore, surrounded them with fortifications, and protected them with an army of sixty thousand men. The allied Greeks, with far inferior numbers, landed their troops, stormed the works, destroyed the navy, and put the greater part of the Persians to the sword. The plunder taken by the Greeks was immense, but the most splendid results of these victories were the overthrow of the Persian power in the Ægean sea, and the freedom of the islands. It is probable that the colonies in western Asia might have regained their independence if they desired it; but, with the exception of the Ionians, most of the Asiatic Greeks preferred the tranquil supremacy of Persia to an alliance with the Grecian republics.

During the half century which followed the battle of Platæ'æ, the Athenian republic attained the summit of its greatness, and became the first state, not only of Greece, but of the civilized world. Themis'tocles rebuilt the defences of the city, fortified the harbor of the Peiræ'us, and joined it to Athens by what were called "the long walls."

In the meantime the Spartan Pausánias, at the head of the confederate Greeks, continued to wage war against the dependancies of the Persian empire in the Ægean sea and on the coast of Thrace. Byzan'tium, already regarded as a strong and flourishing city, was taken after a short siege (B. C. 470), and its vast wealth became the prey of the conquerors. Among the captives were many distinguished Persian noblemen, and even relations of the king, who paid large sums to redeem them from captivity. But this sudden influx of riches proved fatal to Pausánias; he resolved, by the aid of the Persians, to become supreme master of Greece. Secret information of their general's treason was conveyed to the Spartan senate; he was recalled, and brought to trial; but escaped the first time, it is said, by bribing his judges. Fresh evidence being obtained against him, he was secretly warned of his danger, and fled for safety to the temple of Miner'va. The Spartans did not dare to drag the traitor from the sanctuary; they blocked up the door of the temple with huge stones, stripped off its roof, strictly guarded all its avenues, and left the wretch to perish by cold and hunger. In consequence of the tyranny of Pausánias, the Spartans were deprived of the supremacy by sea, and the Athenians were chosen to lead the naval confederacy of the islands and colonies. Aristídes was elected treasurer of the allies, and to prevent any complaints, he selected the island of Délos as the point of reunion, and the sanctuary where their contributions should be deposited under the protection of Apol'lo.

Themis'tocles, by the artifice of the Spartans, was involved in the fate of Pausánias: he appears to have been acquainted with the plot, but he strenuously denied that it had ever received his sanction. He was banished by ostracism for ten years; but the malice of his enemies pursued him in his exile, and, to save his life, he was forced to seek refuge at the court of Persia. He soon however ended his life by poison. Nearly at the same time Aristídes died full of years and hon-

ors, having administered the public finances with so much integrity, that he did not leave behind him a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral. A sum was issued from the public treasury to pay for the last rites to his corpse, to complete his son's education, and to portion his daughters.

Cimon, the son of Miltíades, succeeded Aristídes as leader of the Athenian republic: he continued the war against the Persians with equal vigor and skill, reducing all their cities and forts, not only in Europe and the islands, but even on the coast of Asia. At length he completely destroyed the whole Persian navy off the coast of Cy'prus (B. C. 470), and then dressing his men in the vestures and arms of his prisoners, surprised the Persian camp at the mouth of the river Eurym'edon on the very same day, and before the barbarians could recover from their confusion, completed their destruction. The war continued twenty-one years, during which the naval power and commercial wealth of the Athenians were continually increasing; both sides at length began to entertain thoughts of peace. The articles were soon arranged, and they were worthy of the valor that the Greeks had shown in this great struggle (B. C. 449). It was stipulated that the independence of the Greek cities in lower Asia should be restored; that no Persian vessel should appear between the Cyanean rocks and Chelidonian islands, that is, between the northern extremity of the Thracian Bos'phorus and the southern promontory of Lycia; that no Persian army should come within three days' journey of the seacoast; and that the Athenians should withdraw their fleets and armies from the island of Cýprus. Thus gloriously were terminated the Persian wars, which, reckoning from the burning of Sar'dis, had lasted, with little intermission, during fifty-one years.

Section III.—*The First Peloponnesian War.*

FROM B. C. 431 TO B. C. 422.

While the Athenians were acquiring wealth and glory in the war against Persia, the Spartans, jealous of their rival's rising fame, were secretly preparing to weaken the Athenian power by a sudden war. But their animosity, before it broke into action, was diverted by a calamity equally great and unexpected. Lacónia was laid waste by an earthquake, which destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand of its inhabitants, and overwhelmed the city of Sparta (B. C. 469). The oppressed Hélots and the remnant of the Messenians took advantage of this calamity to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of their freedom; they failed in surprising Sparta; but they made themselves masters of their ancient fortress Ithóme. Though aided by the Athenians, whose assistance they repaid with ingratitude, the Spartans had great difficulty in subduing the insurgents, and were finally forced to allow them to retire from the Peloponnésus with their families and properties. These exiles were hospitably received in the Athenian colony of Naupac'tus; and they repaid the kindness shown to them by subsequently adhering, through every vicissitude of fortune, to the cause of Athens. The Argives had declined to support the general cause of Greece in the great struggle with the Persians; and the dependant

states, despising their treachery, had thrown off obedience to the capital. Mycénæ was the only city on which the Argives could wreak their vengeance; the rest, supported by Spar'ta, maintained their independence. From similar reasons, Thebes had lost her supremacy over the Bœotian cities; but here the Athenians embraced the cause of the minor states, while Sparta supported the sovereignty of the Bœotian metropolis.

Athens had now attained the summit of its greatness, under the brilliant administrations of Per'icles. That eminent statesman, though sprung from a noble house, had risen to power by warmly supporting the cause of the people, and procured the banishment of his rival Címon, on account of his partiality to Sparta. To secure his influence, Per'icles weakened the power of the great aristocratic court, the Areop'agus, by removing various causes from its jurisdiction to that of the popular tribunals. He adorned the city with the most splendid monuments of architecture, sculpture, and painting; and in order to defray the necessary expenditure, he augmented the contributions imposed on the allied states, under the pretence of supporting the Persian war, and removed the treasury of the confederates from Délos to Athens. Finding that the Spartans were supporting the cause of the Theban supremacy, he sent an army to maintain the independence of Bœótia, which, though at first worsted near Tanag'ra, won a decisive victory on the same ground in the following year (B. C. 457). A fleet at the same time ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnésus, and made the Spartans tremble for their own safety. The recall of Címon, and the defeat of the Athenians in an enterprise against Thebes, through the rashness of their leader Tol'midas, led to a truce for five years (B. C. 450), which might probably have led to a permanent peace, but for the death of Címon before the walls of Cit'ium. The close of the truce led to a brief renewal of war; but a second truce was concluded for fifty years, which gave Per'icles time to mature his favorite policy of making Athens mistress of the maritime and insular states. Some of the islands revolted, but they were successively subdued; and the subjugation of Sámos, the chief city in the island of that name, gave Per'icles the fame of a military leader as well as a statesman. About the same time he completed the overthrow of the aristocratic party, by procuring the banishment of its leader, the elder Thucyd'ides; and secured the popular favor by his unrivalled shows and theatrical exhibitions. The brilliancy of Athens, however, provoked a host of secret enemies, especially in the Peloponnésus, who only waited an opportunity of combining for her destruction.

Athens now formed the metropolis of an extensive territory which some of the ancients have denominated a kingdom. In that narrow space of time which intervened between the battle of Mycále and the memorable war of Peloponnésus, Athens had established her authority over an extent of more than a thousand miles of the Asiatic coast, from Cýprus to the Thracian Bos'phorus; taken possession of forty intermediate islands, together with the important straits which join the Euxine and the Ægean; conquered and colonized the winding shores of Thrace and Macedon; commanded the coast of the Euxine from Pon'tus to the Tauric Chersonese; and overawing the barbarous na-

tives by the experienced terrors of her fleet, at the same time rendered subservient to her own interests the colonies which Milétus and other Greek cities in Asia had established in those remote regions. Thus the Athenian galleys commanded the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; their merchantmen had engrossed the traffic of the adjacent countries; the magazines of Athens abounded with wood, metal, ebony, ivory, and all the materials of the useful as well as the agreeable arts; they imported the luxuries of Italy, Sicily, Cýprus, Lyd'ia, Pon'tus, and the Peloponnésus.

The circumstances that gave rise to the first Peloponnesian war originated in the unsettled state of colonial relations among the ancient Greeks. Corcy'ra, originally a Corinthian colony, had risen so rapidly in wealth and power, that it more than rivalled the parent state, and possessed many flourishing colonies of its own, among which one of the most important was Epidam'nus, called in Roman history Dyrac'chium (*Durazzo*), on the western coast of Macedónia. The people of Epidam'nus, pressed by their barbarous neighbors, sought aid from the Corcyreans; but finding their request unheeded, they applied to the Corinthians, who readily sent an armament to their assistance (B. C. 436). Nothing could exceed the rage of the Corcyreans when they received this intelligence; a fleet was instantly sent to the harbor, and its citizens were haughtily commanded to dismiss the Corinthians, and receive a Corcyrean garrison. This mandate was spurned with contempt, and Epidam'nus was immediately besieged. The Corinthians sent a powerful navy to raise the siege; but they were encountered by the Corcyreans in the Ambracian gulf, and completely defeated. Epidam'nus immediately surrendered; contrary, however, to the general expectation, its inhabitants were treated with great leniency. But the haughty islanders abused their victory by ravaging the territories of the states that had assisted Corinth, and provoked universal indignation by burning the city of Cylléne, on the sacred coast of E'lis. Both powers applied to Athens, as the head of the maritime states, to decide their quarrel. By the advice of Per'icles, a defensive alliance was concluded with the Corcyreans, and a fleet sent to their aid, which fortunately arrived at the moment when the Corinthian navy, having obtained a decisive victory, seriously menaced the island. On the arrival of the Athenians, the Corinthians retired; but as they returned, they surprised the garrison of Anactórium, on the coast of Epírus, which enabled them to bring home twelve hundred and fifty Corcyrean prisoners. The fatal effects produced by this capture will soon demand our attention.

Potidæ'a, a Corinthian colony on the Macedonian coast, which had been for some time subject to Athens, revolted during the Corcyrean war, and was instantly besieged. The Potidæ'ans sought aid from their ancient parent; and the Corinthians, too weak to afford efficient protection, besought the assistance of the Spartans. About the same time, ambassadors arrived from the city of Meg'ara, complaining that they had been, by an unjust decree, excluded from the ports and harbors of At'tica, soliciting the Spartans, as heads of the Dorian race, to procure a reversal of so unjust a law; and emissaries came from Ægína to represent the miserable condition to which that island had been reduced

by Athenian oppression. After some affected delay, the Spartans resolved that the Athenians had violated the principles of justice, and should be coerced to redress the injuries they had inflicted; but to give their proceedings an appearance of moderation, it was resolved to send ambassadors to Athens with demands which they knew well would be refused. They required that the siege of Potidæ'a should be raised, the decree against Meg'ara repealed, the island of Ægína abandoned, the independence of the maritime states respected, and the descendants of Cy'lon's murderers banished. This last demand was levelled at Per'icles, whose maternal ancestor had headed the aristocratic party when that sacrilegious murder was committed; and it was urged at a favorable moment, when Per'icles was suspected of impiety on account of his protecting the philosopher Anaxag'oras.

But the haughtiness with which the Spartan ambassadors urged their injurious demands roused the fiery spirit of the Athenian people, and it required all the influence of Per'icles to induce them to couch their refusal in temperate and dignified language. While the declaration of war was yet withheld intelligence arrived at Spar'ta of the Thebans having been foiled in an attempt to surprise Platæ'æ, and that their defeat was owing to the instigation and aid of the Athenians (B. C. 431). War was instantly proclaimed, and the Spartan king Archid'amus elected chief of the Peloponnesian confederates.

Athens, supported by the insular and maritime states, was supreme mistress of the sea; Spar'ta, on the other hand, was joined by the chief powers on the Grecian continent, and was consequently superior by land. Both began the war by displaying their strength on their own peculiar element: a Spartan army ravaged At'tica, an Athenian fleet plundered the coasts of the Peloponnésus. The Spartans were thus forced to return home to the defence of their own country; and no sooner had they withdrawn, than Per'icles invanded Meg'aris, and laid the whole of its narrow territory desolate. Early in the next summer the Peloponnesians again invaded At'tica; but the Athenians were assailed by a more dreadful calamity—a plague of unparalleled virulence had been introduced into the Piræ'æus from Asia, and it raged fiercely in a city crowded by the peasants who had sought refuge within the walls on the approach of the Spartans. At length, two years and six months after the commencement of the war, Per'icles himself fell a victim to the pestilence (B. C. 429). His death-bed was surrounded by his friends and admirers, who recited the many illustrious exploits of his glorious life. "You forget," said the dying patriot, "you forget the only valuable part of my character; none of my fellow-citizens was ever compelled by any action of mine to assume a mourning robe."

The war was supported by mutual ravages, and the success of the contending parties nicely balanced. Potidæ'a surrenderd to the Athenians, its inhabitants were banished, and their place supplied by fresh colonists; Platæ'æ, after a brave and protracted defence of five years, was yielded to the Spartans, and the whole garrison was mercilessly butchered (B. C. 427). In the same year that the Spartans had stained their national character by the atrocious massacre of the Platæans, the Athenians narrowly escaped being disgraced by a similar atrocity. The Lesbians of Mityléne had revolted, and sought the assistance of the

Peloponnesians, but the tardy and selfish policy of Lacedæ'mon delayed the succors until the insurgents were forced to surrender at discretion. When the fate of Mityléne was discussed in the Athenian assembly, the populace, instigated by Cléon, a vulgar demagogue, decreed that the city should be destroyed, and the male inhabitants put to the sword. But night brought better counsels; a general feeling of pity and regret spread among the people; and on the following day the sanguinary decree was revoked, and a fast-sailing vessel sent to prevent its execution. The messengers of mercy made such speed, that they entered the harbor of Mityléne a few hours after the preceding boat, and thus saved Les'bos from desolation.

The Spartan admiral, having failed to succor Les'bos, sailed against Corcy'ra, then agitated by the tumults of a most dangerous sedition. It has been already mentioned, that many Corcyreans had been made prisoners by the Corinthians; these men were won by the kindness and bribes of their captors to aid the aristocratic party of their countrymen in an attempt to subvert the democratic constitution of Corcy'ra, and break off the alliance with Athens. On their return home, they made a vigorous effort to accomplish their designs, and very nearly succeeded. After a violent and sanguinary contest, in which both parties were disgraced by the most savage atrocities, the democratic faction prevailed by the aid of an Athenian fleet, but sullied its triumph by exterminating all its opponents, under circumstances of equal treachery and cruelty.

The presence of the Athenian fleet in the Ionian sea rendered western Greece the scene of war; and Demos'thenes, its chief commander, subdued all the allies of the Peloponnesians in Ætólia and Epírus. The term of his command having expired (B. C. 425), he was returning home, when the Messenians who served in his fleet proposed to effect a landing in the harbor of Py'lus (*Navarino*), and, fortifying themselves there, make the Spartans tremble in their own capital, which was only fifty miles distant. The bold design was accomplished; and the Spartans in alarm sent a fleet and army to besiege Py'lus; they garrisoned the little island of Sphactéria; but their navy being defeated by the Athenians, this garrison, consisting of the noblest of the Spartan families, was brought to the brink of ruin, and would have been utterly destroyed, but for the inadequate resources which Demos'thenes had at his command. Under these circumstances, the Spartans sent deputies to solicit peace; but the Athenian people, instigated by their unworthy favorite Cléon rejected the proffer with disdain. This arrogant boaster, whose cowardice was notorious, offered, if he were made general, that he would make the Spartans in Sphactéria prisoners within twenty days. He had no notion that his offer would be accepted; but the Athenian populace, ready at all times to sacrifice everything for a joke, took him at his word. Cléone sailed to the scene of war, and was enabled, by an accidental fire, which destroyed the Spartan fortifications, to accomplish his promise. This success was followed by the capture of the island of Cythéra, the destruction of the Megarean harbor Nicæ'a and of several seaports on the coast of the Peleponnésus. But these triumphs were counterbalanced by the defeat of the Athenians at Délium, the revolt of their northern colonies, and the commencement of hostilities against them by Perdic'cas, king of Macedon. The

Spartans, roused to vigor by this unexpected turn of events, sent an army under Bras'idas, their ablest general, through northern Greece, to aid the revolted colonies; and this eminent leader soon deprived the Athenians of their principal cities in Thrace and Macedon. Cléon headed an Athenian army sent to retrieve these losses; he was defeated and slain; but the Spartan victory was deprived of all its fruits by the death of Bras'idas, who incautiously exposed himself, and was mortally wounded (B. C. 422).

Sparta had no general fit to succeed Bras'idas, and the senate was anxious to recover the prisoners taken in Sphactéria; the Athenians were equally eager to procure the restitution of their northern colonies; and Nic'ias, who had succeeded Cléon, was naturally of a pacific disposition. These favorable circumstances led to the conclusion of a peace, or rather truce, for fifty years, on the basis of mutual restitution, by which Sparta wantonly sacrificed the interests of her allies.

SECTION IV.—*The Second Peloponnesian War.*

FROM B. C. 421 TO B. C. 404.

JUSTLY provoked by the neglect of their interests in the recent treaty, the Corinthians privately instigated the Argives against the Spartans; and a combination was formed by the principal democratic states, which was secretly encouraged by the Athenians. The sudden departure from pacific policy was owing to the influence of Alcibíades, the nephew of Per'icles, who, to a large share of his uncle's abilities, added a boundless ambition, and a reckless disregard of the means he used to accomplish his ends. The Argives and Spartans, after having harassed each other by petty expeditions, at length prepared for open war; but just as the two armies were on the point of engaging, the remembrance that they were both descended from the Dorian race suspended their rage, and a truce was concluded between their respective leaders. Alcibíades, who was then ambassador at Ar'gos, roused the populace to refuse the ratification of this agreement; a fresh attack was made on the Spartan allies, but it proved unsuccessful. Two years of mutual recrimination followed; during which the Argive republic was harassed by sanguinary revolutions, which ended in the complete establishment of a democracy. In the meantime, the Athenians, anxious to restore their naval supremacy, attacked the Dorian island of Mélos, and punished the resistance of the inhabitants by a cruel massacre, which provoked universal indignation throughout Greece. But public attention was soon engrossed by a more important topic, the Athenian expedition to Sicily, undertaken at the instigation of Alcibíades (B. C. 415), nominally to deliver the Egestans from the tyranny of the Syracusans, but really to establish the Athenian supremacy in that island.

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Nic'ias and Soc'rates, the most powerful armament which had ever left a Grecian port was speedily prepared, and intrusted to the just command of Alcibíades, Nic'ias, and Lam'achus. When reviewed at Corcy'ra, it was found to consist of a hundred and thirty-four ships-of-war, with a proportional number of transports and tenders. The army was composed of five thousand

heavy-armed infantry, accompanied by a sufficient body of slingers and archers. Instead, however, of sailing directly to Syracuse, which probably would have fallen, the fleet was steered to Cat′ana, whose inhabitants were induced to join the Athenians by the brilliant eloquence of Alcibíades. Scarcely, however, had he obtained this triumph, when he was summoned home to be tried for his life on a charge of impiety and sacrilege.

He was accused of having violated the Eleusinian mysteries, and wantonly defaced the Her′mæ, or sacred statues of Mercury, which adorned the streets of Athens. Conscious of his guilt, or dreading the giddy populace, he refused to incur the hazard of a trial, but fled to Thúrium, whence he removed to Ar′gos, and afterward, when a price was set on his head, to Spar′ta. Nic′ias, by the departure of Alcibíades, and death of Lam′achus, remained sole commander of the Athenian forces: he was an able but cautious leader, and after he had defeated the Syracusans, he wasted precious time in fortifying his camp and useless negotiations. The Corinthians and Spartans profited by the delay to send succors to Syracuse, which they intrusted to Gylip′pus, the best general of his day. Under his command the fortune of the war soon changed; and the Athenians, so far from making any impression on Syracuse, were severely defeated, and besieged in their camp. At the request of Nic′ias, a new armament was sent to Sicily, under the command of Demos′thenes and Eurym′edon; but through the dilatory policy of the old general, and the rashness of his colleagues, this reinforcement was rendered unavailing, and the Athenians were defeated in a decisive engagement. Demos′thenes now proposed to return; but Nic′ias lingered in Sicily after all rational hopes of success were lost, and the Syracusans, in the meantime, collecting a powerful navy, destroyed the Athenian fleet, and became masters of the sea. An attempt was made by the Athenians to retreat to some friendly city; but they were overtaken by the Syracusan army, and forced to surrender at discretion (B. C. 413). The generals were barbarously put to death, and the common soldiers sold as slaves.

This terrible calamity was fatal to the power of Athens; but it was not the only misfortune that befell the republic. Acting under the revengeful advice of Alcibíades, the Spartans fortified and garrisoned Deceleía, a town not fifteen miles from Athens, and commanding its richest lands; and thus, instead of harassing their enemies by annual incursions, they infested them by a continual war. Soon afterward they learned that the wealth of Persia was added to the formidable confederacy of the Spartans.

But under all these misfortunes the Athenians maintained their national courage, and prepared to meet the crisis with enthusiasm. Their most pressing danger arose from the discontent of the maritime states, whose desire of independence was stimulated by the presence of a superior Spartan fleet in the Ægean sea. The ruin of the Athenians was, however, suspended by the negotiations of Alcibíades with the Persian satrap Tissapher′nes; for this ambitious man, having provoked the resentment of the Spartans by his vices, was now eager to be reconciled to his native country. His intrigues procured the abolition of the Athenian democracy, and the substitution of an aristocratic

government; but the new heads of the state justly dreaded the ambition of Alcibíades, and refused to repeal the sentence pronounced against him. The four hundred tyrants, as the aristocratic usurpers were justly called, alienated the minds even of their partisans by their cruelty and incapacity. At length the revolt of Eubœ'a, and the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Erétria, provoked a fierce insurrection: they were deposed, and thus, at the end of four months, the democracy was restored. Alcibíades was immediately recalled; but he resolved not to return home until his return should be gilded by the fame of some great exploit. He hastened, with a small squadron, to aid the Athenian fleet, at the moment it had joined battle with the Spartans; and this seasonable reinforcement decided the victory. But Alcibíades, eager for a more decisive blow, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Spartans in the harbor of Cyz'icus, and by his prudent arrangements the whole hostile fleet was either taken or destroyed (B. C. 411). This great victory was followed by the re-establishment of the Athenian ascendency in the Thracian Chersonésus. After having performed these essential services, Alcibíades returned home (B. C. 407), and was welcomed at Athens with great enthusiasm: he was appointed commander-in-chief by sea and land, and a large armament was placed at his disposal.

But when Alcibíades returned to the coast of Asia, he found the cause of Sparta retrieved by the crafty Lysan'der, who was more than his equal in the diplomatic arts of duplicity and cunning. The Spartan had the art to gain the confidence of the Persian prince Cy'rus, to whom his father had just intrusted the government of lower Asia; and by the simple expedient of raising the pay of the sailors on board the confederate fleets, he at once deprived the Athenians of their most experienced mariners. Alcibíades went with a small squadron to raise contributions in Cária: during his absence, Antíochus, his lieutenant, contrary to orders, engaged Lysan'der, and was defeated with the loss of fifteen ships. Intelligence of this event being conveyed to Athens, the suspicions of the treachery of Alcibíades, which had been only partially lulled, returned in full force, and he was a second time deposed and banished. He fled to a fortress he possessed in Thrace, while ten admirals were appointed to command in his stead.

Lysan'der's year of office having expired, he was succeeded as admiral of the Peloponnesian fleet by Callicrat'idas, a man as inferior to him in ability as he was superior in rectitude and integrity. An engagement between the fleets, off the islands of Arginúsæ, ended in the total defeat of the Spartans; but a violent storm prevented the Athenian admirals from improving their victory, and from recovering the bodies of their slain, to procure them the rites of sepulture. For these imaginary crimes, they were accused before the people by one of their colleagues, denied the benefit of a fair trial, condemned by clamor, and put to death.

The war for a time languished, but the reappointment of Lysan'der to the command of the Peloponnesian fleet was fatal to Athens, whose best officers had been wantonly sacrificed to gratify the fury of a licentious populace. Profiting by the unskilfulness and presumption of the Athenian admiral, Lysan'der attacked them unawares at the mouth of

the Ægos-pot′amos (Goat's river), and totally annihilated their navy, with the exception of eight galleys, which, by the prudent management of Cónon, escaped to the island of Cy′prus (B. C. 406). Lysan′der, having thus virtually put an end to the Peloponnesian war, mercilessly butchered his unfortunate prisoners, to the amount of three thousand.

Before sailing against Athens, Lysan′der reduced the principal maritime states, and thus prevented the import of grain into the devoted city. When he deemed that famine had sufficiently prepared the way for success, he appeared before the harbor with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, while A′gis, the king of Sparta, attacked the city by land.

The Athenians made an obstinate defence; but they were at length forced to surrender, on the humiliating conditions of abolishing the democracy, and intrusting the chief power to thirty persons named by the Spartans, surrendering all their ships but twelve, resigning all claim to their colonies and foreign possessions, and consenting to follow the Spartan standard in war. Harsh as were these conditions, they were mercy compared to the sanguinary measures proposed by the Thebans and Corinthians. The Athenians submitted in bitter sorrow. On the sixteenth of May (B. C. 404), the anniversary of the memorable victory of Sal′amis, the harbors and forts of Athens were occupied by her enemies, and the demolition of her walls commenced amid loud shouts and flourishes of martial music: while her citizens, broken-hearted, hid themselves from the light of day.

But the Spartans did not believe their triumph secure while Alcibíades lived to reanimate the hopes of the Athenians, and perhaps procure for them the aid of the Persians. He had detected the hostile plans of Cy′rus the younger against his brother Artaxer′xes, which the crafty Lysan′der secretly encouraged, and desired to be escorted to Susa, in order to reveal the plot to the king. Pharnabázus dreaded the consequence of such a discovery: he therefore readily listened to the suggestions of Lysan′der, and sent a body of assassins to murder the illustrious exile. Alcibíades was living in a Phrygian village unconscious of his danger. Such was the fame of his valor, that the murderers were afraid to attack him openly, and set fire to his house. The brave Athenian rushed through the flames, and clove down the foremost of the assassins, but the rest overwhelmed him with showers of darts, and he fell by a multitude of wounds. The Athenians paid an involuntary and extraordinary homage to his talents, for they at once abandoned themselves to despair, and made no effort to retrieve the hapless condition of their country.

SECTION V.—*Tyrannical Rule of Sparta.—Third Peloponnesian War.*

FROM B. C. 404 TO B. C. 361.

THE confederates had destroyed the supremacy of Athens, but soon found that they had thereby subjected themselves to the galling tyranny of the Spartans. Lysan′der proved to be the worst oppressor that had

ever been raised to power; and the Greek cities in Asia would have gladly chosen the non-despotism of Persia, in preference to his avarice and cruelty. But, to secure her power, Sparta had established an oligarchy of her creatures in every state, and supported those domestic tyrannies with arms and money. The power of the thirty tyrants at Athens was secured and maintained by a Spartan garrison in the Acrop'olis: thus supported, these despots set no bounds to their cruelty and rapacity, putting to death all who possessed wealth or political influence, and enriching themselves by confiscations.

The city seemed to possess only two classes of inhabitants, the ready instruments of cruelty and the patient victims of tyranny; three thousand miscreants were found to act as a bodyguard to the tyrants; all the other citizens were disarmed, and those who were suspected or attached to the ancient constitution, were either murdered or driven into exile. The dockyards were demolished in order to cripple the commercial enterprise of the Athenians; the *bema*, or pulpit on the Pnyx, was turned to the land side, that the view of the sea might not awaken glorious recollections, or revive patriotic emotions, and all instruction in oratory was strictly prohibited.

Although the Thebans had been the most inveterate enemies of the Athenians, their hearts were affected by witnessing the evils brought upon their rivals by the cruelty of the tyrants, and they received with generous kindness those who fled from the persecution of the despots. A numerous band of exiles was soon assembled at Thebes, and at its head was placed Thrasyb'ulus, whose daring valor was tempered by prudence and humanity. Under his guidance the exiles seized Phy'le, a strong fortress on the frontiers of At'tica and Bœótia, whence they opened a communication with the enemies of the tyrants in the city. Justly terrified, the thirty and their partisans flew to arms, but they suffered a shameful defeat; and Thrasyb'ulus, strengthened by the accession of new partisans, seized the Peiræ'us. The aristocratic faction, in great alarm, deposed the thirty and elected ten new magistrates in their stead, who emulated the wickedness of their predecessors, and, to secure their power sought assistance from Sparta. Lysan'der quickly advanced to their aid, and blockaded the Peiræ'us; but his pride and ambition had given deep offence in Sparta; and Pausánias, the most popular of the Lacedæmonian princes, hastily marched with a second army to frustrate the plans of Lysan'der. Under the protection of Pausánias the despots were stripped of power, the ancient constitution of Athens restored, and the Spartan garrison withdrawn from the citadel (B. C. 403). Some of the tyrants retired with their followers to Eleus'is; but their unequal hostility was easily defeated by the vigor of the new republic. A few of the most obnoxious were put to death: the rest were pardoned by a general act of amnesty, which was ratified by the people on the motion of Thrasyb'ulus.

Scarcely had the constitution been restored, when the Athenians showed how greatly their national character had been deteriorated, by condemning the virtuous Soc'rates to death on a frivolous charge of impiety (B. C. 400). His death was worthy of his useful and honorable life; he submitted to the injustice of his countrymen without murmuring or repining, and spent his last moments in impressing on the minds of his friends,

who remained faithful to him, those sublime lessons of philosophy which his eloquent disciple Plato has transmitted to posterity.

Another disciple of Soc'rates was at the same time less honorably engaged as a hireling soldier in Asia. Darius Nóthus, at his death, bequeathed the crown of Persia to his eldest son Artaxer'xes, surnamed Mnémon from the strength of his memory. Cy'rus, his younger brother, was stimulated by the queen dowager Parysátis, to claim the kingdom, on the ground of his having been born the son of a king, while the birth of Artaxer'xes took place while Darius was as yet in a private station. Cy'rus, while governor of lower Asia, had earned the gratitude of Lysan'der and the Spartans, by supplying them with money to carry on the war against Athens, and in return he obtained their permission to raise an auxiliary force in Greece to aid his intended rebellion. Thirteen thousand adventurers soon enrolled themselves under his standard, consisting not only of the Spartans and their allies, but of some renegade Athenians, among whom was Xen'ophon, the celebrated historian. With these auxiliaries, and an army of one hundred thousand of his own provincials, Cy'rus invaded Upper Asia, and advanced with little difficulty into Babylónia (B. C. 400). Here he encountered his brother's immense army, and rashly charging the centre of the royal guards, was slain on the field. His army, according to the usual custom of Asiatics, dispersed immediately; and the Greeks were left almost alone in the midst of a hostile country, to effect a difficult retreat of more than a thousand miles. Their leaders proposed terms of accommodation to the Persians. They were invited to a conference, under the pretence of arranging the preliminaries, and were mercilessly butchered. Undismayed, they chose new commanders; and after enduring incredible hardships, succeeded in fighting their way to their native country. Thus gloriously ended "the retreat of the ten thousand;" but nothing can excuse the original guilt of the expedition.

The remnant of the ten thousand entered into the service of the Spartans, who had sent an army to protect the Greek cities of Asia from the threatened vengeance of Artaxer'xes. A desultory war ensued, productive of no important result, until the command of the Greek forces was given to Agesiláus, who had been raised to the throne of Lacónia by the influence and intrigues of Lysan'der. Agesiláus departed for Asia just as the Spartans had escaped from the peril of a plot formed for their destruction by the subject Lacedæmonians, at the instigation of the ambitious Cin'adon (B. C. 396). Lysan'der, the author of his greatness, accompanied Agesiláus, hoping to re-establish the influence which he had formerly possessed in the Asiatic cities. But Agesiláus treated him with the most mortifying neglect, and Lysan'der returned home, unpitied, to bewail his friend's ingratitude. The Spartan monarch, thus freed from a dangerous rival, then directed his entire attention to the war, and defeated the Persians in several battles. It is very probable that Agesiláus would have shaken the throne of Artaxer'xes, had not the atrocious tyranny of his countrymen provoked the general enmity of all the Greek states, and kindled a new Peloponnesian war.

Under the most frivolous pretences, Lysan'der and the Spartan king Pausánias were sent to invade the Theban territories. The former laid

siege to Haliar′tus, the latter encamped in the neighborhood of Platæ′æ. The garrison of Haliar′tus, taking advantage of this division of the hostile forces, made a sudden sally, and defeated the Spartans with great slaughter, Lysan′der himself being slain (B. C. 394). Pausánias obtained leave to bury the dead, on condition of evacuating Bœótia; and he returned disgraced to the Peloponnésus, where he soon died of a broken heart.

The news of this event revived the courage of the enemies of Spar′ta; a league for mutual protection was formed by the republics of Argos, Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, to which most of the colonies in Thrace and Macedon acceded. Agesiláus was immediately recalled from Asia, and he obeyed the summons with great promptitude, leaving his fleet, and a portion of the Asiatic army, under the charge of his kinsman Pisan′der. Cónon, one of the ten admirals, who had been exposed to the anger of the Athenian populace after the seafight at Arginúsæ, found a generous protector in Evag′oras, king of Cy′prus, by whom he was introduced to the notice of Artaxer′xes. The Persian monarch, alarmed at the progress of Agesiláus, gladly supplied Cónon with the means of fitting out a fleet which might cope with that of Spar′ta. Knowing the vanity and inexperience of Pisan′der, Cónon sailed in quest of the Lacedæmonians to the Dorian shore; and off the harbor of Cnídus gained a decisive victory, by which the Spartan navy was annihilated, and its empire over the maritime states irretrievably destroyed. With consummate skill Cónon availed himself of this success to restore not only the independence of Athens, but her supremacy in the Ægean sea. He conducted his victorious fleet to the principal islands and colonies, and, either by persuasion or menace, induced them to renew their allegiance to their ancient mistress.

Agesiláus received the intelligence of this unexpected reverse just as he was about to engage a Theban army at Coroneía (B. C. 394). He animated his soldiers by falsely reporting that the Spartan fleet had been victorious; but even this stratagem failed to gain him decisive success. He won the battle, indeed, but at such a heavy cost that his victory was nearly as calamitous as a defeat. The best and bravest of the Spartan veterans fell, and Agesiláus himself was dangerously wounded. The battles of Cnídus and Coroneía were the only important engagements in this war, which lasted nearly eight years; both parties exhausted their strength in petty skirmishes in the neighborhood of Corinth; and that wealthy city was almost wholly destroyed by the rivalry of the Argive and Spartan factions.

Cónon having employed the Persian money to rebuild the walls of Athens, and the Persian fleet to restore its maritime supremacy, became suspected by Artaxer′xes of designing to raise a revolt of the Greeks in Asia; and this suspicion was fostered by Spartan emissaries, who offered to abandon, in the name of their government, the cause of Grecian liberty, provided that the Persian monarch would grant favorable terms of peace. Artaxer′xes listened to the treacherous proposals; Cónon was seized and murdered in prison; articles of peace were arranged with the Spartan Antal′cidas, by which the liberty of the Greek cities was sacrificed, and the independence of all the minor republics proclaimed. The Persian monarch and the Spartan republic took upon

themselves to enforce the latter regulation, which was designed to prevent Athens from maintaining her superiority over the maritime states, and Thebes from becoming mistress of the Bœotian cities (B. C. 387). The disgraceful peace of Antal'cidas, by which the Spartans resigned the free cities of Asia to a barbarian, in order to gratify their unworthy jealousies, sufficiently proves that the selfish policy inculcated by the laws of Lycur'gus was as ruinous as it was scandalous.

The city of Olyn'thus, in the Macedonian peninsula, having incurred the resentment of the Spartans, an army was sent to reduce it; but this was found no easy task; and it was not until after a war of four years, in which the Spartans suffered many severe defeats, that the Olynthians were forced to accept a peace on very humiliating conditions. In the course of this war, Phœ'bidas, a Spartan general, in violation of the laws of nations, seized the Cadmeía, or citadel of Thebes, then enjoying a profound peace; and his crime was justified and rewarded by Agesiláus (B. C. 383). The chief of the Theban patriots fled to Athens, where they were kindly received; an oligarchy of traitors was established under the protection of the Spartan garrison; and Thebes was doomed to the misery that Athens had endured under the thirty tyrants.

Pelop'idas, one of the Theban exiles, stimulated by the recent example of Thrasyb'lus, concerted, with a friend who had remained in Thebes, a bold plan for the liberation of his country. The most licentious of the tyrants were invited to a feast; and when they were hot with wine, the conspirators entered disguised as courtesans, and slew them in the midst of their debauchery (B. C. 378). The rest of the traitors met a similar fate; and the patriots being reinforced by an Athenian army, vigorously besieged the citadel, and soon forced the Lacedæmonian garrison to capitulate.

Cleombrótus was sent with a numerous army from Lacedæmon, in the depth of winter, to chastise the Thebans. The Athenians were beginning to repent of their having aided the revolters; but a perfidious attempt having been made by one of the Spartan generals to seize the Peiræ'us, as Phœ'bidas had the Cadmeía, the whole city of Athens was filled with just indignation, and the most vigorous preparations were made for war. Agesiláus himself repeatedly invaded Bœótia, without performing anything worthy of his former fame. Pelop'idas, who was chosen general by his grateful countrymen, won two splendid victories at Tanag'ra and Tegy'ra, though in the latter fight he had to encounter a vast disparity of force. The Athenians swept the Spartan navy from the seas, and infested the coasts of the Peloponnésus. The maritime states, disappointed in their expectations of independence, renewed their confederacy under the supremacy of Athens, and the invention of a new system of tactics by Iphic'rates, was fatal to the ancient superiority of the Lacedæmonian phalanx. Nothing, in short, could have saved Spar'ta from destruction, had not the Thebans, intoxicated with success, provoked hostility by their vaunting pride, and the cruelty with which they treated the cities of Bœótia.

A convention of all the Grecian states was summoned to Spar'ta, at the request of the Persian monarch, who wished to obtain aid from the chief republics in subduing an insurrection of the Egyptians (B. C.

372). The representative of the Thebans was Epaminon'das, the best military commander that Greece had yet produced, and the wisest statesman it had seen since the days of Per'icles. His eloquent denunciation of Spartan ambition produced a deep impression on the minds of the deputies, which all the ingenuity of Agesiláus could not remove; the assembly was dissolved without coming to any conclusion; but the influence of Sparta was destroyed for ever. Early in the following spring, Cleombrótus, who, during the sickness of Agesiláus had been appointed to the chief command, invaded Bœótia with a powerful army. Epaminon'das met him on the memorable field of Leuc'tra, and by attacking the long lines of the Lacedæmonians with massy columns, won a decisive victory, in which Cleombrótus himself was slain. The consequences of this battle were more important than the triumph itself; for all the states previously under the yoke of Spar'ta began openly to aspire at independence.

The Athenians, though justly enraged with the Spartans, were by no means satisfied with the result of the battle of Leuc'tra. They withdrew their friendship from the Thebans, who soon, however, found a more powerful ally in Jáson, the captain-general of Thessaly. This noble prince, who had planned the union of all the Grecian states into a single monarchy, of which he designed himself to be the head, joined the Thebans after the battle, and meditated a truce between them and the Spartans. He was planning further schemes of empire, when he was murdered by seven assassins in the presence of his army (B. C. 370). Two of the murderers were slain on the spot; five escaped by the fleetness of their horses, and were received in the Grecian republics as heroic assertors of liberty.

No peril more imminently threatened Spar'ta than the revolt of the Peloponnesian states which had hitherto tamely submitted to her authority; but it was dangerous to attempt their subjugation by force, lest they might combine together for mutual protection. These states were equally reluctant to encounter the hazards of war, until they had secured the support of a Theban army; and they sent pressing messages for aid to Bœótia. After some delay, Epaminon'das and Pelop'idas were sent into the Peloponnésus at the head of a powerful army, and they advanced without interruption into Lacónia, where the face of an enemy had not been seen for five centuries (B. C. 369). The whole country was laid desolate; but what was more afflicting to the Spartans even than these ravages, Epaminon'das rebuilt the ancient city of Messéne, placed a Theban garrison in its citadel, and called back the wreck of the Messenian nation to their native land, where they watched every favorable occasion for wreaking their vengeance on their oppressors. Scarcely had this great enterprise been accomplished, when the Theban generals heard that the Athenians had not only entered into alliance with the Spartans, but had sent a large army to their aid, under the command of Iphic'rates. They immediately evacuated Lacónia, and returned home laden with plunder through the isthmus of Corinth, meeting no interruption from Iphic'rates, who led his forces by a different road. The Thebans, instead of receiving their illustrious generals with gratitude, brought them to trial for having continued their command beyond the time limited by law. Pelop'idas lost his pres-

ence of mind, and escaped with difficulty; but Epaminon'das, proudly recounting his heroic deeds, awed his accusers into silence, and was conducted home in triumph.

The Peloponnesian war lingered during the six following years. The Spartans were engaged in punishing their revolted subjects in Lacónia; the Thebans were involved in a difficult struggle against Alexan'der, the tyrant of Phéræ, who had succeeded to the influence of Jáson in Thessaly, and Ptolemy, the usurper of the throne of Macedon. Pelop'idas was intrusted with the command of the army sent to regulate these difficulties. He forced Alexan'der to submit to the terms of peace imposed by the Theban senate, and he restored Per'diccas, the legitimate heir, to the throne of Macedon. To secure the Theban interest in the north, he brought home with him several of the Macedonian princes and nobles as hostages, among whom was Philip, the younger brother of Per'diccas, and future conqueror of Greece. On his return, Pelop'idas was treacherously seized by the tyrant of Phéræ, and thrown into prison; nor was he liberated until Epaminon'das, after the defeat of many inferior leaders, was sent into Thessaly, where he soon forced the tyrant Alexan'der to unconditional submission. Pelop'idas, after his liberation, was sent as an ambassador to Persia, where his eloquence so charmed Artaxer'xes, that he broke off his alliance with Spar'ta and concluded a league with the Thebans. The greater number of the Grecian states refused to accede to this union, partly from their ancient hostility to Persia, partly from jealousy of Thebes. Epaminon'das was therefore sent a third time into the Peloponnésus with a powerful army, to revive the spirit of the former confederacy against Spar'ta (B. C. 366). He wasted much precious time in trying to obtain a naval power, and he was long prevented from undertaking any enterprise of importance by the jealousy and dissensions of his allies, especially the Arcadians. While he was thus employed, his colleague Pelop'idas fell in a battle against Alexan'der, the tyrant of Phéræ (B. C. 364); and the Thebans, through sorrow for his death, made no public rejoicings for their victory. His loss was poorly compensated by the destruction of the tyrant, who was soon after murdered by his own family.

In the following year, Epaminon'das entered upon his last campaign, by marching against the Peloponnesian states which had separated from the Theban alliance. Knowing the unprotected condition of Spar'ta, he made a forced march, and appeared before the city while the army was at a considerable distance. His attack was fierce; but it was repelled by the valor of Archid'amus, the son of Agesiláus, who, with a handful of men, compelled the Thebans to retreat. Foiled in this attempt, he resolved to surprise the wealthy city of Mantinæ'a; and would have succeeded, had not a squadron of Athenian cavalry accidentally reached the place a little before the appearance of the Thebans, and by their determined valor baffled the utmost efforts of the assailants. These repeated disappointments induced Epaminon'das to hazard a pitched battle. It was fought in the neighborhood of Mantinæ'a, and was the most arduous and sanguinary contest in which the Greeks had yet engaged. Epaminon'das fell in the arms of victory; and the Thebans, neglecting to pursue their advantages, rendered this

sanguinary struggle indecisive, and productive of no other consequence than a general languor and debility in all the Grecian states. The glory of Thebes perished with the two great men who had raised her to fame: a general peace was established by the mediation of Artaxer'xes (B. C. 362), on the single condition, that each republic should retain its respective possessions.

Spar'ta was anxious to recover Messénia; but this being opposed by the Persian king, Agesiláus, to punish Artaxer'xes, led an army into Egypt, where he supported one rebel after another, and acquired considerable wealth in this dishonorable war. On his return home, he died in an obscure port on the Cyreniac coast, at the advanced age of eighty-four years (B. C. 361). At the commencement of his reign, Spar'ta had attained the summit of her greatness; at its close, she had sunk into hopeless weakness: and, notwithstanding all the praise bestowed upon this monarch by the eloquent Xen'ophon, it is undeniable that most of Spar'ta's misfortunes were owing to the ambition, the obstinacy, and the perfidy of Agesiláus.

SECTION VI.—*The Second Sacred War.—Destruction of Grecian Freedom.*

FROM B. C. 361 TO B. C. 336.

SCARCELY had the third Peloponnesian war terminated, when the Athenians, by their tyranny and rapacity toward the maritime states, were deprived of all the advantages they had derived from the patriotism of Cónon. Cháres, a blustering, vulgar demagogue, raised to power by pandering to the passions of a licentious populace, exhorted his countrymen to supply their exhausted treasury by plundering the wealth of their allies and colonies. This counsel was too faithfully obeyed. The weaker states complained; but the islands of Chíos, Cos, and Rhodes, together with the city of Byzan'tium, prepared openly to revolt, and entered into a league for their mutual protection (B. C. 358). Cháres was sent to chastise the insurgents: he laid siege to the city of Chíos, but was driven from its walls with disgrace and loss; Chábrias, the best leader that the Athenians possessed, falling in the engagement. The insurgents, encouraged by this success, began to assume the offensive, and to ravage the islands that remained faithful to Athens. A new armament was prepared to check their progress, and it was intrusted to the joint command of Cháres, Timótheus, and Iphic'rates; but Cháres, having been hindered by his colleagues from hazarding a battle off Byzan'tium under very favorable circumstances, procured their recall, and had them brought to trial upon a charge of treachery and cowardice. Venal orators conducted the prosecution; and a degraded people sentenced the two illustrious commanders to pay an exorbitant fine. They both retired into voluntary exile, and never again entered the service of their ungrateful country. Cháres, left uncontrolled, wholly neglected the commission with which he had been intrusted, and hired himself and his troops to the satrap Artabázus, then in rebellion against Artaxer'xes O'chus, king of Persia. This completed the ruin of the Athenians. O'chus threatened them with the whole weight of his resentment, unless they instantly recalled their

armament from the East; and with this mandate the degraded republicans were forced to comply (B. C. 356). The confederate states regained complete freedom and independence, which they preserved for twenty years, when they, with the rest of Greece, fell under the dominion of the Macedonians.

Spar'ta, Thebes, and Athens, having successively lost their supremacy, the Amphictyonic council, which for more than a century had been a mere pageant, began to exercise an important influence in the affairs of Greece. They issued a decree subjecting the Phocians to a heavy fine for cultivating some lands that had been consecrated to Apol'lo, and imposing a similar penalty on the Spartans for their treacherous occupation of the Cadmeía (B. C. 357). The Phocians, animated by their leader Philomélus, and secretly encouraged by the Spartans, not only refused obedience, but had recourse to arms. In defiance of the prejudices of the age, Philomélus stormed the city of Del'phi, plundered the sacred treasury, and employed its wealth in raising an army of mercenary adventurers. The Thebans and Locrians were foremost in avenging this insult to the national religion; but the war was rather a series of petty skirmishes than regular battles. It was chiefly remarkable for the sanguinary spirit displayed on both sides; the Thebans murdering their captives as sacrilegious wretches; the Phocians retaliating these cruelties on all the captives that fell into their hands. At length Philomélus, being forced to a general engagement under disadvantageous circumstances, was surrounded, and on the point of being made prisoner, when he threw himself headlong from a rock, to escape falling into the hands of his enemies (B. C. 353). Onomar'chus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, safely conducted the remnant of the army to the fastnesses of Del'phi. He proved an able and prudent leader. With the treasures of the Delphic temple he purchased the aid of Ly'cophron, the chief of the Thessalian princess; and, thus supported, he committed fearful ravages in the territories of Bœótia and Lócris. The Thebans, in great distress, applied for aid to Philip, king of Macedon, who had long sought a pretext for interfering in the affairs of Greece (B. C. 352): he marched immediately to their relief, completely routed the Phocians in the plains of Thessaly, and suspended from a gibbet the body of Onomar'chus which was found among the slain. He dared not, however, pursue his advantages further; for he knew that an attempt to pass the straits of Thermop'ylæ would expose him to the hostility of all the Grecian states which he was not yet prepared to encounter.

Phayl'lus, the brother of the two preceding leaders of the Phocians, renewed the war, and again became formidable. Philip, under the pretence of checking his progress, attempted to seize Thermop'ylæ; but had the mortification to find the straits pre-occupied by the Athenians. He returned home, apparently wearied of Grecian politics; but he had purchased the services of venal orators, whose intrigues soon afforded him a plausible pretext for renewed interference. The war lingered for two or three years; the treasures of the Delphic temple began to fail, and the Phocians longed for peace. But the vengeance of the Thebans was insatiable: they besought Philip to crush the impious profaners of the temple; and that prince, having lulled the suspicions of

the Athenians, in spite of the urgent warnings of the patriotic Demos'thenes, passed the straits without opposition, and laid the unhappy Phocians prostrate at the feet of their inveterate enemies (B. C. 347). Their cities were dismantled, their country laid desolate, and their vote in the Amphictyonic council transferred to the king of Macedon.

A new sacred war was excited by the artifices of Æs'chines, the Athenian deputy to the Amphictyonic council, a venal orator, who had long sold himself to Philip. He accused the Locrians of Amphis'sa of cultivating the Cirrhéan plain, which had been consecrated with such solemn ceremonies in the first sacred war The Locrians, after the example of the Phocians, refused obedience to the sentence of the Amphic'tyons; and the charge of conducting the war against them was intrusted to Philip (B. C. 339). He hastened to Del'phi, marched against Amphis'sa, took it by storm; and soon after revealed his designs against the liberties of Greece, by seizing and fortifying Elateía, the capital of Phócis. The Athenians and Thebans instantly took up arms; but they intrusted their forces to incompetent generals; and when they encountered the Macedonians at Chæroneía, they were irretrievably defeated. The independence of the Grecian communities was thus destroyed; and in a general convention of the Amphictyonic states at Corinth (B. C. 337), Philip was chosen captain-general of confederate Greece, and appointed to lead their united forces against the Persian empire.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORY OF MACEDON.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline.*

The range of Mount Hæ'mus separates Thrace and Macedon from northern Europe, and the Cambúnian mountains on the south divide the latter country from Thessaly. The space intervening between these mountain-chains was, during a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations, according as the barbarous nations that tenanted these regions rose into temporary eminence. The most ancient name of Macedonia was Æmath'ia; but the time and cause of the appellation being changed are unknown. It is difficult to describe the boundaries of a country whose limits were constantly varying; but in its most flourishing state, Macedon was bounded on the north by the river Strýmon, and the Scardian branch of Mount Hæ'mus; on the east by the Ægean sea; on the south by the Cambúnian mountains; and on the west by the Adriatic. It was said to contain one hundred and fifty different nations; and this number will not appear exaggerated, when it is remembered that each of its cities and towns was regarded as an independent state.

The western division of the country, on the coast of the Adriatic, was for the most part possessed by the uncivilized Taulant'ii. In their territory stood Epidam'nus, founded by a Corcyrean colony, whose name the Romans changed to Dyrac'chium (*Durazzo*), on account of its ill-omened signification; and Apollónia, a city colonized by the Corinthians. South of the Taulant'ii, but still on the Adriatic coast, was the territory of the Alymiótæ, whose chief cities were Elýma, and Bul'lis. East of these lay a little inland district called the kingdom of Oréstes, because the son of Agamem'non is said to have settled there after the murder of his mother.

The southeastern part of the country, called Æmath'ia or Macedonia Proper, contained Ægæ'a, or Edes'sa, the cradle of the Macedonian monarchy, and Pel'la, the favorite capital of its most powerful kings. The districts of Æmath'ia that bordered the sea were called Piéria, and were consecrated to the Muses: they contained the important cities Pyd'na, Phyláce, and Díum. Northeast was the region of Amphax'itis, bordering the Thermaic gulf: its chief cities were Ther'ma, subsequently called Thessaloníca (*Salonichi*), and Stagíra, the birthplace of Aristotle.

The Chalcidian peninsula, between the Thermaic and Strymonian gulfs, has its coast deeply indented by noble bays and inlets of the

Ægean sea. It contained many important trading cities and colonies, the chief of which, Palléne, in the headland of the same name: Potidæ'a, a Corinthian colony; Toróne, on the Toronaic gulf; and Olyn'thus, famous for the many sieges it sustained. In the region of Edónia, near the river Strýmon, was Amphip'olis, a favorite colony of the Athenians, Scotus'sa, and Crenídes, whose name was changed to Philip'pi by the father of Alexander the Great.

The most remarkable mountains of Macedon were the Scardian and other branches from the chain of Hæ'mus; Pangæ'us, celebrated for its rich mines of gold and silver; A'thos, which juts into the Ægean sea, forming a remarkable and dangerous promontory; and Olym'pus, which partly belonged to Thessaly. Most of these, but especially the Scardian chain and Mount A'thos, were richly wooded, and the timber they produced was highly valued by shipbuilders. The principal rivers falling into the Adriatic were the Panyásus, the Ap'sus, the Laüs, and the Celyd'nus; on the Ægean side were the Haliac'mon, the E'rigon, the Ax'ius, and the Strýmon, which was the northern boundary of Macedon, until Philip extended his dominions to the Nes'sus.

The soil of Macedonia was very fruitful; on the seacoast especially it produced great abundance of corn, wine, and oil, and most of its mountains were rich in mineral treasures. Macedonia was celebrated for an excellent breed of horses, to which great attention was paid; no fewer than thirty thousand brood mares being kept in the royal stud at Pélla.

Section II.—*History of the Macedonian Monarchy.*

from B. C. 813 to B. C. 323.

An Argive colony, conducted by Car'anus, is said to have invaded Œmath'ia by the command of an oracle, and to have been conducted by a flock of goats to the city of Edes'sa, which was easily stormed (*B. C. 813). The kingdom thus founded was gradually enlarged at the expense of the neighboring barbarous nations; and was fast rising into importance, when, in the reign of king Amyn'tas, it became tributary to the Persians (B. C. 513), immediately after the return of Darius from his Scythian campaign. After the overthrow of the Persians at Platæ'æ, Macedon recovered its independence; which, however, was never recognised by the Persian kings. Per'diccas II. (B. C. 554), on coming to the throne, found his dominions exposed to the attacks of the Illyrians and Thracians, while his brother was encouraged to contest the crown by the Athenians. He was induced by these circumstances to take the Spartan side in the first Peloponnesian war, and much of the success of Bras'idas was owing to his active co-operation.

Civilization and the arts of social life were introduced into Macedonia by Archeláus, the son and successor of Per'diccas (B. C. 413). His plans for the reform of the government were greatly impeded by the jealous hostility of the nobles, who were a kind of petty princes, barely conceding to their kings the right of precedence. He was a generous patron of learning and learned men; he invited Soc'rates to

his court; and munificently protected Eurip'ides when he was forced to depart from Athens.

Archeláus was murdered by Crat'erus, one of his favorites (B. C. 400); and his death was followed by a series of civil wars and sanguinary revolutions, which possess no interest or importance. They were terminated by the accession of Philip (B. C. 360), who, on the death of his brother Per'diccas III., escaped from Thebes, whither he had been sent as a hostage, and was chosen king in preference to his nephew, whose infancy disqualified him from reigning in a crisis of difficulty and danger.

Philip found his new kingdom assailed by four formidable armies, and distracted by the claims of two rival competitors for the throne, one of whom had the powerful support of the Athenians. Educated in the arts of war and state-policy by the great Epaminon'das, Philip displayed valor and wisdom adequate to the crisis: he purchased, by large bribes, the forbearance rather than the friendship of the Illyrians, Pæonians, and Thracians; he then marched with his whole force against Argæ'us and his Athenian auxiliaries, whom he defeated in a general engagement. Argæ'us was slain, and his supporters remained prisoners of war. Philip, anxious to court the favor of the Athenians, dismissed his captives without ransom, and resigned his pretensions to Amphip'olis.

Having restored tranquillity to his kingdom, he began to prepare for its security by improving the tactics and military discipline of his subjects. Epaminon'das, at Leuc'tra and Mantineía, had shown the superiority of a heavy column over the long lines in which the Greeks usually arranged their forces; and, improving on this lesson, he instituted the celebrated Macedonian phalanx. He soon found the advantage of this improvement: having been forced to war by the Pæonians, he subdued their country, and made it a Macedonian province; and then, without resting, he marched against the Illyrians, whom he overthrew so decisively, that they begged for peace on any conditions he pleased to impose.

While Athens was involved in the fatal war against the colonies Philip, though professing the warmest friendship for the republic, captured Amphip'olis, Pyd'na, and Potidæ'a; and stripped Cótys, king of Thrace, the most faithful ally the Athenians possessed, of a great portion of his dominions. Thence he turned his arms against the tyrants of Thes'saly and Epírus; and received from the Thessalians, in gratitude for his services, the cession of all the revenues arising from their fairs and markets, as well as all the conveniences of their harbors and shipping. When the campaign was concluded (B. C. 357), he married Olym'pias, daughter of the king of Epírus, a princess equally remarkable for her crimes and her misfortunes.

While Greece was distracted by the second sacred war, Philip was steadily pursuing his policy of extending his northern frontiers, and securing the maritime cities of Thrace. He was vigorously opposed by Kersoblep'tes and an Athenian army; in spite, however, of these enemies, he captured the important city of Methóne; but he deemed the conquest dearly purchased by the loss of an eye during the siege. His attention was next directed to the sacred war, which he was invi-

ted to undertake by the Thebans. Having subdued the Phocians, he made an attempt to seize Thermop'ylæ (B. C. 352), but was baffled by the energetic promptitude of the Athenians. They were roused to this display of valor by the eloquent harangues of the orator Demos'thenes, whose whole life was spent in opposing Philip's designs against Grecian liberty. He was soon after doomed to meet a second disappointment; his troops being driven from the island of Eubœ'a by the virtuous Phócion, the last and most incorruptible of the long list of generals and statesmen that adorned the Athenian republic.

These disappointments only stimulated his activity. Having purchased, by large bribes, the services of several traitors in Olyn'thus, he marched against that opulent city (B. C. 349), while the venal orators at Athens, whom he had taken into his pay, dissuaded the careless and sensual Athenians from hastening to the relief of their allies. The noble exhortations, solemn warnings, and bitter reproaches of Demos'thenes, failed to inspire his countrymen with energy: they wasted the time of action in discussions, embassies, and fruitless expeditions; and when they began to prepare for some more serious interference, they were astounded by the intelligence that Olyn'thus was no more. It had been betrayed to Philip, who levelled its walls and buildings to the ground, and dragged the inhabitants into slavery. This triumph was followed by the conquest of the whole Chalcidian peninsula, with its valuable commercial marts and seaports. His artifices and bribes disarmed the vengeance of the Athenians, and lulled them into a fatal security, while Philip finally put an end to the sacred war, by the utter destruction of the Phocians. They even permitted him to extend his conquests in Thebes, and to acquire a commanding influence in the Peloponnésus, by leading an armament thither, which completed the humiliation of the Spartans.

For several years Philip was engaged in the conquest of the commercial cities in the Thracian Chersonese and on the shores of the Propon'tis, while the Athenians made some vigorous but desultory efforts to check his progress. At length the third sacred war against the Locrians of Amphis'sa gave him an opportunity of again appearing as the champion of the national religion of Greece. He entered Phócis, and thence marched to Amphis'sa, which he totally destroyed (B. C. 338). Before the southern Greeks could recover from their astonishment, he threw off the mask which had hitherto concealed his plans, and announced to the states his design of becoming their master, by seizing and fortifying Elatéia. The Thebans and Athenians united in defence of Grecian liberty, but unfortunately they intrusted their forces to feeble and treacherous commanders. They encountered the Macedonians, headed by Philip and his valiant son Alexander, in the plains of Cheronéia, and were irretrievably ruined. They were forced to accept of peace dictated by the conqueror, who treated the Thebans with dreadful severity, but showed great forbearance and kindness to the Athenians. In the following year a general convention of the Grecian states was held at Corinth, where it was resolved that all should unite in a war against the Persians, and that Philip should be appointed captain-general of the confederate forces. While preparations were making for this great enterprise, Philip was stabbed to the

heart by Pausánias, a Macedonian nobleman (B. C. 336), whose motives for committing such an atrocious crime can not be satisfactorily ascertained.

Alexan'der, deservedly surnamed the Great, succeeded his father, but on his accession had to contend against a host of enemies. The Thracians, the Illyrians, and the other barbarous tribes of the north, took up arms, hoping that they might easily triumph over his youth and inexperience. But they were miserably disappointed. Alexander, in an incredibly short space of time, forced their fastnesses, and inflicted on them so severe a chastisement, that they never again dared to attempt a revolt. But, in the meantime, a report had been spread in Greece, that Alexander had fallen in Illyr'ia. The different states began to make vigorous preparations for shaking off the yoke of Macedon; and the Thebans took the lead in the revolt, by murdering the governors that Philip had appointed, and besieging the garrison in the Cadméia (B. C 335). Fourteen days had scarcely elapsed, when Alexander, eager for vengeance, appeared before the walls of Thebes. After a brief struggle, the city was taken by storm, and levelled with the ground. The conqueror spared the lives of those who were descended from Pin'dar, of the priestly families, and of all who had shown attachment to the Macedonian interest; but the rest of the inhabitants were doomed to death or slavery. It must, however, be remarked, that the Bœotians in Alexander's army were more active than the Macedonians in this scene of barbarity, and that the Thebans, by their previous treatment of the Bœotian cities, had provoked retaliation. Alexander subsequently regretted the fate of Thebes, and confessed that its destruction was both cruel and impolitic.

This dreadful calamity spread terror throughout Greece; the states hastened to renew their submission; and Alexander, whose whole soul was bent on the conquest of Asia, accepted their excuses, and renewed the confederacy, of which his father had been chosen chief. He then intrusted the government of Greece and Macedon to Antip'ater, and prepared to invade the great empire of Persia with an army not exceeding five thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot (B. C. 334). He led his forces to Sestus in Thrace, whence they were transported across the Hellespont without opposition, the Persians having totally neglected the defence of their western frontier.

The Persian satraps rejected the prudent advice of Mem'non, who recommended them to lay waste the country, and force the Macedonians to return home by the pressure of famine; but they collected an immense army, with which they took post on the Granícus, a river that flows from Mount Ida into the Propon'tis. Alexander did not hesitate a moment in engaging the enemy, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the hostile forces. He forded the river at the head of his cavalry, and, after being exposed to great personal danger, obtained a decisive victory, with the loss of only eighty-five horsemen and thirty of the light infantry. This glorious achievement was followed by the subjugation of all the provinces west of the river Hálys, which had formed the ancient kingdom of Lydia; and before the first campaign closed, Alexander was the undisputed master of Asia Minor.

The second campaign opened with the reduction of Phrygia, after

which the Macedonian hero entered Cilicia, and, marching through the pass called the Syrian Gates, reached the bay of Is'sus, where he expected to meet Darius and the Persian army. But that monarch, persuaded by his flatterers that Alexander was afraid to meet him and trembled at his approach, had entered the defiles in quest of the Greeks, and was thus entangled in the narrow valleys of the Syrian straits, where it was impossible to derive advantage from his vast superiority of numbers. Alexander instantly prepared to profit by this imprudence. He attacked the barbarian columns with his resistless phalanx, and broke them to pieces. The valor of the Greek mercenaries in the pay of Persia for a time rendered the victory doubtful; but the Macedonians, victorious in every other part of the field, attacked this body in flank, and put it to a total rout. Darius fled in the very beginning of the engagement, leaving his wife, his mother, his daughters, and his infant son, to the mercy of the conqueror. The Persians entangled and crowded in the defiles of the mountains, suffered so severely in their flight, that they made no effort to defend their camp, which, with all its vast treasures, became the prey of the Macedonians. The conduct of Alexander after this unparalleled victory proved that he deserved success. He treated the captive Persian princesses with the greatest respect and kindness, and dismissed without ransom the Greeks whom he had made prisoners while fighting against their country.

Before invading Upper Asia, Alexander prudently resolved to subdue the maritime provinces. He encountered no resistance until he demanded to be admitted into the city of Tyre, when the inhabitants boldly set him at defiance. It would be inconsistent with our narrow limits to describe the siege of this important place (B. C. 332). Suffice it to say, that, after a tedious siege and desperate resistance, Tyre was taken by storm and its inhabitants either butchered or enslaved. This success was followed by the submission of all Palestine, except Gáza, which made as obstinate a defence as Tyre, and was as severely punished. From Gáza the Macedonians entered Egypt, which submitted to them almost without a blow.

Having received, during the winter, considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, Alexander opened his fourth campaign by crossing the Euphrátes at Thap'sacus; thence he advanced to the Tigris, and, having forded that river, entered the plains of Assyria. He found Darius with an immense army, composed not merely of Persians, but of the wild tribes from the deserts east of the Caspian, encamped near the village of Gaugaméla; but as this place is little known, the battle that decided the fate of an empire is more usually named from Arbéla, the nearest town of importance to the plains on which it was fought (B. C. 331). Having halted for a few days to refresh his men, Alexander advanced early in the morning against the vast host of Darius. Darius led his forces forward with so little skill that the horse became intermingled with the foot, and the attempt to disentangle them broke the line. Alexander, forming his troops into a wedge, occupied this gap, and pushing right forward, threw the Asiatics into irretrievable confusion. The Persian cavalry on the left wing continued to maintain the fight after the centre was broken, but when

Alexander, with a select squadron, assailed their flank, they broke their lines and fled at full gallop from the field. It was no longer a battle, but a slaughter; forty thousand of the barbarians were slain, while the loss of the Greeks did not exceed five hundred men. The triumph was, however, sullied by the wanton destruction of Persep'olis, which Alexander is said to have burned at the instigation of an Athenian courtesan, when heated with wine during the rejoicing after the victory.

The first intention of Darius after his defeat was to establish himself in Media; but hearing that Alexander was approaching Ecbatána he fled to Hyrcánia with a small escort. Here he was deposed by the satrap Bessus, and thrown into chains. On receiving this intelligence, Alexander advanced against Bessus with the utmost speed; but he came too late to save the unhappy Darius, who was savagely stabbed by the rebels, and left to expire at the roadside. His fate was soon avenged by his former enemy. Alexander continued the pursuit so vigorously, that Bessus was soon taken, and put to death with the most horrible tortures. Spitaménes, and several other satraps, still maintained a desperate struggle for independence, assisted by the barbarous tribes of the desert. Four years were spent in subduing these chiefs and their allies; in the course of which time Alexander conquered Bac'tria, Sogdiana, and the countries now included in southern Tartary, Khorássan, Kabul (B. C. 327). But, still desirous of further triumphs, he resolved to invade India.

While Alexander was thus engaged, the Lacedæmonians, instigated by their warlike monarch A'gis, declared war against Macedon, but were speedily subdued by Antip'ater. They sent ambassadors into Asia to supplicate the clemency of the Macedonian monarch, and were generously pardoned by Alexander (B. C. 330). Another proof of the young hero's respect for the ancient Grecian states, was his permitting the Athenians to banish Æs'chines, the ancient friend of Macedon, after he had been conquered by Demos'thenes in the most remarkable oratorical contest recorded in the annals of eloquence. Æs'chines accused Ctes'iphon for having proposed that a golden crown should be given to Demos'thenes as a testimony to the rectitude of his political career. Æs'chines assailed the whole course of policy recommended by Demos'thenes, declaring that it had caused the ruin of Grecian independence. Demos'thenes defended his political career so triumphantly, that Æs'chines was sent into banishment for having instituted a malicious prosecution.

Alexander, having made all necessary preparations for the invasion of India (B. C. 327), advanced toward that country by the route of Kandahar, which is that generally used by caravans to and from Persia at the present day. One division of his army, having pushed forward to the banks of the In'dus, prepared everything requisite for fording the river, while the king was engaged in subduing such cities and fortresses as might be of service in forming magazines, should he advance, or securing a retreat, if he found it necessary to return. No opposition was made to the passage of the In'dus. Alexander received on its eastern bank the submission of Tax'iles, a powerful Indian prince, who supplied him with seven thousand Indian horse as auxiliaries. Continuing his march through the country now called the Punj-áb, or land of the

five rivers, he reached the banks of the Hydas'pes (*Jhilum*), and found the opposite side occupied by an Indian prince, called Pórus by the historians, though that name, like Bren'nus among the Gauls, and Daríus among the Persians, more properly designated an office than an individual.

The Indian army was more numerous than the Macedonian, and it had, besides, the support of three hundred war-chariots and two hundred elephants. Alexander could not pass the river in the presence of such a host without danger; but by a series of stratagems he lulled the enemy into false security, and reached the right bank with little interruption. A battle ensued, in which the Indians were totally defeated, and Pórus himself made prisoner. The conqueror continued his march eastward, crossing the Aces'ines (*Chunáb*) and the Hydraótes (*Ravi*); but when he reached the Hy'phasis (*Sutleje*), his troops unanimously refused to continue their march; and Alexander was reluctantly forced to make the Punj-áb the limit of his conquests. He determined, however, to return into central Asia by a different route from that by which he had advanced, and caused vessels to be built on the Hydas'pes to transport his troops down that stream to its junction with the In'dus, and thence to the ocean. His navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by the hostilities of the natives, especially the warlike tribe of the Mal'li. After having wistfully surveyed the waters of the Indian ocean, Alexander determined to proceed toward Persepolis through the barren solitudes of Gedrósia (B. C. 325), while his fleet, under Near'chus, was employed in the survey of the Persian gulf, from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrátes. He endured many hardships, but at length arrived, with less loss than might reasonably have been anticipated, in the fertile provinces of Persia. His active mind was next directed to securing the vast empire he had acquired, and joining Europe to Asia by the bonds of his commercial intercourse. No better proof of the wisdom of his plans can be given than the fact that most of the cities he founded as trading marts are still the places of most commercial importance in their respective countries. But while he was thus honorably and usefully employed, his career was cut short by a fever, the consequence of excessive drinking—a vice in which all the Macedonians were prone to indulge after the fatigues of war (B. C. 324, May 28th). His sudden death prevented him from making any arrangements respecting the succession or a regency; but in his last agony he gave his ring to Per'diccas, a Macedonian nobleman who had obtained the chief place in his favor after the death of Hephæs'tion.

SECTION III.—*Dissolution of the Macedonian Empire.*

FROM B. C. 324 TO B. C. 301.

PER'DICCAS was the only one of Alexander's followers who refused a portion of his treasures when the young hero shared them among his friends, just before his invasion of Asia. Possessing no small share of the enthusiasm of his late illustrious master, tempered by policy and prudence, Per'diccas seemed the best fitted of all the generals to con-

solidate the mighty empire which Alexander had acquired. But the Macedonian nobles possessed a more than ordinary share of the pride and turbulence that distinguish a feudal aristocracy; they had formed several conspiracies against the life of the late monarch, by whose exploits and generosity they had so largely profited; and consequently they were not disposed to submit to one who had so recently been their equal. Scarcely had the regency been formed, when the Macedonian infantry, at the instigation of Meleáger, chose for their sovereign Arrhidæ'us, the imbecile brother of Alexander. The civil war consequent on this measure was averted at the very instant it was about to burst forth by the resignation of Arrhidæ'us; and as his incapacity soon became notorious, all parties concurred in the propriety of a new arrangement. It was accordingly agreed that Per'diccas should be regent, but that Arrhidæ'us should retain the shadow of royalty; provision was made for the child with which Roxana, Alexander's widow, was pregnant; and the principal provinces were divided among the Macedonian generals, with the powers previously exercised by the Persian satraps.

During these dissensions the body of Alexander lay unburied and neglected, and it was not until two years after his death that his remains were consigned to the tomb. But his followers still showed their respect for his memory, by retaining the feeble Arrhidæ'us on the throne, and preventing the marriage of Per'diccas with Cleopátra, the daughter of Philip; a union which manifestly was projected to open a way to the throne.

But while this project of marriage occupied the attention of the regent, a league had secretly been formed for his destruction, and the storm burst forth from a quarter whence it was least expected. Alexander, in his march against Daríus, had been contented with receiving the nominal submission of the northern provinces of Asia Minor, inhabited by the barbarous tribes of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians. Impatient of subjection, these savage nations asserted their independence after the death of Alexander, and chose Ariaráthes for their leader. Per'diccas sent against them Eúmenes, who had hitherto fulfilled the peaceful duties of a secretary; and sent orders to Antig'onus and Leonátus, the governors of western Asia, to join the expedition with all their forces. These commands were disobeyed, and Per'diccas was forced to march with the royal army against the insurgents. He easily defeated these undisciplined troops, but sullied his victory by unnecessary cruelty. On his return he summoned the satraps of western Asia to appear before his tribunal, and answer for their disobedience. Antig'onus, seeing his danger, entered into a league with Ptólemy, the satrap of Egypt, Antip'ater the governor of Macedon, and several other noblemen, to crush the regency. Per'diccas, on the other hand, leaving Eúmenes to guard Lower Asia, marched with the choicest divisions of the royal army against Ptólemy, whose craft and ability he dreaded even more than his power.

Antip'ater and Crat'erus were early in the field; they crossed the Hellespont with the army that had been left for the defence of Macedon, and on their landing were joined by Neoptol'emus the governor of Phrygia. Their new confederate informed the Macedonian leaders

that the army of Eúmenes was weak, disorderly, and incapable of making the slightest resistance. Seduced by this false information, they divided their forces; Antip'ater hastening through Phrygia in pursuit of Per'diccas, while Crat'erus and Neoptol'emus marched against Eúmenes. They encountered him in the Trojan plain, and were completely defeated. Neoptol'emus was slain in the first onset, and Crat'erus lay mortally wounded, undistinguished among the heaps of dead. Eúmenes, having learned the state of Crat'erus, hastened to relieve him; he found him in the agonies of death, and bitterly lamented the misfortunes that had changed old friends into bitter enemies. Immediately after this great victory, Eúmenes sent intelligence of his success to Per'diccas; but two days before the messenger reached the royal camp the regent was no more. His army, wearied by the long siege of Pelúsium, became dissatisfied; their mutinous dispositions were secretly encouraged by the emissaries of Ptólemy. Py'thon, who had been formerly employed by the regent in the ruthless massacre of some Greek mercenaries for disobedience of orders, organized a conspiracy, and Per'diccas was murdered in his tent (B. C. 321). Had the news of the victory obtained by Eúmenes reached the camp earlier, the regent's life might have been saved; but now the news served only to aggravate the malice of the insurgent satraps.

In the meantime a brief struggle for independence had taken place in Greece, which is commonly called the Lamian war, from the town in whose neighborhood the principal contests occurred. Instigated by the orators Hyper'ides and Demos'thenes, the Athenians boldly proclaimed themselves the restorers of Grecian freedom, and called on the other states to second them in the great struggle for liberty. The Ætolians, and the hardy mountaineers of Dóris and Phócis, eagerly responded to the summons; but of the other states, Thebes no longer existed, Spar'ta was too proud to act under her ancient rival, and the Achæans and Arcadians too prudent to risk their present tranquillity for the doubtful chances of war (B. C. 323). Alarmed by the intelligence of this confederacy, Antip'ater marched to secure the straits of Thermop'ylæ; but he was met by the Athenians under Leos'thenes, and his forces put to the rout. The remnant of the Macedonian army sought refuge in Lámia, a strong fortress on the Malian gulf, which the victorious army closely besieged. Unfortunately for the Athenians, Leos'thenes was slain in a sally, and the command of the confederates intrusted to Antip'hilus, a general of great valor, but deficient in skill and discretion. Intoxicated by a second victory over the Macedonians, he kept careless guard, of which Antip'ater took advantage to break through the hostile lines, and form a junction with a fresh army from Macedon. Thus reinforced, he attacked the confederates, and completely annihilated their army. The Athenians had no resource but submission: they were compelled to abolish the democracy, to receive garrisons into their fortresses, and to give up their patriotic orators to the conqueror's vengeance. The cruel Antip'ater put Hyper'ides to death, after having subjected him to insult and torture. Demos'thenes escaped a similar fate by committing suicide. Undismayed by these calamities, the Ætolians resolved to continue the war; and Antip'ater,

eager to march into Asia against Per′diccas, was forced to grant them peace on favorable conditions.

As soon as Ptólemy had been informed of the murder of Per′diccas, he came to the royal army with a large supply of wine and provisions. His kindness and courteous manners so won upon these turbulent soldiers, that they unanimously offered him the regency; but he had the prudence to decline so dangerous an office. On his refusal, the feeble Arrhidæ′us and the traitor Py′thon were appointed to the regency, just as the news arrived of the recent victory of Eúmenes. This intelligence filled the royal army with indignation. Crat′erus had been always a favorite with the soldiers; Eúmenes was despised on account of his former unwarlike occupation. They hastily passed a vote proclaiming Eúmenes and his adherents public enemies, and denouncing all who afforded them support or protection. The advance of an army to give effect to these decrees was delayed by a new revolution. Eurid′ice, the wife of Arrhidæ′us, a woman of great ambition and considerable talent for intrigue, wrested the regency from her feeble husband and Py′thon, but was stripped of power on the arrival of Antip′ater, who reproached the Macedonians for submitting to the government of a woman; and being ably supported by Antig′onus and Seleúcus, obtained for himself the office of regent.

No sooner had Antip′ater been invested with supreme power, than he sent Arrhidæ′us and Eurid′ice prisoners to Pel′la, and intrusted the conduct of the war against Eúmenes to the crafty and ambitious Antig′onus. Cassan′der, the son of Antip′ater, joined the expedition with a thousand horse, and, being himself a selfish and cunning statesmen, he soon penetrated the secret plans of Antig′onus, and vainly warned the regent of his dangerous designs. A quarrel soon took place between the worthy colleagues; and Cassan′der returned to Europe, where he was about to commence a career as bold and bloody as that of Antig′onus in Asia. Eúmenes was unable to cope with the forces sent against him; having been defeated in the open field, he took shelter in Nóra, a Cappadocian city, and maintained a vigorous defence, rejecting the many tempting offers by which Antig′onus endeavored to win him to the support of his designs (B. C. 318). The death of Antip′ater produced a new revolution in the empire; and Eúmenes in the meantime escaped from Nóra, accompanied by his principal friends, on fleet horses that had been trained for this especial service.

Antip′ater, at his death, bequeathed the regency to Polysper′chon, excluding his son Cassan′der from power on account of his criminal intrigues with the wicked and ambitious Eurid′ice. Though a brave general, Polysper′chon had not the qualifications of a statesman: he provoked the powerful resentment of Antig′onus by entering into a close alliance with Eúmenes; and he permitted Cassan′der to strengthen himself in southern Greece, where he seized the strong fortress of Munyc′hia. His next measures were of still more questionable policy: he recalled Olym′pias, the mother of Alexander, whom Antip′ater had banished on account of her turbulent disposition; and he proclaimed his intention of restoring democracy in the Grecian states. The latter edict was received with the utmost enthusiasm at Athens; an urgent embassy was sent to the regent, requesting him to send an army to

protect the city from Cassan'der and his partisans. Polysper'chon sent his son Alexander with a considerable force into Attica; and no sooner were news of his approach received, than the restoration of democracy was voted by a tumultuous assembly, and a decree passed for proceeding against all aristocrats, as capital enemies of the state (B. C. 317). Several illustrious individuals, and among others the virtuous Phócion fell victims to this burst of popular violence, which the regent made no effort to check or control.

Cassan'der, however, remained master of the ports of Athens, and was thus enabled to fit out a considerable fleet, which he sent to the Thracian Bos'phorus, under the command of his friend Nicánor, to second the enterprises of Antig'onus. Nicánor was at first defeated by the royal navy; but being reinforced, he renewed the engagement, and captured all the enemies' ships except the admiral's galley. The news of this victory rendered the power of Antig'onus paramount in lower Asia, and gave Cassan'der possession of Athens. The Athenians, however, suffered no injury from the change, the government of their city having been intrusted to Demétrius Phaléreus, who ruled them with justice and moderation during ten years.

Polysper'chon, unable to drive Cassan'der from Attica, entered the Peloponnésus to punish the Arcadians, and engaged in a fruitless siege of Megalop'olis. In the meantime Olym'pias, to whom he had confided the government of Macedon, seized Arrhidæ'us and Eurid'ice, whom she caused to be murdered in prison. Cassan'der hasted, at the head of his all forces, to avenge the death of his mistress: Olym'pias, unable to meet him in the field, fled to Pyd'na; but the city was forced to surrender after a brief defence, and Olym'pias was immediately put to death. Among the captives were Roxána the widow, Alexander Æ'gus, the posthumous son, and Thessaloníca, the youngest daughter of Alexander the Great. Cassan'der sought and obtained the hand of the latter princess, and thus consoled himself for the loss of his beloved Eurid'ice. By this marriage he acquired such influence, that Polysper'chon did not venture to return home, but continued in the Peloponnésus, where he retained for some time a shadow of authority over the few Macedonians who still clung to the family of Alexander.

In Asia, Eúmenes maintained the royal cause against Antig'onus, though deserted by all the satraps, and harassed by the mutinous disposition of his troops, especially the Argyras'pides, a body of guards that Alexander had raised to attend his own person, and presented with the silver shields from which they derived their name. After a long struggle, both armies joined in a decisive engagement; the Argyras'pides broke the hostile infantry, but learning that their baggage had in the meantime been captured by the light troops of the enemy, they mutinied in the very moment of victory, and delivered their leader, bound with his own sash, into the hands of his merciless enemy (B. C. 315). The faithful Eúmenes was put to death by the traitorous Antig'onus; but he punished the Argyras'pides for their treachery; justly dreading their turbulence, he sent them in small detachments against the barbarians; and thus sacrificed in detail the veterans that had overthrown the Persian empire.

Antig'onus, immediately after his victory, began openly to aim at the

sovereignty of the entire Macedonian empire. The weight of his power was first directed against the satraps whose rebellious conduct had enabled him to triumph over Eúmenes. Peuces'tes of Persia was banished, Py'thon of Media put to death, and Seleuc'us of Bab'ylon could only escape a similar fate by a precipitate flight into Egypt. The Macedonian governors in the west, instigated by Seleuc'us, formed a league for mutual defence, and sent an embassy to Antig'onus, who answered their proposals with menace and insult. But at the same time he prepared to wage a more effectual war than one of words: while his armies overran Syria and Asia Minor, he roused the southern Greeks, the Ætolians, and Epirotes, to attack Cassan'der in Macedon. He bribed the mountaineers and northern barbarians to attack Lysim'achus in Thrace, while his son Demétrius, afterward named Poliorcétes, or the conqueror of cities, marched against the Egyptian Ptólemy.

The first important operations of the war took place in southern Syria. Ptólemy overthrew Demétrius near Gáza, and in consequence of his victory, became master of Palestine and Phœnicia. But the Egyptians were defeated in their turn at the commencement of the next campaign; their recent acquisitions were lost as rapidly as they had been gained; and Demétrius would have invaded their country with great prospect of success, had he not been involved in an unwise contest with the Arabs.

We have already mentioned that the excavated city of Petra was the great depôt of the caravan-trade between the southern countries of Asia and northern Africa. Athenæ'us, a general in the army of Antig'onus, was sent to seize its rich stores: he surprised the inhabitants by a rapid march and unexpected attack, and was returning laden with plunder to join the main army; but the Nabathæ'an Arabs, enraged by their loss, hastily collected their forces, and urging their dromedaries through the desert, overtook Athenæ'us near Gáza, where they not only recovered the spoil, but almost annihilated his army. Demétrius eagerly hasted to avenge this loss, but he was baffled by the fastnesses of Arabia Petræ'a; and when he returned into Syria, he received intelligence that directed all his attention to the state of upper Asia.

After Ptólemy's victory at Gáza, Seleuc'us, with a small but gallant band of attendants, boldly threw himself into his ancient satrapy of Bab'ylon, and was received with so much enthusiasm, that he obtained possession of all his former power without striking a blow. The Persian and Median satraps appointed by Antig'onus hastened to destroy the dangerous enemy that had thus suddenly arisen; but they were totally routed after a brief but ineffectual struggle (B. C. 312). This battle, from which a new dynasty may be dated, forms an important epoch in Grecian history, called the era of the Seleucidæ.

Alarmed by these occurrences, Antig'onus hastened to conclude a peace with his other opponents; and a treaty was ratified which was pregnant with the elements of future war. Cassan'der agreed to restore the freedom of the Grecian cities, without the slightest intention of performing his promise. Ptólemy consented that Antig'onus should retain his present possessions, while he was preparing a fleet to seize the Asiatic islands, previous to invading Syria; Lysim'achus was resolved to annex the northern provinces of Asia Minor to his satrapy

of Thrace; and all agreed to acknowledge the son of Alexander for their sovereign, though a resolution had been already formed for his destruction. Alarmed by the murmurs of the Macedonians, Cassan'der caused Roxána, Alexander Æ'gus, and Her'cules (the last survivor of the great conqueror), to be assassinated; and soon after consigned the princess Cleopátra to the same fate, dreading that she might bestow her hand on some of the rival satraps.

It was not long before Antig'onus discovered that he had been deceived in the recent treaty by Cassan'der and Ptolemy. He sent his son Demétrius into Greece, under the pretence of restoring the liberty of the states; and Athens, still enamored of the memory of its freedom, opened its gates to the young prince (B. C. 308). Thence he sailed to Cy'prus, and gained a decisive victory over the Egyptian fleet that came to protect the island. He was baffled, however, in an attempt to invade Egypt; and when he went thence to besiege Rhodes, he was recalled to Greece by the prayers of the Athenians, who were exposed to imminent danger from the power of Cassan'der.

The success of Demétrius induced his father to nominate him captain-general of Greece—an injudicious measure, which led to the formation of a new confederacy against Antig'onus. Cassan'der renewed his attacks on southern Greece; Ptolemy entered Syria; Lysim'achus, with an army of veterans, invaded Thrace; while Seleúcus marched westward with the numerous forces of upper Asia, including four hundred and eighty elephants. The junction of Lysim'achus and Seleúcus in Phrygia necessarily brought on a decisive engagement, which Antig'onus, reinforced by his gallant son Demétrius, showed no anxiety to avoid (B. C. 301). The battle that decided the fate of an empire was fought at Ip'sus in Phrygia: it ended in the defeat and death of Antig'onus, and the destruction of the power that he had raised. The consequences of this victory were, a new partition of the provinces, and the erection of the satrapies into independent kingdoms. Seleúcus became monarch of upper Asia; Ptolemy added Syria and Palestine to Egypt; Lysim'achus obtained the northern provinces of Asia Minor as an appendage to his kingdom of Thrace; and the services of Cassan'der were rewarded, not only with the sovereignty of Macedon and Greece, but also of the rich province of Cilícia. Thus, in the course of a single generation, the mighty empire of Alexander had risen to unparalleled greatness, and fallen into hopeless ruin; while not a single descendant of the illustrious founder was spared to transmit his name to posterity. The most enduring memorial of his policy was the city of Alexandria, founded during his Egyptian campaign, which became one of the greatest commercial marts of antiquity, and is still at the head of the trade between Europe and the Levant.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE STATES THAT AROSE FROM THE DISMEMBERMENT OF

THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

SECTION I.—*The History of Macedon and Greece from the Battle of Ipsus to the Roman Conquest.*

FROM B. C. 301 TO B. C. 146.

AFTER the fatal battle of Ip'sus, Demétrius fled to Greece, hoping to obtain a refuge from the Athenians, whom he had essentially served in the days of his prosperity; but the harbors and gates of the city were closed against him. Having obtained, however, the restoration of the ships and money he had deposited there, he established himself in the Peloponnésus, and commenced a desultory naval war against Lysim'achus. Seleúcus, who now transferred to Lysim'achus the jealousy of which the fallen fortunes of Demétrius could no longer be an object, sought an alliance with his ancient enemy, and married Stratonice, the daughter of Demétrius, and this union was equally advantageous to both parties.

Cassan'der did not long survive the establishment of his power: on his death (B. C. 296), he left Macedónia to his three sons, of whom Philip speedily followed his father to the grave. The survivors quarrelled about the division of their inheritance. Antípater murdered his mother Thessaloníca, on account of the favor she showed to his brother Alexander. The vengeance of his brother being, however, supported by the general feeling of the Macedonians, he fled to the court of his father-in-law Lysim'achus, where he died prematurely. Dreading the resentment of the Thracian monarch, Alexander sought the aid of Pyr'rhus, king of Epírus, and Demétrius Poliorcétes, who both entered Macedon, in the hope of gaining some advantage. The ambition of Demétrius soon provoked the jealousy of the son of Cassan'der, he grew jealous of his ally, and attempted to remove so formidable a competitor by stratagem; but he was counterplotted and slain. The vacant throne was seized by Demétrius, who possessed, in addition to Macedon, Thessaly, a great portion of southern Greece, with the provinces of At'tica and Meg'aris, to which after a fierce resistance, he added Bœótia. He might have enjoyed this extensive realm in tranquillity, but his restless ambition led him to form plans for the recovery of his father's power in Asia.

Seleúcus and Ptólemy, in great alarm at the sudden appearance of a

rival, formidable by the revived influence of his father's claim, and still more by his personal qualities, roused Lysim'achus, king of Thrace, and Pyr'rhus, king of Epírus, to attack him at the same time. The Macedonians, terrified by such a confederacy, mutinied; and Demétrius fled, disguised as a common soldier, into the Peloponnésus, which was governed by his son Antig'onus (B. C. 287). Pyr'rhus obtained possession of the vacant kingdom; but after a brief reign of seven months, he was forced to yield to the superior power or popularity of Lysim'achus, and retire to his native Epírus. Demétrius had, in the meantime, sailed to Asia, with the hope of seizing the provinces belonging to Lysim'achus (B. C. 286); but he was driven into Cilícia, and forced to surrender to his father-in-law Seleúcus, by whom he was detained in prison until the day of his death (B. C. 284). His son Antig'onus, however, maintained himself in the Peloponnésus, waiting with patience a favorable opportunity of restoring the fortunes of his family.

Lysim'achus was unfortunate in his domestic relations: at the instigation of his queen, the wicked Arsinoë, he put to death his gallant son Agathoc'les, upon which Cassan'dra, the widow of the young prince, with her brother Ptolemy Ceraúnus, fled to the court of Seleúcus, and stimulated that prince to war. Lysim'achus was defeated and slain (B. C. 282); but in the following year Seleúcus was murdered by Ptólemy Ceraúnus who availed himself of the treasures of his victim, and the yet remaining troops of Lysim'achus, to usurp the throne of Macedon. In the same year that Seleúcus fell (B. C. 281); Pyr'rhus invaded Italy as an ally of the Tarentines; the Achæan league was revived in southern Greece; and several Asiatic provinces, especially Cappadócia, Arménia, and Pon'tus, in the north, and Par'thia and Bac'tria in the east, became independent kingdoms.

The revolts in Asia against the successors of Alexander, appear to have arisen at least as much from religious as political motives. It was part of the great conqueror's plan to impress a uniform character on all the lands he subdued, and in every one of them to constitute society afresh on the Grecian model. This was called an effort to *Hellenize* the east. But the Asiatics clung obstinately to their institutions, whether good or bad, as they have done in all subsequent ages, and Alexander's successors in central and western Asia, by assailing the religion of the people, provoked fierce insurrections, which led to the entire loss of Persia and the perilous insurrection of the Jews under the gallant Maccabees.

Ptólemy Ceraúnus did not long retain the crown of Macedon, which he had procured by treachery and assassination. An innumerable multitude of Gauls, who had, about two centuries before, settled in Pannónia, driven by want, or perhaps instigated by their restless disposition, poured into Thrace and Macedon, desolating the entire country with the reckless fury of ferocious savages. Ceraúnus led an army against them, but was defeated and slain (B. C. 279). In the following year, his successor Sosthenes met the same fate; and the Gauls, under the guidance of their *Brenn*, or chief, advanced into southern Greece. The Athenians, aided by the Ætolians, made a brave defence at the straits of Thermop'ylæ; but the latter being called home to defend their own country, invaded by a Gallic division, the Athenians were unable

any longer to defend the pass, and the main body of the Gauls, entering Phócis, marched to plunder Del'phi. Here, however, the success of the invaders ended: the detachment sent against Ætolia was cut to pieces by a nation scarcely less ferocious than the Gauls themselves; and the main body, after suffering severely from cold and storms in the defiles of Mount Parnas'sus, was almost annihilated by the enthusiastic defenders of the national temple. The miserable remnant of the invaders fell back upon a fresh body of their countrymen, with whom they passed over into Asia; and after inflicting many calamities on the states of Anatólia, obtained possession of the province which received from them the name of Galátia.

Antig'onus Gonátas, the son of Demétrius Poliorcétes, deriving his name from Góni in Thessaly, where he had been educated, obtained the vacant throne of Macedon, after a contest of three years with various competitors, and transmitted it to his posterity; but he did not, like his predecessors, possess the sovereignty of southern Greece, whose independence had been secured by the Achæan league. This association had been originally revived by the towns of Pat'ræ, Dy'me, Tríte, and Pháræ; but it did not become formidable until it was joined by Sic'yon (B. C. 251), after the noble Arátus had freed that city from tyrants.

The return of Pyr'rhus from Italy was followed by a new revolution in Macedon; the mercenaries revolted to the Epirote monarch, and Antig'onus was driven from the throne. He retired into southern Greece, whither he was soon followed by his rival, who had been solicited to place Cleon'ymus on the throne of Lacedæ'mon. Pyr'rhus professed that his chief object in entering the Peloponnésus was to deliver the cities from the yoke of Antig'onus; but his actions were inconsistent with his declarations, for he ravaged the lands of Lacónia, and made an attempt to surprise Spar'ta. Being defeated in this enterprise, he turned his arms against Ar'gos, and was admitted into the city by some of his secret partisans. But the Argives opened another gate to Antig'onus, who entered with a chosen body of troops. A fierce struggle ensued, which was terminated by the death of Pyr'rhus. An Argive woman, whose son he was about to slay, struck him with a tile from the roof of the house; he fell from his horse, and was trampled to death in the press (B. C. 271). After a short contest with Alexander, the son of Pyr'rhus, Antig'onus regained the throne of Macedon, and retained it to his death.

The Achæan league was joined by Corinth, Trœzéne, and Epidaúrus, when Arátus, by a bold attempt, had driven the Macedonian garrison from the Corinthian citadel. It was finally joined by Athens (B. C. 229), and continually grew in strength, though opposed by the Macedonians and Ætolians. So rapidly did the power of the confederacy increase, that the king of Egypt sought its alliance, and some of the states north of the Peloponnésus solicited to be admitted as members.

On the death of Antig'onus Gonátas (B. C. 243), his son Demétrius II. became king of Macedon. The ten years of his reign were spent in war with the Ætolians, who had formed a confederacy similar to that of the Achæans. After his death (B. C. 233), Antig'onus Dóson, cousin to the late monarch, succeeded to the throne, nominally as guardian of the infant prince Philip II., just as a revolution in the Peloponnésus

was about to effect a great and important change in the political aspect of Greece.

The ancient laws of Lycur'gus were only nominally observed in Spar'ta: the plunder of foreign countries had introduced wealth and luxury; a law sanctioning the alienation of landed estates had effaced the ancient equality of property; and the gradual decrease of the ruling caste of Spartan families had rendered the oligarchy as weak as it was odious. A bold plan of reform, including a fresh division of landed property, an abolition of debts, and the weakening of the power of the Aph'ori, was brought forward by King A'gis III. (B. C. 244): it was at first very successful, but the unsteadiness of Agis, and the opposition of the other king, Leon'idas, brought about a counter-revolution (B. C. 241). A'gis was strangled by the order of the Eph'ori, and his mother and grandmother shared the same fate.

Leon'idas compelled the widow of A'gis to marry his youthful son Cleom'enes, not foreseeing that she was likely to inspire the prince with the principles of her former husband. Soon after his accession to the throne, Cleom'enes, relying on the reputation he had acquired by defeating the efforts of Arátus to force Sparta into the Achæan league, renewed the reforms of A'gis (B. C. 227); and, as he was unscrupulous in the use of the means requisite to effect his object, he speedily overthrew the Eph'ori, and opened the right of citizenship to all the Lacedæmonians. He then turned his arms against the Achæans (B. C. 224), compelled Ar'gos and Corinth to secede from the league, defeated the confederates at Dy'me, and reduced Arátus to such difficulties that he was forced to solicit assistance from the king of Macedon. Antig'onus II. readily embraced so favorable an opportunity for restoring the influence of his family in southern Greece. He entered the Peloponnésus, and, after some minor operations, he obtained a complete victory over Cleom'enes at Sellásia, on the borders of Lacónia, which placed Spar'ta at his mercy (B. C. 222). Cleom'enes fled to Egypt; the Macedonians, advancing from the field of battle, took possession of Lacedæmon without a blow, but they used their victory moderately, and its ancient constitution was restored. Antig'onus did not long survive his victory; he died generally lamented by the Greeks (B. C. 221), and was succeeded by Philip II., son of Demétrius.

The Ætolians were greatly dissatisfied with the peace that followed the battle of Sellásia. No sooner had they received intelligence of the death of Antig'onus, than, despising the youth and inexperience of his successor Philip, they commenced a series of piratical attacks on the Messenians and Macedonians, which speedily rekindled the flames of war. Arátus was sent to expel the Ætolians from Messénia, and entered into a convention with their leaders for the purpose; after which he imprudently dismissed the greater part of his army. The Ætolians took advantage of his weakness to attack him unexpectedly, and then, having ravaged the greater part of the Peloponnésus, they returned home laden with plunder.

Philip, being invited to place himself at the head of the Achæan league, went to Corinth, where a general assembly of the states was held. A declaration of war against the Ætolians was voted by all the southern Greeks, except the Spartans and Eleans, who were both ad-

verse to the league; and active preparations for hostilities were made on both sides. While these affairs engaged attention throughout Greece, little regard was paid to the commercial war between the Byzantines and Rhodians, in consequence of the heavy tolls exacted by the former from all vessels entering the Euxine sea (B. C. 222). It terminated in favor of the latter, and the Byzantines were forced to abolish the onerous duties.

Cleom'enes, in his exile, was a careful observer of the transactions in Greece, and perceiving that the Lacedæmonians, according to his original policy, were preparing to join the Ætolians against the Achæans, he believed that an opportunity was afforded for recovering his hereditary throne. The young king of Egypt, dreading his talents and his temper, was unwilling to see him restored to power, and therefore not only refused him assistance, but even detained him from attempting the enterprise with his own hired servants. But Cleom'enes was scarcely less formidable in Alexan'dria, than he would have been if restored to his former power in Spar'ta, for he had won the favor of the Grecian mercenaries in the Egyptian service, who showed a strong attachment to his person. The ministers of the young Ptólemy caused him to be arrested, but he baffled the vigilance of his guards, and followed by his friends rushed through the streets of Alexan'dria, exhorting the multitude to strike for freedom. No one responded to his call; the royal forces prepared to surround him, and Cleom'enes, dreading to encounter the tortures of the cruel Egyptians, committed suicide. Thus perished a king, who, in spite of many grievous faults, was the last hope of his country, and the only person capable of restoring the supremacy of Spar'ta and the Peloponnésus.

The war between Philip and the Ætolians was conducted with great obstinacy and cruelty on both sides; Philip's progress was aided by his fleet, which soon rose into importance; but it was also greatly checked by the intrigues of Apel'les and other wretches who envied Arátus, and weakened the influence of his prudent counsels. The increasing power of the Romans and Carthaginians, who were already contending for the empire of the world in the second Punic war, at length inclined all the Greeks to peace, for they felt that it would be soon necessary to defend the independence of Greece either against Rome or Carthage, whichever should prove victorious. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the general assembly of the Ætolian states at Naupac'tus and the representatives of the Achæan confederacy (B. C. 217): Philip attended in person, and greatly contributed to the success of the negotiations.

The Macedonian monarch possessed the ambition, but not the military talents of Pyr'rhus. Like the great Epirote, he hoped to become the conqueror of Italy, and entered into a strict alliance with Han'nibal, who had already invaded the peninsula. About the same time, to get rid of the remonstrances of Arátus, who frequently warned the king of the dangers that would result from his indulgence in ambitious projects, he caused the old general to be poisoned: a crime which filled all Greece with horror and indignation.

The Romans resolved to find Philip so much employment in Greece, that he should not have leisure to attack Italy. They prevailed on the

Ætolians to violate the recent treaty, promising them, as a reward, the possession of Acarnánia and the Ionian islands. To this confederacy the republics of Sparta and Elis, and the kings of Per'gamus and E'lis, acceded (B. C. 211). Philip, on the other hand, was supported by the Acarnanians, the Bœotians, and the Achæans. The Romans and their ally At'talus, king of Per'gamus, became masters of the sea; but the former were too much engaged by the presence of Han'nibal in Italy to continue their aid to the Ætolians; and At'talus was recalled home to defend his own kingdom from an invasion of the Bithynians. Nearly at the same time, Philopœ'men, the worthy successor of Arátus, as head of the Achæan league, defeated and slew with his own hand Machan'idas, the usurper of Lacedæmon.

The Ætolians, thus deprived of all their allies, made overtures of peace, which were readily accepted (B. C. 208). The Romans made some efforts to interrupt the treaty; But the Ætolians had suffered too severely to continue the war any longer. Scarcely had peace been restored, when Philip entered into an alliance with Prúsias, king of Bith'ynia, against At'talus, king of Per'gamus; and with the Syrian monarch against the infant ruler of Egypt. As if these enemies were not sufficient, he declared war against the Rhodians; but was soon punished by the overthrow and ruin of the Macedonian fleet at Chíos (B. C. 202). The Athenians were next added to the number of his enemies; and this once-powerful people, no longer able to protect their fallen fortunes, supplicated the Romans for aid. A fleet and army were sent to secure this illustrious city, and it reached Athens just in time to save it from a sudden attack of the Macedonians.

Having delivered Athens, the Romans advanced into northern Greece, where they compelled the Bœotians to join in the league against Philip. The legions in Epírus at the same time marched into Macedon itself, and, though they gained no immediate advantages, they facilitated the passage of troops for a future and more decisive invasion.

In the second campaign, when the conduct of the war was confided to the consul Flamin'ius, Philip's fortunes declined so rapidly, that his allies, especially the Achæans, lost all courage, and accepted terms of peace. Though deserted, the Macedonian monarch did not resign all hope; he assembled an army in Thessaly nearly equal to that of his enemies, but inferior in discipline and equipment, with which he took post on a range of low hills, called from their singular shape Cynosceph'alæ, or "the dogs' heads." In the early part of the decisive battle, the Macedonians at first had the advantage, their right wing having borne down the opposing divisions; but the consul, observing that the left of the Macedonians had not been formed into order of battle, charged them with his cavalry and elephants, and scattered them in a few moments; he then assailed the victorious Macedonian wing in flank and rear. The phalanx, admirable for attack, was an inconvenient body to manœuvre; the phalangites attempted to face about, broke their lines, and were in a moment a disorderly mass, unable to fight or fly. The route was complete: eight thousand Macedonians fell; five thousand remained prisoners; while the loss of the Romans did not exceed seven hundred men. Without an army and without resources, Philip was forced to beg a peace (B. C. 197); he purchased it by the sacrifice

of his navy and the resignation of his supremacy over the Grecian states.

The Romans, thus successful, went through the farce of proclaiming the liberties of Greece at the Isthmian games, amid the wildest exultation of the spectators. This extraordinary scene can not be viewed without gratification, even by those who have learned how large a proportion of history is occupied by fair professions unfulfilled, and hopes unworthily disappointed. The spectators were assembled from all the Grecian states and colonies, they were full of anxiety and busy in conjecture as to the conduct likely to be followed by the new arbiters of Greece, when the trumpet sounded, and proclamation was made to this effect: "The Roman senate and T. Quinc'tius the proconsul, having overcome King Philip and the Macedonians, leave free, ungarrisoned, unburdened with tribute, the Corinthians, Phocians, Thessalians, and others," specifying all the Greeks who had been subject to Philip. The voice of the crier was drowned in acclamations, so that many failed to hear the purport of the proclamation; and others thought that what they heard must be spoken in a dream, so far did it exceed their expectation. The crier was called back, and the same words being repeated were followed by loud and reiterated shouts of applause; after which the various shows and trials of skill proceeded unregarded, the minds of the spectators being too full to heed them. When all these were finished, a general rush was made toward the Roman commander; and it is said that, had he not been a man in the full prime and vigor of youth, his life might have been endangered by the multitude of those who thronged to see him, to address him as a savior, to take him by the hand, or to throw garlands upon him. "It was glorious that a state should exist in the world, which had will to contend for Grecian freedom, and power and fortune to achieve it." Such a praise may have been partly due to the present conduct of the Romans, but Flamin'ius showed his insincerity by secretly laboring to weaken the Achæan league; which, however, was strengthened, after the murder of the tyrant Nábis (B. C. 192), by the accession of Sparta.

Antíochus, king of Syria, instigated by Han'nibal, who had sought refuge in his court when exiled from his native country, declared war against the Romans (B. C. 194); but instead of attacking their power in Africa or Italy, he passed over into Greece, and was gladly welcomed by the turbulent Ætolians. The Achæans, of course, joined the Romans as soon as their ancient enemies had declared for Antíochus; and Philip, notwithstanding his recent defeat, lent his interest to the same cause. The campaigns of Antíochus were mere repetitions of error and presumption; at length he returned to Asia (B. C. 191), leaving his allies exposed to the vengeance of their enemies. The Ætolians were the most severely treated; the only terms of peace which the Romans would consent to grant reduced them to poverty, and deprived them of independence (B. C. 189); but Antíochus having been defeated utterly by the Scipios in Asia, they had no alternative, and were forced to bend their stubborn necks to the heavy yoke imposed upon them. About the same time Sparta was captured by the Achæans, under the command of Philopœ'men, and the constitution of Lycur'gus finally abolished.

The Romans affected great indignation at the sufferings of the Spartans, and compelled the Achæans to modify the terms they had imposed on the conquered. But this was a trifling calamity compared with that which the league sustained by the loss of Philopœ'men, the last great general that maintained the glory of the Hellenic race (B. C. 183).

The petty war between the Messenians and Achæans would scarcely deserve notice but for its having proved fatal to the last of the long line of Grecian heroes and patriots. Philopœ'men was surprised by the enemy, when passing with a small party of cavalry through a difficult defile. It was thought that he might have escaped by the aid of some light-armed Thracians and Cretans in his band; but he would not quit the horsemen, whom he had recently selected from the noblest of the Achæans; and while he was bringing up the rear, and bravely covering the retreat, his horse fell with him. He was seventy years old, and weakened by recent sickness; and he lay stunned and motionless under his horse, till he was found by the Messenians, who raised him from the ground with as much respect as if he had been their own commander, and carried him to the city, sending before them the news that the war was finished, for Philopœ'men was taken. The first impression of those who heard, was that the messenger was mad; but when others coming after confirmed the statement, men, women, and children, freemen and slaves, all crowded to see. So great was the throng, that the gates could scarcely be opened; and as the greater part could not see the prisoner, there was a general cry that he should be brought into the theatre close by. The magistrates showed him there for a moment, and then hastily removed him, for they feared the effects which might be produced by pity and reverence for so great a man, and gratitude for his merits. A long and anxious debate took place, which was protracted throughout the entire night. Finally, murderous counsels prevailed, and a cup of poison was sent to Philopœ'men in his dungeon. He submitted to his fate with great fortitude, and his only solicitude was respecting the safety of his companions. A little before he expired he had the gratification of learning that they had succeeded in making their escape. His fate was soon avenged; Messéne was forced to surrender to the Achæan general Lycos'tas, and all who had a share in the murder of Philopœ'men were put to death.

Philip had in the meantime borne very impatiently the overbearing conduct of the Romans; but the exertions of his son Demétrius, whom he had given as a hostage after his defeat at Cynos-ceph'alæ, with the leading men at Rome, prevented a rupture. On this account Demétrius was enthusiastically received by the Macedonians on his return home—a circumstance of which his elder brother Per'seus took advantage, to accuse the young prince of treason. Philip delivered this promising young man to the executioner; but soon after his death, discovering his innocence, he made an attempt to change the succession, and have Antig'onus acknowledged as his heir; but, before this could be effected, the wretched monarch died of a broken heart (B. C. 179). Per'seus ascended the throne with the certainty that he was secretly hated by the Romans and his own subjects. One of his earliest acts was to put Antig'onus to death, and thus prevent the perils

of competition at home when hostilities abroad were inevitable. Pretences for war were easily found: a Roman army crossed the sea, and passed through Epírus and Athamánia into Thessaly. Per'seus neglected many opportunities of attacking his enemies at a disadvantage; and when he asked for peace, after having triumphed in slight skirmishes, he found that the Romans were more haughty after defeat than after victory. The alliance of Gen'tius, king of Illyria, might probably have turned the scale of war in favor of the Macedonian monarch; but he defrauded his ally of the subsidy he had promised to enable him to levy an army; and the Romans, landing in Illyr'ia, subdued the whole kingdom within thirty days. Soon afterward the consul Lúcius Æmilius Paúlus appeared in Macedon; and his name gave confidence to the friends of Rome, while it filled the partisans of Per'seus with confusion (B. C. 169). After some indecisive skirmishes, the Macedonian monarch was forced to hazard a decisive engagement at Pyd'na, in which he was irretrievably ruined. Twenty thousand Macedonians were slain; Per'seus himself was taken prisoner, and was led in chains to Rome to adorn the triumph of his haughty conqueror.

An eclipse of the moon had taken place on the eve of the battle. Such appearances were then superstitiously believed to be ominous of ill to states and kingdoms. C. Sulpic'ius Gal'lus, a Roman officer, had science enough to know their nature and foretell their occurrence: and he, lest the soldiers should be disheartened by the eclipse, called them together, declared that it would happen, and explained its cause. This changed the fear, which might otherwise have arisen, into wonder at the knowledge of Gal'lus: while in the Macedonian camp the appearance was apprehended by many to portend the extinction of the kingdom.

By the victory at Pyd'na the fate of Macedon and Greece was sealed: the Romans permitted both, indeed, for a time to enjoy qualified independence; but they exercised over them a galling supremacy, which rendered their freedom an empty name. Above a thousand of the most eminent Achæans were summoned at one time to Rome, and detained there seventeen years in prison, without being admitted to an audience. Some of these, on their return, stimulated their countrymen to insult the Roman ambassadors at Corinth, who had come to arrange some disputes between the Achæans and the Spartans (B. C. 148). This of course led to a war: the Achæans were everywhere defeated, and at length Corinth was taken by Mum'mius, the Roman consul (B. C. 146), who razed that splendid city to the ground. Thenceforward, Greece, under the name of Achaía, became a Roman province, and Macedon had been reduced to the same condition some years previously. The shadow of freedom, however, was left to some of the cities, but especially to Athens, which became the university of the Roman empire.

SECTION II.—*History of the Kingdom of Syria under the Seleucidæ.*

FROM B. C. 312 TO B. C. 64.

THE victory of Seleúcus over the satraps of Persia and Media, already mentioned (p. 143), gave that monarch possession of the prin-

cipal part of upper Asia. In less than four years he became master of the countries between the Oxus, the Indus, and the Euphrates (B. C. 306); and, reviving the projects of Alexander, he invaded India. More fortunate than his illustrious master, he penetrated as far as the Ganges, where he entered into a treaty with Sandracot'tus, the king of the rich country between the Sutlege and the Ganges. The great number of elephants which Seleúcus obtained by this alliance enabled him to turn the scale at the battle of Ip'sus: but a more important advantage was, the commercial intercourse established between his subjects and those of Sandracot'tus. After the death of Antig'onus at Ip'sus, Seleúcus, having obtained the greater part of the late satrap's provinces, made Syria the seat of his government—an unfortunate choice, since it exposed his kingdom to the jealousy of Egypt, involved it in the troubled politics of the western world, and led the rulers to neglect the rich countries on the Tígris and the Euphrátes. During the eighteen years of peace that followed the death of Antig'onus, Seleúcus founded or embellished several important cities, especially Antíoch in Syria, which he made the capital of his dominions, and two Seleúcias; one on the Tígris, the other on the Oron'tes. Anxiety to add Macedon to his dominions induced Seleúcus to invade Europe; but in the midst of his career he was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraúnus (B. C. 281). He was succeeded by his son Antíochus, surnamed Sóter (*the savior*), who had for some time governed the provinces of upper Asia.

Antíochus pursued his father's plans of conquest in Asia Minor: but he ceded his claims over Macedon to Antig'onus Gonnátus, and gave his step-daughter in marriage to that monarch. The northern states in Asia Minor that had asserted their independence rapidly attained maturity; Antíochus was defeated by Nicomédes, king of Bith'ynia, who had obtained the support of the Gallic hordes after their defeat in Greece (B. C. 275), and he was similarly unsuccessful in a war with the king of Per'gamus (B. C. 263), whose complete defeat of the Syrians gave security to all the new states. Nor was Sóter more fortunate in a war he undertook against Egypt: Mágas, the brother of the Egyptian Ptolemy, having married into the Syrian royal family, hoped that by this alliance he would be enabled to establish a new kingdom in Cyréne. Antíochus united with the usurper, and both marched against Ptolemy. The Syrians were defeated in every engagement; their coasts were laid waste by the Egyptian fleet; and Mágas was speedily hurled from his throne. On his return, Antíochus marched against the Gauls, who had advanced toward Eph'esus (B. C. 262), and in the neighborhood of that city he was defeated and slain.

Antíochus II. avenged his father's death on the Gauls, and received, from the excessive adulation of his subjects, the surname Théos (*god*). In his reign, the provinces of upper Asia began to slip from the grasp of the Seleúcidæ, owing to the progress of the Parthian tribes, the exactions of the provincial governors, and the unwise efforts of the monarch to force the Grecian customs and religion on his subjects. In order to encounter his eastern enèmies with effect, Théos deemed it necessary to tranquillize the west, and he accordingly made peace with the king of Egypt. In pursuance of the conditions of this treaty,

Antíochus married Bereníce, the daughter of Ptolemy, divorcing his former wife Laodicè, and excluding her children from the succession. On the death of Ptolemy, the divorced queen was restored to her station; but she could not forget the insult she had received, nor conquer her dread of being sacrificed to some future arrangement. Influenced by these motives, she poisoned her husband (B. C. 247), and procured the murder of Bereníce and her infant son.

Seleúcus, surnamed Callinícus (*illustrious conqueror*), succeeded to the throne by his mother's crime, and was immediately engaged in war with Ptolemy Evergétes, who was eager to avenge his sister's murder. Crossing the Syrian deserts with a numerous army, Ptolemy overran rather than conquered Palestine, Babylónia, Persia, and the wealthy provinces of upper Asia. He returned, bringing with him enormous spoils, among which were the Egyptian idols which Camby'ses had taken from Mem'phis and Thebes. On his way back he encountered Seleúcus, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and forced to take refuge in Antioch. He then returned to Egypt, having gained immense treasure, but no additional territory, in his expedition. Eúmenes, king of Per'gamus, took advantage of the Egyptian war to enlarge his dominions at the expense of the Syrian monarch; and Híerax, the brother of Seleúcus, aided by a body of Gauls, attempted to usurp the throne. The rebellion was at first successful; but the ravages of the Gauls provoked such general indignation, that Seleúcus found all his subjects rising in one body to support him; and, thus strengthened, he assailed the army of the rebels and invaders in Babylónia. The battle was fierce; but it ended in the total defeat of the Gauls, who were almost annihilated in the pursuit. Híerax fled to the Egyptian court, but was thrown into prison by Ptolemy, where he languished thirteen years, and only escaped to perish by the hands of robbers in the Syrian desert. Callinícus then turned his arms against the Parthians (B. C. 237), but was defeated by their king Arsaces; and the Parthians date the origin of their monarchy from this battle. In a second campaign, Seleúcus fell into the hands of his enemies (B. C. 236), and was detained a prisoner by the Parthians to the day of his death (B. C. 227).

Seleucus III., surnamed Ceraúnus (*the thunderbolt*), succeeded his father; but, after a brief reign, was removed by poison (B. C. 224). The hopes of his murderers, however, were frustrated by the vigor of his cousin Achæ'us, who secured the inheritance for Antíochus, the younger brother of the deceased monarch, who had been satrap of Bab'ylon.

In the early part of his reign, Antíochus III., surnamed the Great, was brought into great danger by the intrigues of his prime minister Hermeías, a native of Cária. Deceived by the artifices of this crafty vizier, Antíochus quarrelled with Achæ'us, to whom he was mainly indebted for his crown, and set Mólon and Alexander, the brothers of Hermeías, over the important provinces of Media and Persia. The new satraps raised the standard of revolt, and defeated the royal generals sent against them. At length Antíochus took the field in person, contrary to the wishes and remonstrances of his minister. When the armies were about to engage, the rebel forces, by an almost intuitive movement, threw down their arms, and submitted themselves to their

youthful sovereign. Mólon and Alexander escaped a public execution by suicide, and Hermeías expiated his complicated treasons on the scaffold (B. C. 220). Whilst Antíochus was thus engaged in the remote east, Achæ'us, whom he had forced into rebellion, had strengthened himself in Asia Minor; and the Egyptian monarch Ptolemy Philop'ater was becoming formidable on the southern frontiers of Syria. Antíochus obtained possession of Cœlé-Syria by the treachery of Theodótus, its governor; but he was soon after defeated by Ptolemy, at the battle of Ráphia near Gáza (B. C. 217), and forced to purchase peace by the sacrifice of the newly-acquired province. This defeat was in some degree compensated, the following year, by the capture of Achæ'us, whose ravages to support his troops having provoked the resentment of the kings of lesser Asia, he was besieged in the citadel of Sar'dis by the joint forces of Antíochus and At'talus, king of Per'gamus, treacherously betrayed, and ungratefully put to death.

Freed from the dangers of this war, Antíochus turned his attention to the affairs of upper Asia, and gained several victories over the Parthians and Bactrians (B. C. 214). He was, however, forced to recognise the independence of both nations. To secure his dominions, he gave his daughter in marriage to Demétrius, the son of the Bactrian monarch, and joined that prince in an important expedition against northern India (B. C. 206). In return, he made some efforts to revive the commercial system of Alexander the Great, and paid particular attention to the trade of the Persian gulf. On the death of Ptolemy Philop'ater (B. C. 203), and the accession of his infant son, Antíochus entered into an alliance with Philip, king of Macedon, to wrest Egypt from the family of the Ptolemies. He conquered Cœlé-Syria and Palestine; but was prevented from pursuing his success by the interference of At'talus, the Rhodians, and the Romans. Checked in this direction, he revived the claims of his family on the northern states of Europe and Asia. While his generals besieged Smyr'na and Lamp'sacus, he conquered the Thracian Chersonese, and prepared to invade Greece (B. C. 196). The Romans again interfered; but the Syrian monarch, instigated by Hannibal, who had sought refuge at his court, treated their remonstrances with disdain. War immediately followed. Antíochus lost the fairest opportunities of success by neglecting the advice of Hannibal: driven from Europe into Asia, he was forced to act solely on the defensive, until his total defeat at Magnésia, near Mount Sip'ylus, laid him prostrate at the feet of his enemies. The Romans deprived him of all his dominions in Asia Minor, the greater part of which were annexed to the kingdom of Per'gamus. The unfortunate monarch did long survive his defeat: he was murdered by his servants (B. C. 187); but the cause and manner of the crime are uncertain.

Seleúcus IV., surnamed Philop'ater (*a lover of his father*), succeeded to a throne fast falling into decay. His reign lasted eleven years, but was not distinguished by any remarkable event. Anxious to have the aid of his brother Antíochus, who had been given as an hostage to the Romans, Seleúcus sent his son Demétrius to Rome in exchange. Before Antíochus could reach home, Heliodórus poisoned Seleúcus, and usurped the crown (B. C. 176). This is represented by many Jewish

writers as a providential punishment of the king, who had employed that very minister to plunder the sacred treasury of Jerúsalem.

Antíochus IV. soon expelled the usurper, and assumed the surname of Epiphánes (*illustrious*) which his subsequent conduct induced his contemporaries to change into that of Epimánes (*madman*). He sought to combine the freedom of Roman manners with the ostentatious luxury of the Asiatics, and thereby provoked universal hatred. His reign commenced with a war against Egypt, in consequence of the claim made by the Ptolemies to Cœlé-Syria and Palestine. Antíochus was very successful: in two campaigns he penetrated to the walls of Alexandria, and gained possession of the person of Ptolemy Philom'eter, the rightful heir of the Egyptian throne, who had been driven from Alexandria by his brother Phys'con. With this prince the Syrian monarch concluded a most advantageous peace; but scarcely had he returned home, when Philom'eter entered into an accommodation with his brother, and both combined to resist the power of Syria. Justly enraged at this treachery, Antíochus returned to Egypt; but his further progress was stopped by the interference of the Romans, at whose imperious command he found himself compelled to resign all his conquests (B. C. 169).

The ambition of Antíochus was next directed against his own subjects: he resolved to establish uniformity of worship throughout his dominions, and to Hellenize all his subjects. His intolerance and rapacity engendered a determined spirit of resistance (B. C. 168). The Jews, headed by the gallant Mac'cabees, commenced a fierce struggle, which, after much suffering, ended in the restoration of their former independence; and the Persians, equally attached to their ancient faith, raised the standard of revolt. Antíochus hasted to suppress the insurrection in upper Asia; but being severely defeated (B. C. 165), he died of vexation on his road to Babylon.

Eúpator, the young son of the deceased monarch, was placed on the throne by the Syrians; but Demétrius, the son of Seleúcus Philop'ater, having escaped from Rome, no sooner appeared in Asia than he was joined by such numerous partisans, that he easily dethroned his rival (B. C. 162). With the usual barbarity of Asiatic sovereigns, he put the young prince to death, and found means to purchase the pardon of his crimes from the Roman senate. After an inglorious reign, he was slain in battle by Alexander Bálas (B. C. 150), an impostor who personated the unfortunate Eúpator, and was supported in his fraud by the Mac'cabees and the Romans. Bálas was in his turn defeated by Demétrius Nicátor, the son of the late monarch (B. C. 145), and forced to seek refuge in Arabia, where he was murdered by his treacherous host.

Nicátor, having lost the affections of his subjects, was driven from Antíoch by Try'phon, who placed the crown on the head of young Antíochus, the son of Bálas; but in a short time murdered that prince, and proclaimed himself king. Demétrius was withheld from marching against the usurper by the hope of acquiring a better kingdom in upper Asia, whither he was invited by the descendants of the Greek and Macedonian colonists, to defend them from the power of the Parthians (B. C. 140). He was at first successful, but was finally captured by his enemies, who detained him a prisoner for ten years. In the meantime his brother Antíochus Sidétes, having overthrown Try'phon, seized

the crown of Syria. He appears to have been a good and wise sovereign; but unfortunately he was induced, by the provincials of upper Asia, to wage war against the Parthians, and was treacherously murdered by his own allies (B. C. 130). Demétrius, about the same time, escaped from prison, and was restored to the throne. But after a brief reign he was defeated and slain by Zebínus (B. C. 126), a pretended son of the impostor Bálas.

Seleúcus, the son of Demétrius, was waging a successful war against Zebínas, when he was treacherously murdered by his own mother Cleopátra, who wished to secure the crown for her favorite child Antíochus Gry'phus. She also prevailed on her relative, the king of Egypt, to declare war against the usurper; and Zebínas was soon defeated and slain. Gry'phus no sooner found himself secure on the throne than he put his mother to death for the murder of Seleúcus (B. C. 122); and it must be added, that this measure was necessary to secure his own life. After some years, Cyzicénus, the half-brother of Gry'phus, attempted to usurp the throne; and during the civil war that ensued, many cities and provinces separated from the Syrian kingdom. Gry'phus was assassinated (B. C. 97). His five sons and the son of Cyzicénus engaged in a dreary series of civil wars; until the Syrians, weary of enduring the calamities and bloodshed of their protracted dissensions, expelled the entire family, and gave the crown to Tigránes, king of Arménia (B. C. 83). Tigránes, after a long and not inglorious reign, was involved in a war with the Romans, which ended in his complete overthrow; and he was forced to resign Syria to the conquerors (B. C. 64.) Thus the kingdom of the Seleúcidæ was made a Roman province, and the family soon after became extinct in the person of Seleúcus Cybrosac'tes (B. C. 57). He was raised to the throne of Egypt by his wife, the princess Berenícc, and afterward murdered by her orders.

SECTION III.—*History of Egypt under the Ptolemies.*

FROM B. C. 301 TO B. C. 30.

PTOL'EMY, the son of Lágus, was the wisest statesman among the successors of Alexander. No sooner had the battle of Ip'sus put him in possession of the kingdom of Egypt, than he began to provide for the happiness of his new subjects by a regeneration of their entire social system. Unlike the Seleúcidæ, he made no attempt to Hellenize the Egyptians; on the contrary, he revived, as much as altered circumstances would permit, their ancient religious and political constitution; the priestly caste was restored to a portion of its ancient privileges; the division of the country into nomes was renewed; Memphis, though not the usual residence of the monarchs, was constituted the capital of the kingdom, and its temple of Phtha declared the national sanctuary, where alone the kings could receive the crown. But not less wise was the generous patronage accorded to literature and science: the Muséum was founded in Alexandria as a kind of university for students, and a place of assembly for the learned; the first great national library was established in another part of the city; and the philosophers and

men of letters were invited to seek shelter from the storms which shook every other part of the world in the tranquil land of Egypt. Impressed by the example of his illustrious master, Ptol'emy paid great attention to trade and navigation. Colonists from every quarter of the globe were invited to settle at Alexandria, and the Jews flocked thither in great numbers, to escape the persecution of their Syrian masters. So many of that singular people became subjects of the Ptol'emies, that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek was made for their use, and a Jewish temple erected in Egypt similar to that of Jerúsalem. The double harbors of Alexandria, on the sea, and on the Maræot'ic lake, were constructed at the same time, and the celebrated Phárus, or lighthouse, erected at the entrance of the haven.

The city of Alexandria, which had been begun before the death of Alexander, owed most of its splendor to Ptol'emy. But among all the public buildings he planned or erected, there is none better deserves our attention than the Muséum, or College of Philosophy. Its chief room was a great hall, which was used as a lecture-room and common dining-room; it had a covered walk or portico all round the outside, and there was a raised seat or bench on which the philosophers sometimes sat in the open air. The professors and teachers of the college were supported by a public income. Ptol'emy's love of art, his anxiety to reward merit, and his agreeable manners, brought to his court so many persons distingnished in science, literature, and the fine arts, that the Muséum of Alexandria became the centre of civilization for the known world. The arts and letters thus introduced, did not bear their richest fruit in the reign of the founder: they flourished most in the age of his son; but this does not detract from the merit of the first Ptol'emy, who gave the institutions he planted such permanence, that they struck deep root in the soil and continued to flourish under all his successors, unchoked by the vices and follies which unfortunately grew up around them.

In return for the literature which Greece then gave to Egypt, she gained the knowledge of papy'rus. Before that time books had been written on linen, wax, or the bark of trees: and public records on stone, brass, or lead: but the knowledge of papy'rus was felt by all men of letters like the invention of printing in modern Europe; books were then known by many for the first time, and very little else was afterward used in Greece and Rome; for when parchment was invented about two centuries later, it was found too costly to be generally used so long as papy'rus could be obtained. The papy'rus reed is only found in Egypt and a small district in Sicily. Successful attempts have been made to manufacture it in modern times, but the process is too tedious and uncertain to be remunerative, and the papy'rus is only prepared as a matter of curiosity.

The external security of Egypt was strengthened by the conquest of the Syrian frontiers, the ancient kingdom of Cyréne, a considerable part of Ethiópia, and the island of Cyprus. Hence, during the administration of Ptol'emy I., Egypt was free from the fear of foreign invasion, and its inhabitants, for the first time during several centuries, were free to develop the great internal resources of the country. Few

sovereigns were more deservedly lamented than the son of Lágus (B. C. 284): his death spread universal sorrow among his subjects, who at once lamented him as a father, and worshipped him as a god.

The reign of Ptol'emy II., surnamed Philadel'phus (*a lover of his brethren*), was disturbed only by the rebellion of Mágas, which was supported by Antíochus II., as has been mentioned in the preceding section. Under the peaceful administration of Philadel'phus, Egyptian commerce made the most rapid strides; ports for the Indian and Arabian trade were constructed on the Red sea, at Arsinoë (*Suez*), My'os Hor'mus (*Cosseir*), and Berenice. From the two latter stations caravan roads were made to the Upper Nile, and the lower river was united to the Red sea by a canal, which was further continued to the lesser harbor of Alexandria, on the Maræotic lake. The Ethiopian trade was revived with great spirit; and remote countries of central and southern Africa were opened to the enterprise of the Alexandrian merchants. Unfortunately, the luxury of the court increased in the same proportion as the wealth of the country. Philadel'phus fell into all the effeminate dissipation of the Asiatic sovereigns, and adopted their pernicious habits of intermarriages between near relations. He set the example by repudiating his first wife, and marrying his own sister Arsinoë, who exercised the greatest influence over her husband. She brought him no children, but she adopted the offspring of her predecessor.

It was during the reign of Ptol'emy Philadel'phus that Pyr'rhus was driven out of Italy by the Romans (B. C. 274); and this event induced the Egyptian king to send an ambassador to the senate, to wish them joy of their success, and to make a treaty of peace with the republic. The Romans received the envoy with great joy, and in return sent four ambassadors to Egypt to seal the treaty. Ptol'emy showed the Roman deputies every kindness, and explained to them those processes of Greek art with which they were acquainted. Subsequently two of the ambassadors, Quin'tus Ogul'nius and Fábius Pic'tor, having been elected consuls, introduced a silver coinage at Rome, the advantages of which they had been taught in Egypt.

Philadel'phus was succeeded by his son Ptol'emy III., surnamed Evergétes (*the benefactor*) (B. C. 246). Unlike his father, he was a warlike, enterprising prince, and his conquests extended into the remote regions of the east and south. His war with Seleúcus II., in which the Egyptian army penetrated as far as Bactria, has been described in the preceding section; but the result of the Asiatic campaigns was plunder, not any permanent acquisition of territory; very different was the result of the southern wars, by which a great part of Abyssinian and the Arabian peninsula was added to the Egyptian dominions, and new roads for trade opened through these remote countries.

With the death of Evergétes (B. C. 221), ended the glory of the Ptol'emies. His son Ptol'emy, surnamed Philop'ater (*a lover of his father*), was a weak, debauched prince, who was, during his whole life, under the tutelage of unworthy favorites. At the instigation of his first minister, Sosib'ius, he put to death his brother Mágas, and Cleom'enes, the exiled king of Spar'ta. Antíochus the Great, who then ruled in Syria, took advantage of Philop'ater's incapacity to wage war against

Egypt; but was defeated at Ráphia, as already mentioned in the preceding section. After his victory, Ptol'emy visited Jerusalem, and made an attempt to enter the sanctuary of the temple; but being prevented by the priests, he was so indignant, that on his return to Egypt he prepared to exterminate all the Jews that had settled in the kingdom. Tradition says that his cruel project was miraculously frustrated, and that the Jews were again restored to favor. Soon afterward the king murdered his wife and sister, and transferred his affections to Agathocléa, whose brother, the infamous Agathoclés, succeeded to the power of Sosib'ius. At length his continued dissipation broke down his constitution, and he died of premature infirmity, though in the very prime of life (B. C. 204). He left behind him only one son, a child about five years old.

The guardians of Ptol'emy V., surnamed Epiphánes (*illustrious*), proving unworthy of their trust, the regency was transferred to the Roman senate, a circumstance which saved Egypt from being involved in the Macedonian or Syrian war. Epiphánes was a weak, debauched prince, and before he attained his thirtieth year, he died, the victim of dissipation or poison (B. C. 181). He left behind him two sons, Ptol'emy, surnamed Philom'eter (*a lover of his mother*), and Phys'con, both of immature age.

The claims of the Egyptians on Cœlé-Syria led to a war between the regents and the king of Syria, in the course of which Philom'eter fell into the hands of Antíochus Epiphánes, as has been related in the preceding section. After the retreat of the Syrians, Philom'eter, being a second time expelled by Phys'con, appealed to the Romans, who divided the Egyptian dominions between the two brothers. He supported the pretender Bálas against Demétrius, and mainly contributed to the placing of that imposter on the Syrian throne; but being ungratefully treated, he led an army against Bálas, and defeated him (B. C. 145). But the victory was fatal to Philom'eter; he died of the wounds that he had received in the engagement.

Phys'con, by marrying Cleopátra, who, according to the infamous practice of the Ptol'emies, was Philom'eter's wife and sister, succeeded to the Egyptian throne. On the very day of his marriage he murdered his infant nephew; and his conduct toward every class of his subjects was in accordance with this atrocious crime. At length he was compelled by the Alexandrians to abandon his kingdom, and the crown was given to his sister Cleopátra, whom he had previously divorced in order to marry her daughter, who had the same name. He was subsequently restored by the aid of a mercenary army, and retained the sceptre to the day of his death (B. C. 116). He left behind him two sons by his niece Cleopátra, Ptolemy, surnamed Lathýrus, from the resemblance of a wart on his face to a small pea; and Ptolemy, surnamed Alexander.

Cleopátra endeavored to secure the crown for her younger son, but was compelled by the Alexandrians to allow Lathýrus to ascend the throne. She however compelled him to exchange Egypt for Cy'prus with Alexander. The new king, unable to bear the tyranny of his mother, caused her to be murdered, upon which his subjects revolted, and restored Lathýrus. The remainder of this prince's reign was

passed in tranquillity. He died B. C. 81, leaving behind him one legitimate daughter, Berenice, and two natural sons, Ptolemy of Cyprus and Ptolemy Aulétes (*the flute-player*). A long series of obscure civil wars, and uninteresting intrigues with the Roman senate, followed. They ended in placing Ptolemy Aulétes on the throne, which, however, he retained only three years.

Aulétes left four legitimate children; but his daughter, the too-celebrated Cleopátra, set aside the claims of her brothers and sister, by the influence which her personal charms gave her with Julius Cæsar, and afterward with Mark Antony. The battle of Actium was fatal to her and her protector. In the year following that decisive engagement she was taken prisoner by Augustus Cæsar, and poisoned herself to avoid being led in triumph (B. C. 30). Egypt thenceforth became a Roman province, but it preserved its commercial importance; and Alexandria long continued to be the most wealthy and busy city of trade in the world.

SECTION IV.—*History of the Minor Kingdoms in Western Asia.*

FROM B. C. 301 TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

THE principal kingdoms formed from the fragments of the Macedonian monarchy in western Asia were: 1, Per'gamus; 2, Bith'ynia; 3, Paphlagónia; 4, Pon'tus; 5, Cappadócia; 6, Greater Arménia; 7, Lesser Arménia; 8, Judæa; to which may be added, 9, the commercial state of Petra and the republic of Rhodes. A very brief notice will suffice for these petty states, with the exception of Pétra, the capital of the Idumeans, and Judæa, which are so important as to require separate sections. The little kingdom of PER'GAMUS, in Mysia, was founded by Philelæ'rus, the lieutenant of Lysim'achus, during the wars of that monarch with Seleúcus. It did not attain any eminence before the accession of At'talus I. (B. C. 24), whose alliance with the Romans during the Ætolian and Macedonian wars was rewarded by the protection of the republic. He was a generous patron of literature and science, as were his immediate successors, Eúmenes and At'talus II. The latter was the most faithful ally the Romans had in the east, and his services were rewarded by a gift of the rich provinces that had been taken from Antíochus. His nephew, At'talus III., bequeathed his dominions to the Romans, who made this inheritance their first Asiatic province (B. C. 130). Brief as was the duration of this little kingdom, the patronage of its enlightened sovereigns conferred the most important benefits on letters. To them we owe the invention of parchment (*charta Pergaména*), and the establishment of a library that rivalled the library of Alexandria; to which city, indeed, it was transferred by Anthony, as a present to Cleopátra.

BITH'YNIA was created into a kingdom about the same time as Per'gamus. Its most remarkable sovereign was Prúsias, a devoted ally of the Romans, who offered to resign Hannibal to their vengeance, and had the meanness to style himself a freedman of that republic (B. C. 82). He was murdered by his own son Nicomédes; and the parricide was, in his turn, assassinated by Soc'rates, a son that trod in his father's

footsteps. Soc'rates was placed on the throne by the aid of Mithridátes, king of Pon'tus; but on the defeat of that monarch, he was deposed by Syl'la, and the crown given to Nicomédes III. This monarch died after a brief reign (B. C. 75), and bequeathed his dominions to the Romans.

Paphlagónia was, for the most part, subject to the kings of Pon'tus, and shared the fortunes of that country. Even under the Persian empire the kings of Pon'tus enjoyed a qualified independence, and were said to be descended from the royal family of the Achæmen'idæ, as well as the Persian kings. Pon'tus became independent after the battle of Ip'sus; but the first of its monarchs remarkable in history was the last that swayed its sceptre, Mithridátes VII., deservedly surnamed the Great. He came to the throne while yet a boy (B. C. 121); by devoting himself to manly sports, and inuring his body to support extreme hardships, he acquired such great personal strength, that he defeated all the plots formed for his assassination by his treacherous guardians. As he grew up, he became formidable to the neighboring princes, from whom he wrested several important provinces. He then directed his attention to the countries around the Black sea, conquered the kingdom of Col'chis, and delivered the Greek cities in the Tauric Chersonese from their Scythian oppressors. His rising greatness excited the jealousy of the Romans, who had good reason to suspect that he was a deadly enemy of their power. To strengthen himself for the coming contest, Mithridátes gave his daughter in marriage to Tigránes, king of Arménia, and invited that monarch to attack the allies of the republic. At length war was openly declared (B. B. 89), and Mithridátes, in the first two campaigns, became master of lesser Asia. He made a cruel use of his victory, by ordering all the Italian merchants resident in Asiatic cities to be murdered, and secured the execution of his sanguinary edict, by giving up their properties as rewards to the assassins. From Asia he passed into Greece, and having captured several of the islands, made himself master of Athens. At length Syl'la was sent against him: he defeated the Greek partisans of Mithridátes in three successive battles, all fought within the confines of Bœótia; while Fim'bria, another Roman general, was equally successful in Asia. Mithridátes was thus forced to beg terms of peace, which Syl'la readily granted (B. C. 85), because he was jealous of Fim'bria, who belonged to a rival faction, and was, besides, anxious to return to Italy, in order to rescue his party from the destruction with which it was threatened by Márius.

The large forces raised by Mithridátes, under the pretence of subduing the Colchians and other nations on the eastern shores of the Black sea, gave umbrage to Muræ'na, the Roman proconsul of Asia, as the ancient kingdom of Per'gamus was rather ostentatiously named by the senate (B. C. 83). Without any formal declaration of war, he invaded Pon'tus, but was severely defeated by Mithridátes, and compelled to renew the peace by command of Syl'la. Taking advantage of the civil wars that raged in the Roman territories between the partisans of Márius and Syl'la, the king of Pon'tus made several large additions to his kingdom, and finally seized on Bith'ynia, which Nicomédes had recently

bequeathed to the Romans (B. C. 75). He even attacked the Roman province; but he was driven out by Julius Cæsar, then a young student in the island of Rhodes, who, without any orders from the government, assembled a few troops, and defeated the king's lieutenants.

When the Roman senate heard of the state of affairs in Asia, they appointed Lucul'lus to undertake the management of the war; but the soldiers placed under his command were so mutinous, that Mithridátes was at first victorious both by land and sea. Encouraged by this success, the king laid siege to Cyz'icus; but scarcely had he completed his lines, when he found himself blockaded in turn by Lucul'lus, and, after enduring the most dreadful hardships, was forced to purchase a retreat by the sacrifice of the greater part of his army. His fleet was, soon after, almost wholly annihilated in a naval engagement, and several of his best towns taken. Finally, his army mutinied, and he was forced to abandon Pon'tus, and seek refuge with his son-in-law, Tigránes, in Arménia.

Tigránes readily joined Mithridátes in renewing the war; but was defeated by Lucul'lus (B. C. 70). His courage, however, was soon reanimated by a great victory which the king of Pon'tus gained over Triárius, a lieutenant of Lucul'lus, who, contrary to his better judgment, had been forced to hazard an engagement by the impetuosity of his soldiers. The main army mutinied against Lucul'lus when they heard of this defeat, and his enemies at home made it the pretext for procuring his recall. Glábrio, his successor, remained inactive during his year of office; and at length the celebrated Pom'pey was appointed to conduct the Mithridatic war, and extraordinary powers were conferred on him by the Manilian law—a law that announced too plainly the speedy downfall of the Roman republic. Pom'pey, after some minor successes, blockaded the king in his camp, and reduced him to great distress; but Mithridátes, by an unexpected sally, broke, with his army, through the hostile lines, and took the road to Arménia. He was hotly pursued, overtaken, and his army routed with great slaughter. The unfortunate monarch, at the head of eight hundred horse, cut his way through the Roman army; but being closely pressed, he abandoned these faithful followers, and, with only three attendants, continued his flight to Arménia. Tigránes gave no welcome reception to the fugitive, and Mithridátes was forced to seek shelter in the wilds of Scythia. Pom'pey followed the enemy of Rome into the deserts; but after two years spent in warring against the barbarous nations round the Black sea, he was unable to hear any tidings of Mithridátes, and returned fully convinced of his death.

Scarcely had the Romans rested from the fatigues of this expedition, when they were astounded by the intelligence of Mithridátes having returned into Pon'tus at the head of a considerable army, and recovered several important fortresses. But the unfortunate monarch found in his kingdom and family worse enemies than his open foes. His daughters were betrayed to the Romans by a faithless escort; his army mutinied; and, finally, his own son revolted, and was acknowledged king by the soldiers.

Borne down by this complication of misfortunes, the aged monarch attempted to commit suicide, but weakness prevented him from giving

himself a mortal wound; in the meantime the Roman army broke into his retreat. He was found languid, bleeding and deserted, by a Gallic soldier, who compassionating his misery, put an end to his pain and life together (B. C. 64). Thus ended the kingdom of Pon'tus: after some years it was permitted to have nominal sovereigns; but even the shadow of independence was removed by the emperor Néro, and the country became a Roman province.

Cappadócia was one of the Asiatic kingdoms founded after the battle of Ip'sus; none of its monarchs were remarkable in history, and the country itself was proverbial for the infamy of its inhabitants. Some of the Cappadocians were and continue to be Troglodytes, or dwellers in caves; but the period when the excavated habitations were first constructed is uncertain.

The two Armenias did not become kingdoms until after the defeat of Antíochus the Great by the Romans (B. C. 190), when the lieutenants of the king of Syria proclaimed their independence. The only Armenian monarch requiring notice was Tigránes, the son-in-law of Mithridátes. He was involved in the fate of the king of Pon'tus, and his dominions were subjected to the Romans, under whose sway both the Arménias continued until near the commencement of the Christian era, when they were seized by the Parthians. For several centuries the possession of Armenia was contested by the Romans and Parthians; and when the latter power was overthrown, the same country continued to be a constant source of war between the eastern empire and the restored kingdom of Persia.

After the death of Alexander, Rhodes first became remarkable by its gallant resistance when besieged by Demétrius Poliorcétes. Thirty thousand men were employed in the labors of this siege. When the first wall crumbled under the blows of the helepolis (*taker of cities*), a formidable engine of destruction invented by Demétrius during the siege, the brave garrison erected a second with the materials of their temples, their theatres, and their houses; and when that was demolished, they erected a third. Fifty deputies from the states of Greece came to the besieger's camp as mediators: Demétrius granted peace on condition of receiving one hundred hostages and a small auxiliary force (B. C. 305). During the siege he had shown his respect for the works of art that ornamented this splendid city, by preventing his engines from playing upon the buildings in which the most celebrated paintings of Protogenes were preserved. It was in memory of this siege that the wonderful Colossus was erected.

In the war between Antíochus and the Romans, the Rhodians joined with the latter: though at first defeated in a naval engagement, they exerted themselves so strenuously, that they soon became masters of the eastern sea, and obtained a decisive victory over the Syrian fleet, even though it was commanded by the illustrious Han'nibal. But jealousies soon arose between the two republics; and in the second Macedonian war the Rhodians preserved a strict but suspicious neutrality. The Roman senate sent ambassadors to the islanders, who acted as supreme magistrates rather than as envoys; and thenceforward the Rhodian in-

dependence existed only in name. Mithridátes attacked the island when he invaded Greece; but he was repulsed by the inhabitants, whose fidelity was rewarded by the constant protection of Syl'la.

During the great civil war of Rome between Pompey and Cæsar, the Rhodian fleets fought sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other; but maintained under all circumstances, a very high character. Pompey was refused admittance into the island after his defeat at Pharsália; and the murderers of Cæsar was similarly excluded during the great civil war that followed his assassination. Cassius, in consequence, besieged the city of Rhodes, into which he obtained admittance by the treachery of some of the inhabitants: he resigned the unfortunate citizens to the discretion of his licentious soldiery, and extorted from the inhabitants all that he could obtain by violence or threats. In the reign of the emperor Claúdius Cæsar, the Rhodians were deprived of their liberties for having crucified two Roman citizens; but their privileges were subsequently restored. At length the island was made a Roman province by Vespásian (A. D. 70).

Section V.—*History of Bactria and Parthia.*

from B. C. 256 to B. C. 226.

The Bactrian kingdom differed from those whose history was described in the preceding section, in being a Grecian state, although established at the extreme western verge of the ancient Persian empire. It was formed into a state by Diodátus, the Grecian governor (B. C. 254), who threw off his allegiance to the Syrian king, Antíochus II. The Bactrian monarchs made extensive conquests in India, and at one time (B. C. 181) their dominions extended to the banks of the Ganges and the frontiers of China. The nomad hordes of the desert that reside to the east of the Caspian sea, and who, both in ancient and modern times, have frequently changed the political aspect of the western world, poured down on the descendants of the Macedonian colonists, and forced them to retreat toward the south. The Greeks, driven from Bac'tria, appear to have ascended the Ox'us (B. C. 126) and to have maintained their independence in the fastnesses of the lofty mountains called the Indian Caucasus (*Hindú Kúsh*) to a very late period, while their ancient territory was annexed to the Parthian empire, It is not yet determined whether any traces can be found of this Greek colony at the present day; but it is to be hoped that some of the enterprising travellers now exploring northern India will direct their attention to the subject.

The Parthian kingdom was founded about the same time as the Bactrian, by some of the nomad hordes that subsequently overthrew the latter. Its general limits were the Euphrátes, the In'dus, and the Ox'us; but its dominions were sometimes extended beyond these streams. Though thus holding the ancient empire of Persia, the Parthian monarchs never regarded themselves as descendants of Cy'rus; they preferred the Greek religion, manners, and customs, to those of the Persians, and they conferred great privileges on the Grecian colonies that were established in their dominions. To the modern Persians this dynasty,

which ruled their country for more than four centuries, is scarcely known even by name; a clear proof that the Parthians and their reigning family, the Arsac'idæ, must have been foreigners. In one important respect they imitated the exclusive policy of the Tartar rulers of China, excluding strangers from their dominions, and sacrificing commerce to their watchful jealousy. Their establishment in the Persian empire consequently effected a great revolution in the lines of traffic between the eastern and western world. The East India trade, stopped in its passage through Babylónia, was thrown further to the south, and began to shape its course through northern Arabia and the Red sea. To this change, the great wealth and splendor obtained by the great commercial cities Palmy'ra and Alexand'ria must be chiefly attributed.

Arsáces I. commenced the war of independence (B. C. 256) by putting to death the Syrian governor of upper Asia, who had offered a grievous insult to his brother. The heads of the Parthian tribes that supported him formed a government similar to the feudal aristocracy of Europe in the middle ages, giving to the monarch little more than nominal authority, and making the crown elective, under the restriction, however, that the monarch should be chosen from the family of the Arsac'idæ. War with the Syrian kings, of course followed; but the light cavalry of the Parthian troops, which have always formed the main strength of the armies of central Asia, by their rapid evolutions disconcerted the steady discipline of the Syrians and Macedonians. It was a remarkable peculiarity of the Parthian tactics, that their armies were never so formidable as in flight: when the enemies advanced in pursuit, as if to assured victory, these active horsemen turned on their steeds, and assailed them with a flight of arrows which invariably threw them into confusion. The wars between the Parthians and Syrians terminated (B. C. 131) in the total annihilation of the Syrian army led by Antíochus Sidétes.

During half a century after their deliverance from the rivalry of the Syrians, the attention of the Parthian monarchs was chiefly engrossed by the eastern nomad tribes, whom the fall of the Bactrian kingdom had set at liberty to attack the rich provinces of southern Asia. These hordes were either subdued or incorporated with the Parthian army; and scarcely had this danger been averted, when the Romans, being brought into contact with the Parthians by their occupation of the kingdom of Mithridátes, prepared to contend with them for the empire of Asia.

The war commenced by Cras'sus, the Roman tríumvir, invading Par'thia (B. C. 53): his incapacity led to the utter annihilation of his army and the loss of his own life. In the Roman civil wars the Parthians supported the cause of Pom'pey, and afterward that of Brútus and Cas'sius. Subsequently, alarmed at the great power to which Augus'tus Cæsar attained, they sought terms of peace, and purchased it by surrendering the arms and standards which had been taken from the army of Cras'sus. The wars between the Parthians and the succeeding Roman emperors were almost incessant; but none of them produced any decisive result. After Christianity began to spread, its progress was tolerated, if not directly encouraged, by the Parthian mon-

archs, who liberally afforded shelter to Christians flying from the persecutions of the pagans, and we must add, from those of their brethren who belonged to a different sect. But unfortunately the Arsac'idæ never gained the affections of their Persian subjects: after the lapse of more than four centuries, the Parthians continued to be an army of occupation, separated by habits, prejudices, and feelings, from the great bulk of the nation. At length Ardeshír Bab'egan, called by the Greeks Artaxer'xes, a native Persian, of the illustrious house of Sassan, descended, or claiming to be descended, from the ancient line of Cy'rus and Jemshíd, raised the national standard of Persia, and drove the Parthians into the northern mountains and deserts (B. C. 226). Irán, the ancient national name of Persia, was revived; the religion of Zerdusht restored in its pristine splendor; the progress of Christianity eastward was checked, and it was thrown back on the western world, bearing unfortunately too many marks of its having been brought into close contact with oriental mysticism and superstition. The destruction of the Parthian kingdom, in Asiatic annals, holds the same place as the overthrow of the Roman empire in European: it forms the epoch which separates ancient from modern history. We shall resume Persian history under the princes of the house of Sassan in the second part of this work.

SECTION VI.—*History of Idumea, and its capital, Petra.*

FROM B. C. 1048 TO B. C. 133.

WHILE the Israelites were detained in bondage in Egypt, the Edomites, descended from Esau, became a rich and powerful nation, possessing a rampart of impregnable fortresses in the fastnesses of Mount Seir, a country generally fruitful, and a command of the great roads by which the earliest commercial caravans travelled. Its capital city, called Bozrah in the Old Testament and Pétra by the Greeks, was situated at the foot of Mount Hor, in a deep valley; the only means of access to this metropolis was through a defile partly natural, and partly cut through the solid rocks, which hung over the passage, and often intercepted the view of the heavens. The breadth of this pass is barely sufficient for two horsemen to ride abreast, and near the entrance, a bold arch is thrown across at a great height connecting the opposite cliffs. The pass gradually slopes downward for about two miles, the mountain-ridge still retaining its level, until at the close of the dark perspective, a multitude of columns, statues, and graceful cornices, burst upon the view, retaining at the present day their forms and colors as little injured by time and exposure as if they were just fresh from the chisel. The sides of the mountains are covered with countless excavations, of which some are private dwellings and some sepulchres. To this extraordinary peculiarity the prophet Jeremiah probably alludes in his denunciation of God's vengeance against Edom. "Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord."

When David ascended the throne of Israel, the Edomites had greatly

extended their dominions; they possessed the ports of Elath and Ez'ion Geber on the Arabian sea (gulf of Akaba), and through these places had opened a flourishing trade with India and Ethiopia. They also had an extensive commerce with Phœnicia, Egypt, and Babylonia. David's general, Abishai, invaded Iduméa, routed the Edomites with great slaughter in the valley of salt, and compelled them to receive garrisons into their cities. In the reign of Sol'omon, Hádad, an Edomite prince who had sought shelter in Egypt when his native country was subdued, returned to E'dom and headed a formidable revolt.

The only account we have of Hádad is contained in the first Book of Kings, and is too remarkable to be omitted. "God stirred up an adversary unto Solomon, Hádad the Edomite: he was of the king's seed in Edom. For it came to pass, when David was in Edom, and Jóab the captain of the host was gone up to bury the slain, after he had smitten every male in Edom (for six months did Jóab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom); that Hádad fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him, to go into Egypt; Hádad being yet a little child. And they arose out of Mídian, and came to Páran: and they took men with them out of Páran, and they came to Egypt, unto Pharaoh, king of Egypt; which gave him a house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land. And Hádad found great favor in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpénes the queen. And the sister of Tahpénes bare him Gen'ubath his son, whom Tahpénes weaned in Pharaoh's house: and Gen'ubath was in Pharaoh's household among the sons of Pharaoh. And when Hádad heard in Egypt that David slept with his fathers, and that Jóab the captain of the host was dead, Hádad said to Pharaoh, Let me depart, that I may go to mine own country. Then Pharaoh said unto him, But what hast thou lacked with me, that, behold, thou seekest to go to thine own country? And he answered, Nothing; howbeit let me go in any wise." The native traditions of the country in some degree preserve the memory of Hádad's reign, for one of the ruined edifices at Pétra is still called by the Arabs, "the Palace of Pharaoh's daughter."

It seems probable that Hádad's efforts were only partially successful, for we find that the Edomites continued subjects to the kings of Judah, until the reign of Jehóram the son of Jehóshaphat (B. C. 888). "In his days," says the sacred historian, "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves. So Jóram went over to Záir, and all the chariots with him: and he rose by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him about, and the captains of the chariots: and the people fled into their tents. Yet Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day. Then Lib'nah revolted at the same time." Lib'nah was one of the cities of refuge belonging to the kingdom of Judah, and its adherence to Edom tended to perpetuate the hereditary animosity between the two nations. Amazíah, the son of Jóash, severely punished the hostility of the Edomites, for we read in the second Book of Chronicles, that "Amazíah strengthened himself, and led forth his people, and went to the valley of salt, and smote of the children of Seir ten thousand. And other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the

top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they were all broken in pieces."

When Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians, the Edomites took an active part in the calamities inflicted upon the Jews. The prophet Obadíah declares that Edom "stood on the other side in the day that the strangers carried away captive Judah's forces, and foreigners entered into his gates and cast lots upon Jerusalem. Edom rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction, spoke proudly in the day of their distress, and laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity." The Edomites also "stood in the crossway, to cut off those that did escape, and to deliver up those that remained." Edom (says the prophet A'mos), "did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever." During the captivity of the Jews, the Edomites conquered the southern part of Palestine and seized the city of Hébron; the name of Idumeans was thenceforth given to those who occupied the frontiers of Palestine, while those who remained in Pétra were called Nabatheans. Against this people Athenæ'us, the general of Antig'onus, was sent during the wars between the successors of Alexander; the greater part of the Nabatheans having gone to a neighboring fair to meet a caravan from the south to receive spices in exchange for the woollen goods of Tyre, had left their passes lightly guarded; Athenæ'us therefore surprised the magazines at Pétra, and returned laden with plunder to the borders of Syria. The Nabatheans, enraged at the tidings of this calamity, collected their forces, and urging their dromedaries with incredible velocity through the desert, overtook Athenæ'us near Gáza, and almost annihilated his army. Demétrius hasted to avenge this loss, but the fastnesses and deserts of Arábia baffled his intentions; we are told that an Arab chief addressed the Grecian general from a rock, and set before him in such lively terms the danger of the enterprise in which he was engaged, that Demétrius, convinced of the great hazard of his undertaking, immediately returned to Syria.

The Idumeans who had settled in Judea, exhibited their ancient aversion to the Jews during the wars of the Maccabees; but they were severely punished by Judas Maccabæus, who took and sacked their chief city Hébron, destroyed more than forty thousand of their soldiers, and levelled their strongholds to the ground. Their subjugation was completed by John Hyr'canus (B. C. 130), who reduced them to the necessity of embracing the Jewish religion or quitting their country. They chose the former alternative, and submitting to be circumcised, became so completely incorporated with the Jews, that they were regarded as one people, so that during the first century after Christ, the name of Idumean was lost and quite disused.

The Nabatheans long maintained their independence. Pétra, their capital city, was vainly besieged by the Romans under Pompey and Trájan; but it sunk by gradual decay when the commerce which had caused its prosperity was directed into other channels. So completely was ancient E'dom cut off from the rest of the world, that the very existence of the once flourishing Pétra fell into oblivion, and its recent discovery in the loneliness of its desolation seemed as if the earth had

given up the dead. No human habitation is in it or near it, and the fearful denunciation of the prophet Isaiah is literally fulfilled: "The cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate."

SECTION VII.—*The History of the Jews from their return out of the Babylonish Captivity to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*

FROM B. C. 536 TO A. D. 73.

WHEN Cy'rus, as God had foretold, issued a decree permitting the return of the Jews to their native land (B. C. 536), he intrusted the execution of it to Zerubbab'el, who was the grandson of the last king of Judah. The number of those who returned appears not to have exceeded fifty thousand persons; and hence the Jewish traditions declare that "only the bran came out of Babylon, while the flour stayed behind." When the returned exiles began to rebuild their city, the Samaritans, who were descended from the mixed multitude which had occupied the country around Samaria when the ten tribes were carried away captive by the Assyrians, applied to Zerubbab'el to receive them into communion, and thus form a single nation. The application was peremptorily refused, and hence arose the grievous feuds between the Jews and the Samaritans which continued to rage during the six succeeding centuries.

The Samaritans, after their repulse, successfully exerted themselves to impede the progress of the work, representing to the Persian court that the Jews sought to erect a fortress, which might become the focus of a general insurrection, and sending out armed detachments to harass those who were employed in collecting materials. Darius Hystas'pes, however, renewed the decree of Cy'rus (B. C. 518), and the Jews taking courage, labored so strenuously, that in three years the temple was completed. Under the reign of Xer'xes, the Jews appear to have been treated with great respect: they furnished a contingent to the army which that monarch led into Greece, and are said to have shown more bravery than any other division of the host.

Artaxer'xes, the Ahasuérus of Scripture, was induced by his wicked vizier, Háman, to issue an edict for the extirpation of the Jews; but his queen, Est'her, who was of Jewish descent, revealed to the monarch the wickedness of his minister, and obtained from him a second proclamation, permitting the Jews to stand upon their defence. Soon afterward, probably through the queen's influence, Ez'ra received a com-

mission from Artaxer'xes to return to Jerusalem, with as many as chose to accompany him, and there to regulate all matters of church and state as he should deem most expedient.

Ez'ra continued to rule the Jews for about thirteen years, during which time he collected all the sacred books, arranged them in order, and thus formed the canon of the Old Testament. He restored the worship of the temple, according to its ancient form before the captivity, adding particular prayers and thanksgivings for the festivals, which were added to commemorate the dedication of the new temple, and the deliverance of the Jews from the malice of Háman. On account of these services, the Jews regarded him as a second Moses, and assert that the blessings he conferred on their nation were not inferior to those derived from their great legislator.

Ez'ra was succeeded in the government by Nehemíah, who had been cup-bearer to the king of Persia (B. C. 445). Under his administration the fortifications of the city were completed, in spite of the opposition made by the Samaritans and other adversaries; several evils which had arisen in the government were corrected, and the observance of the Sabbath strictly enforced. After Nehemíah's death, Judea appears to have been joined to the satrapy of Syria, and the government to have been administered by the high-priests under the Persian prefect. When Alexander invaded the Persian empire, the Jews, faithful to their obligations, resisted him while they could; but when the conquest of Tyre left them exposed to the victor, the high-priest Jaddúa made offers of submission, which were graciously accepted.

After the death of Alexander, and the division of his empire among his generals, Judea was exposed to great calamities; being situate between Syria and Egypt, it was coveted by the rulers of both, and suffered severely from alternate invasions. Ptolemy Sóter besieged Jerusalem, and stormed it on the sabbath-day; he carried away one hundred thousand captives; whom he dispersed through Egypt, Lib'ya, and the country round Cyréne, where their posterity continued to exist as a separate people for several centuries. During this anxious period, Símon surnamed the Just, possessed the high-priesthood; he was eminent for his virtues as a prince and governor, but he was still more remarkable for his piety. It was under his direction that the canon of the Old Testament was completed, and thenceforward received and transmitted to future generations without further revisal or correction (B. C. 292). It was about this time that the sect of the Sadducees was formed, which denied the doctrines of the resurrection and a future state. This creed was chiefly embraced by the rich and powerful, while the opposite doctrine of the Pharisees was more popular with the lower orders. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadel'phus, and under his patronage, the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek, for the benefit of the Jews residing in Egypt. This version is usually called the Septuagint, because, according to tradition, its preparation was intrusted to seventy persons. In general the Egyptian monarchs proved kind sovereigns to their Jewish subjects, and it was with equal folly and ingratitude that they abandoned the cause of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and placed themselves under Antíochus the Great, king of Syria.

The descendants of Seleúcus, who possessed the kingdom of Syria,

were anxious to establish a uniformity of customs throughout their dominions, and to frame all institutions, civil and religious, on a Grecian model. We have already seen how their effort to Hellenize the Persians led to their being deprived of the empire of upper Asia; but this loss did not hinder them from making similar attempts on the Jews. A pretext for interference was afforded during the high priesthood of Onías, who expelled Símon, the governor of the temple. Símon sought refuge with the Syrians, and informed them that there were vast treasures preserved in the sanctuary of Jerúsalem; and the Syrian monarch Seleúcus, whose own resources were exhausted, sent his servants to bring them to Antioch. Onías had sufficient energy to prevent this profanation; he went in person to Seleúcus, and afforded him such satisfactory explanations that Símon was banished.

Antíochus Epiphánes, soon after succeeding to the throne of his father Seleúcus, was bribed to deprive Onías of the priesthood; he conferred it on Jáson, who had already so far conformed to Greek customs as to abandon his original name, Jesus. Under Jáson's rule a general apostacy overspread the nation, the service of the temple was neglected, academies on the Greek model were opened in Jerúsalem, and the high-priest himself publicly sent an offering to the Tyrian Her'cules. Jáson was, in his turn, supplanted by his brother Meneláus, who stripped the temple of all its ornaments to pay the large bribe he had promised to the king. Onías, who since his deposition had lived at Antioch, remonstrated against this sacrilege; his denunciations alarmed the wicked Meneláus, and he procured the murder of the worthy priest, who fell regretted even by the idolators. Meneláus now pursued his iniquitous course without restraint, until the multitude, unable to endure his exactions, raised a formidable riot in the city, and killed the captain of the Syrian guard, which had been brought to protect the high-priest. The *sanhedrim*, or Jewish council, allayed the tumult, and sent three deputies to represent the state of affairs to the king, Antíochus, and expose the crimes of Meneláus. But the crafty priest was prepared to meet the danger; he had won the royal favorites by large bribes, and at their instigation the deputies, when they presented themselves to Antíochus, instead of being heard were hurried to execution. This atrocity was so revolting, that the Tyrians, though generally hostile to the Jews, showed their sense of the injustice that had been committed by giving the bodies of the unfortunate deputies an honorable burial.

Antíochus invaded Egypt (B. C. 170), and while he was engaged in the conquest of that country, a report was spread through Syria and Palestine, that he had been killed before Alexandria. Jáson, believing that this was a favorable opportunity for recovering the authority of which he had been deprived, mustered a small army, marched to Jerúsalem, and being admitted into the city by some of his partisans, butchered all whom he suspected of opposing his claims. The return of Antíochus soon induced Jáson to seek shelter in exile; he wandered about from city to city, detested by all who knew him, as a betrayer of his country, and monster of mankind.

Antíochus was highly provoked by Jáson's rebellion, especially as he was informed that the Jews had made public rejoicings on hearing the

report of his death. He marched against Jerúsalem, and, after encountering a sharp resistance, forced his way into the city. He spared no cruelty against the unhappy inhabitants; in three days forty thousand were slain, and as many more sold as slaves to the neighboring nations. Nor did his fury stop here: he entered into the Holy of Holies, offered unclean animals upon the altar of burnt-offerings, polluted the whole building by sprinkling it with water in which flesh had been boiled, dedicated the temple itself to Jupiter Olympius, and erected the statue of that deity, "the abomination of desolation," foretold by the prophet Daniel, on the altar of the Lord in the inner court of the temple. All who refused to worship the idol were cruelly tortured until they either complied or sunk under the hands of the executioner. An edict was issued, forbidding the observance of the sabbath, or of the rite of circumcision; and two women having been found guilty of circumcising their children on the eighth day according to the law of Moses, were led round the city with the infants hung from their necks, and then cast headlong from the highest pinnacle of the city walls. To escape these cruelties, many of the Jews fled to the craggy rocks and caverns which abound in Palestine, living upon wild roots and herbs, to avoid the dangers of death or apostacy.

Even in these desolate places of refuge they were pursued by the emissaries of the cruel king; in one cave more than a thousand Jews, who had assembled to celebrate the sabbath, were massacred by the soldiers of the provincial governor. The noble constancy exhibited by many Jewish martyrs of every age, sex, and condition, frequently compelled the idolators to yield them involuntary admiration, and many of the Syrian officers secretly evaded the orders of their tyrannical master, and tried to win the Jews by gentleness and persuasion instead of persecution and torture.

Mattathías, the head of the Asmónean family, which was the first in the classes of the hereditary priesthood, unable to endure the scenes of cruelty and profaneness which were displayed at Jerúsalem, retired to his native place, the village of Módin, where for some time he was permitted to follow the religion of his fathers. At length a Syrian officer was sent to this remote place; he assembled the inhabitants, and offered the king's favor and protection as a reward for apostacy. Some miserable wretches complied, but as one of them was about to offer sacrifice to the idol, Mattathías slew the renegade upon the spot. His sons, imitating his example, overthrew the altar, and broke the idol. But as they were aware that their conduct would be regarded as treasonable, they abandoned their village, and withdrew into the Jewish deserts, whither they were soon followed by bands of brave followers, determined at all hazards to vindicate the law of Moses. Mattathías restored the worship of the Lord in several of the cities from which he had expelled the Syrian garrisons, and he would probably have recovered Jerúsalem itself, had he not been prevented by death (B. C. 166). In his last moments he appointed his son Júdas to command the army of the faithful, and exhorted his sons to persevere in their heroic efforts for restoring the purity of Divine worship.

The contest between the Syrians and the Jewish insurgents now assumed the form and importance of regular war. The latter were named

Maccabees, because they engraved on their standards the four Hebrew letters מכבי, being the initial letters of the words in the eleventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, Mi Kamoka B'elohím Jehovah. Under the command of Júdas, the Maccabees gained several great victories over the Syrians, and reduced some of the strongest fortresses in Palestine. The defeat of the Syrians at Bethzúra was the most signal and decisive of his exploits; the garrison at Jerúsalem fled from their posts, and the Maccabees recovered the sanctuary and metropolis of their nation without meeting any resistance. When they came to Mount Zion, and beheld the desolation of the city and temple, they rent their clothes, and gave vent to their sorrow in loud lamentations. Júdas waited until their first emotions of sorrow had abated, and then, having secured the avenues to the city by sufficient guards, he employed his men in purifying the temple, and restoring its ruined altars. Three years after its profanation, the holy place was restored, and the feast of its dedication celebrated with all possible solemnity. But his religious duties did not divert Júdas from his exertions to maintain the independence of his country; he secured the frontiers by fortresses, repulsed many successive invasions of the Syrians, and gained a signal triumph over the Idumeans, who had joined the oppressors of the Jews. At length, having engaged the Syrian army under Bacchídes against fearful odds, Júdas was abandoned by his followers, and slain, after having destroyed a multitude of his enemies (B. C. 161). His body was recovered by his brethren, and buried in the sepulchre of his father at Módin; his loss was universally mourned, and as he was borne to the tomb, the Jews sung a funeral hymn, in imitation of that which David had composed on the death of Jon'athan, exclaiming, "How is the mighty fallen! How is the preserver of Israel slain!"

Bacchídes easily recovered Jerúsalem, after which he marched against the remnant of the Maccabees, who still held together under the command of Jon'athan, the brother of Júdas. After several indecisive engagements, a treaty of peace was concluded, and Jon'athan soon after was elevated to the high-priesthood by Alexander Bálas, the competitor with Demétrius for the Syrian crown. Under the administration of Jon'athan, Judea soon became a flourishing and powerful state; he entered into alliance with the Romans and the Spartans, and at the same time won the friendship of the Syrian kings by his unshaken fidelity. He was at length treacherously murdered by Try'phon, who dreaded that Jon'athan would oppose his usurpation of the Syrian throne (B. C. 143).

Simon, the last surviving son of Mattathías, succeeded to the priesthood, and obtained from the Syrian king the privilege of coining money, which in the East is regarded as an acknowledgment of independence. One of his coins has been preserved; it bears on the front an inscription in the old Samaritan character, which signifies "the fourth year," and on the reverse "from the deliverance of Jerusalem."

After a glorious administration of eight years, Simon and his two eldest sons were treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptol'emy; but Hyr'canus, the younger son, escaped, and was immediately recognised head of the nation. He succeeded in finally shaking off the Syrian yoke, and at the same time he incorporated the Idumeans with

the Jews, as has been related in the preceding section. Hyr'canus was a zealous friend of the Pharisees in the early part of his reign, and they in turn exalted him as the only prince who had ever united the three offices of prophet, priest, and king; but toward the close of his reign he quarrelled with this haughty sect, and was in consequence subjected to so many annoyances, that he died of sheer vexation. He was succeeded by his son Aristob'ulus, a weak and feeble-minded prince, who died of remorse for having put his brother to death on groundless suspicion.

The crown and priesthood next devolved on Alexander Jannæ'us, whose reign was disturbed by the intrigues of the Pharisees. Several insurrections were raised against him, which he suppressed, and punished the revolters with great severity. He was a brave and skilful warrior, but unfortunately devoted to licentious pleasures. Fatigues and debauches soon brought him to the grave (B. C. 79): at his death he bequeathed the regency to his queen Alexan'dra, and the crown to whichever of her sons, Hyr'canus and Aristob'ulus, she should find most worthy of the succession.

Alexandra gave herself up completely to the Pharisaic faction, and through the influence of that party soon established her authority. Anxious to retain power, she conferred the high-priesthood on her eldest son Hyr'canus, because he was of a less enterprising spirit than his brother, and kept Aristob'ulus carefully secluded in private life. On her death Aristob'ulus, in spite of the Pharisees, deposed his eldest brother, and Hyr'canus, who had little ambition, gladly acquiesced in the new arrangement. But Antip'ater, an Idumean proselyte, believing that he might easily reign in the name of Hyr'canus, conveyed that prince to Pétra, and having levied a numerous army of Arabs, invaded Judea, and besieged Aristob'ulus in Jerúsalem. Aristob'ulus appealed to the Romans, who had now extended their empire into Asia; and both parties agreed that the succession should be decided by the victorious Pompey, who had just concluded the Mithridatic war.

Aristob'ulus soon had reason to fear that Pompey would decide in favor of his brother; he therefore stood upon his defence, and fortified Jerúsalem. Getting alarmed at the advance of the Romans, he went as a suppliant to Pompey's camp; but the Jews during his absence closed the gates of their city, and refused to admit a Roman garrison, upon which Pompey ordered Aristob'ulus to be kept in chains, and laid siege to Jerúsalem. After a siege of three months the city was stormed, and twelve thousand of the inhabitants slain. The walls and fortifications were levelled to the ground, but the temple and its treasures were spared by the conquerors.

Hyr'canus was nominally restored, but all the real power of the state fell into the hands of Antip'ater. This crafty politician supported the cause of Pompey during the Roman civil wars until that general was slain, and then won the favor of Cæsar by rendering him effective aid when he was blockaded in Alexandria. In reward for these services, Her'od, the second son of Antip'ater, was appointed governor of Galilee, where he signalized himself by extirpating the bands of robbers that infested the country. In the civil wars after the death of Cæsar, Judea was not less distracted than the Roman empire; Antip'ater was

poisoned, his eldest son Phas'ael put to death, and Her'od driven into exile. Through the influence of Mark Antony, however, Herod was not only restored to his former power, but created king of Judea (B. C. 40). He had to conquer his kingdom; for the Jews were reluctant to submit to an Idumean, and were not conciliated by his marriage with Mariam'ne, a princess of the Asmonean race.

Herod's rule was tyrannical and oppressive; he put to death the high-priest Hyr'canus, his own wife Mariam'ne, and several of his sons, and massacred all whom he suspected of being discontented with his dominion. While he thus lived in constant dread of being hurled from his throne by his discontented subjects, "there came wise men from the east to Jerúsalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." Herod was greatly troubled by this announcement; he assembled the chief-priests and scribes, and inquired of them where Christ should be born. Having heard that Bethlehem was the place foretold by the prophets, he sent the wise men thither, "and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also." Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose birth was thus wondrously announced, was miraculously saved from the wrath of the cruel king, for the wise men, "being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way. And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt: and was there until the death of Herod." When Herod found that the wise men did not return, he was exceeding "wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men."

Herod did not long survive this atrocious cruelty; he died in the seventieth year of his age, to the great joy of all his subjects, and was succeeded by his son Archeláus. Several insurrections were raised by the Jews against their new ruler, which were not suppressed without great bloodshed. At length all parties appealed to Cæsar, who divided the dominions of Herod among his children, giving Archeláus Judea, with the title of Eth'narch. But Archeláus proved so unworthy a governor, that the Roman emperor, wearied by the complaints urged against him, deprived him of power, and banished him into Gaul. Judea was now formally made a Roman province, and subjected to taxation. It was about this time that our blessed Lord, being twelve years of age, was brought by his parents to celebrate the passover, according to the Jewish custom, which obliged all males who had attained that age to repair to the temple on the three great festivals.

The Jews were very reluctant to submit to taxation, and frequently took up arms against the publicans, or tax-gatherers: but when Pilate was appointed to the government (A. D. 20) they were still more alarmed for their religion, because Pilate, on entering the city, brought

with him the Roman standards, which, from their bearing images, the Jews regarded as idols.

With great difficulty Pilate was induced to remove the offensive ensigns, but he soon provoked a fresh insurrection by attempting to plunder the sacred treasury. He ordered his soldiers to fall on the riotous mob that resisted the attempt, and many innocent lives were sacrificed in the confusion. The state of society in Judea became very corrupt during Pilate's administration; there was no class that escaped the demoralizing effects of profligacy in the government, and discontent in the people. John the Baptist, a prophet, the forerunner of the Messiah, appeared in the wilderness of Judea, preaching the necessity of repentance, and announcing that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. The austerity of his life, and the novelty of his doctrines, induced great numbers to become his disciples, who were "baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins" (A. D. 30). Many believed that he was the Messiah; the Evangelist declares, "the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not; John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable." But the preaching of John was only designed to prepare the way for a greater teacher. Our Lord Jesus Christ having attained the thirtieth year of his age presented himself to be baptized, and as he went up out of the water a remarkable miracle attested his divinity, for "the heavens were opened unto him, and John saw the spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him: and lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Immediately after his baptism our Lord entered on his mission, and "preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people." But in spite of his many stupendous miracles, the great body of the Jews refused to believe in his mission, and plotted against his life.

Herod An'tipas, and his brother Philip, still held the provinces which had been granted them after the death of their father, Herod the Great. The former was married to the daughter of an Arabian, the latter to his own niece Heródias. Herod An'tipas sent away his own wife and married his sister-in-law, though she had children by his brother Philip, which was contrary to the Mosaic law. The whole nation exclaimed against this incestuous union; John the Baptist, especially, had the courage to reprove both the king and his paramour in the severest terms. Heródias, stung by his reproaches, induced her husband to throw his faithful monitor into prison, and subsequently, by means of her daughter, obtained an order for his execution. John was beheaded in prison, but his disciples gave his body an honorable burial, and the whole nation lamented his death.

When our Lord Jesus Christ had fulfilled the object of his mission, by preaching the glad tidings of salvation, God permitted him to be delivered into the hands of his enemies and put to a cruel death, in

order that his sufferings should make atonement for the sins of mankind. The Jews falsely accused him before Pilate of a design to subvert the government; Pilate, though convinced of his innocence, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and Jesus was crucified between two malefactors (A. D. 33); but God did not "suffer his Holy One to see corruption;" on the morning of the third day Christ was raised from the dead, and after continuing forty days with his disciples ascended into heaven. Previous to his departure he promised his disciples that they should receive another Comforter, and this was fulfilled by the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost.

The murder of our blessed Lord did not prevent the spread of his doctrines; on the day of Pentecost three thousand persons were converted by the preaching of Peter, and every succeeding day fresh additions were made to the church. In the wicked and distracted condition of Jewish society, the conduct of the Christian community afforded a remarkable example of purity, harmony, and self-denial. "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." In consequence of the great increase of the church, seven deacons were appointed to take charge of "the daily ministration," of whom the most remarkable was Stephen, who, "full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people." The rulers of the synagogue, unable to confute Stephen, accused him to the sanhedrim, or council, of having blasphemed Moses and God. False witnesses were suborned to support the accusation, and Stephen was subjected to the mockery of a trial. He easily refuted the charges brought against him, but when he repeated his belief that Jesus was the Messiah, his enemies were filled with fury; "they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him; and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul. And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep."

Saul, who was subsequently called Paul, had consented to the death of Stephen, and was so eager a persecutor, that he obtained a commission to search after the Christians who sought shelter in Damas'cus. On his way to that city, he was miraculously struck to the earth, and God was graciously pleased to convince him of the truth of the gospel. Thenceforward he became a zealous apostle of the faith, speaking boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus. The continuance of the persecution at Jerusalem was, by divine providence, turned into a means of propagating the gospel; for the disciples, being dispersed, carried their doctrines into every city where the Jews had synagogues.

In the meantime, Pilate was stripped of his government, and sent to answer charges of tyranny and misgovernment before the emperor; his defence was so unsatisfactory, that he was banished to Gaul, where, unable to endure the stings of a guilty conscience, he killed himself with his own sword. Herod Agrip'pa, the grandson of Herod the Great, had been kept in prison during the reign of the emperor

Tiberius, but on the accession of Calig'ula he was not only restored to liberty, but obtained the provinces that had belonged to his uncle Philip, with the title of king (A. D. 41). Through his influence, Calig'ula was induced to recall his edict for desecrating the temple of Jerusalem by erecting his own statue in it, and to pardon the Jews for resisting the imperial commands. In the reign of the emperor Claúdius, Agrip'pa obtained the government of all the territories which had belonged to his grandfather, Herod the Great. He returned to his kingdom, where he showed an extraordinary attachment to the Jewish religion; and, to please the Pharisees, he began to persecute the Christians. St. James, the brother of John, sometimes called the Less, to distinguish him from St. James the first bishop of Jerusalem, was beheaded, and St. Peter cast into prison; but Peter was miraculously delivered by an angel, and Herod Agrip'pa soon after died in great misery from a painful and loathsome disease.

On the death of Herod Agrip'pa, Judea was once more reduced to the condition of a Roman province. The cruelty and rapacity of the provincial governors filled the land with wretchedness; bands of robbers not only infested the roads, but even ventured to attack the towns; certain pretended zealots, called *Sicarii*, or assassins, committed the most horrid murders, in the name of religion and liberty; while false prophets and messiahs raised repeated insurrections, which were punished with dreadful severity. All these evils were aggravated under the administration of Félix, whose avarice was unbounded, and who never hesitated to commit any crime by which he might gratify his depraved passions. Before this wicked governor the apostle Paul was brought, when falsely accused by the Jews of disturbing the public peace. On the public trial nothing could be proved against the apostle, but Félix detained him in custody. After some time he privately sent for Paul, to hear him concerning the faith in Christ, "and as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Félix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee. He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him; wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him. But after two years Por'cius Fes'tus came into Félix's room: and Félix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound." Fes'tus, on assuming the government, found the priests at war with each other respecting their shares of the tithes. To such a height did their rancor rise, that the rival parties hired troops of assassins, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple, with blood. Seditions against the Romans were also frequent, and the bands of robbers plundered and massacred everywhere without mercy. While Fes'tus was endeavoring to provide some remedy for these disorders, Paul was brought before him for trial; the apostle observing the vindictive temper of the Jews, and having little confidence in the firmness of Fes'tus, appealed to Cæsar, and was of course sent to Rome.

Fes'tus was succeeded by Albínus, and afterward by Flórus, the last and worst governor the Jews ever had (A. D. 64). Flórus resolved to drive the Jews into open rebellion, to prevent any inquiry into his manifold oppressions. The unhappy nation seemed blindly to second

his efforts by taking up arms to drive the Syrians out of Cæsarea, and by raising seditions in almost every city where they were settled. At length the zealots attacked the Romans in the fortresses which had been erected to secure Jerúsalem, and put all who opposed them to the sword, including even the garrisons that capitulated. The governor of Syria marched into Judea to punish these disorders, but he was compelled to retreat, and the Jews now resolved to brave the entire strength of the empire (A. D. 67). The Christians of Jerúsalem, remembering our Savior's warning, retired to Pel'la, beyond the Jordan, whither the war did not reach, and their example was followed by several Jews in the higher classes.

Vespásian, a Roman general, who had already distinguished himself in Germany and Britain, was appointed by Néro to conduct the war against the Jews. He encountered everywhere a fierce resistance, and at length, when he reached Cæsaréa, he halted his army, trusting that the Jews, by their intestine tumults, would become so weakened as to afford him an easy victory (A. D. 70). Such an expectation was but too reasonable; the zealots, who had fled before the Romans, were now collected in Jerúsalem, under the command of a vile demagogue, John of Gis'chala, and being joined by the Idumeans, committed the most horrid butcheries, and polluted the temple itself with horrid murders. Another party was formed by Simon, the son of Gorías, whose atrocities in the country rivalled those of John in the city; he was invited to Jerúsalem, as a counterpoise to John and the zealots, but the remedy was worse than the disease, for Simon proved the worse scourge of the two. A third faction was formed by Eleázar, who seized the upper part of the temple, and thus, while the enemies were advancing against the devoted city, its garrison and its citizens were engaged in mutual slaughter.

In the meantime, Vespásian, having been raised to the empire intrusted the command of the army to his son Títus, who entered Judea with a very numerous and well-appointed army (A. D. 73). He advanced against Jerúsalem, meeting no resistance in the open country, a circumstance which led him to believe that the Jews had repented of their rebellion, and were preparing for submission. Under this mistaken impression, he exposed himself negligently in the difficult defile called the valley of Jehosh'aphat, where he was separated from his cavalry. In this situation he was suddenly assailed by the factions, and was exposed to such danger that his escape was regarded as little short of a miracle. The siege was now formally commenced; the Jews, shut up in the city, suffered dreadfully from famine and pestilence, but the factions did not lay aside their mutual fury; they continued to slaughter each other, even while their walls were shaken by the battering engines of the Romans. Language would fail to describe the horrid sufferings of the besieged; hunger reduced them to the necessity of using the most revolting and unnatural substances for food, while the zealots made the miseries and groans of their starving brethren the subject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the sheathing their swords on these poor wretches, under pretence of trying their sharpness.

At length the walls of the city were battered down, and the Romans

besieged the temple, where the desperate factions still maintained an energetic resistance. Títus was very anxious to save the sacred edifice, but one of his soldiers threw a lighted brand into one of the windows, and the whole building was soon in flames. A fearful massacre followed; the Romans refused all quarter, and many thousands perished by the fire, the sword, or by throwing themselves headlong from the battlements. This scene of butchery was continued for several days, until Jerúsalem was left utterly desolate. The number of prisoners reserved for a fate worse than death amounted to ninety-seven thousand, eleven thousand of whom were starved to death by the neglect or cupidity of their keepers. According to Joséphus, there perished at Jerúsalem during the siege, by famine, pestilence, and the sword, more than a million of Jews and proselytes; but this statement appears to be exaggerated.

When the soldiers had ended their destructive work of burning and slaughter, Títus ordered that the entire city should be razed to the ground, with the exception of a portion of the western wall, and three towers, which he left as memorials of his conquest. So punctually were his orders executed, that, except these few buildings, nothing was left save shapeless ruins, which would indicate that the place had ever been inhabited. The victory of Títus was celebrated at Rome by a splendid triumph; a triumphal arch, which still exists, was raised to commemorate the event; and a medal struck, in which the captured land of Judea was significantly represented as a disconsolate female sitting beneath a palm-tree, while a soldier, standing by, laughed at her misery and mocked at her calamity.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ITALY.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline.*

Italy, in its earliest signification, was the name given to the small tongue of land between the Syllet'ic and the Nepetic gulfs, that is, the southern portion of Brut'tium; but it was gradually extended to include more northern provinces, until, in the reign of the Emperor Augustus, it was applied to the great peninsula included between the Alps, the Adriatic, the Tyrrhenian and the Mediterranean seas. It was also called Hespéria, from its western situation; Satur'nia, from the fable of Saturn's flight thither; Aus'onia and Œnótria, from some of the most ancient tribes of inhabitants.

The most convenient division of the peninsula is into three portions: Cisalpine Gaul in the north, Italy Proper in the centre, and Magna Græcia in the south.

Subalpine Italy received the name of Gaul from the Gallic hordes that settled in the northern and western districts; it was called for distinction Cisalpine, or Citérior, because it lay on the side of the Alps next to Rome, and Togáta, because in a late age, its inhabitants began to use the tóga, or national dress of the Romans. From the Alps, this province at first extended to the city of An'cona, in the province of Picénum; but, in the later ages of the Roman republic, the river Rúbicon (*Rugone*), between Ravenna and Arim'inum, was considered the limit of its frontiers.

The principal Subalpine tribes were the Vedian'tii, inhabiting the small tract lying on the east bank of the Várus (*Var*), and extending from the territory of Nícæ (*Nice*), to the Maritime Alps, or that branch of the mountain-chain which joins the Western Mediterranean: the Vagæn'ni, north of the Maritime Alps near the source of the river Pádus (*Po*); and the Tauríni, at the other side of the Pádus, on which stood their capital, Taurásia, subsequently called Augus'ta Taurinórum (*Turin*).

North of the Taur'ini, and among the mountains, was the kingdom of Cottíus, who gave his name to the Cottian Alps. Thence to the Greek Alps, which extended to Mons Jóvis (*Great St. Bernard*), there were several warlike Gallic tribes, but none of any particular note in history.

Ligúria lay south of the river Pádus, extending to the Mediterranean sea, between the rivers Mácra and Várus. Its chief cities on the seacoast were Nicæ'a (*Nice* or *Nizza*), erected by the Massilians to protect their frontier against the Ligurian mountaineers: Pórtus Her'culis

Monœ'ci (*Monaco*), Al'bium Intemélium (*Vintimiglia*), Al'bium Ingan'num (*Albengia*), Sab'ata (*Savona*), Gen'ua or Jan'ua (*Genoa*), Por'tus Delphíni (*Porto Fino*), and Por'tus Lúnæ (*Golfo delle Spezie*). Of these Gen'ua was the most important, being the great emporium of Ligurian commerce. The principal towns in the interior were Polléntia (*Pollenza*), As'ta (*Asti*), and Indus'tria (*Tortona*). This last city was called Bodencomágum by the earlier Ligurians, because it stood on the Po, which they named Boden'cus, a word in their language signifying "bottomless." Next to Liguria lay the district named Gallia Cispadána, or Gaul south of the Po; it was chiefly inhabited by the Boii, the Lingónes, and the Senónes. The principal towns of the Boii were Placéntia, Par'ma, Mútina (*Modena*), and Bonónia (*Bologna*). The Lingónes possessed Raven'na, Faven'tia (*Faenza*), Solóna (*Citta di Sole*), and Cæ'sena; and to the Senónes belonged Arimin'um (*Rimini*), Pisaú'rum (*Pesaro*), Séna Gal'lica (*Sinigaglia*), and An'cona.

Gal'lia Transpadana, or north of the Pádus, had the great Alpine chain on the north and west, between which and the Po it extended to the river Formio (*Il Risano*), which separated it from Istria. It was inhabited by the Oróbii, the In'subres, the Læ'vi, the Cenoman'ni, the Eugánei, and the Ven'eti. The principal cities in the territory of the Oróbii were Con'rum (*Conro*), Ber'gamum (*Bergamo*), and Fórum Licin'ii (*Berlasina*); the In'subres possessed Mediolánum (*Milan*), Laus Pompeíi (*Lodi*), and Fórum Intuntórum (*Crema*): to the Cenoman'ni belonged Brix'ia (*Brescia*), Cremóna, Man'tua, and Ver'ona: the Eugánei, owned Sábium, Vobern'a, Ed'rum, and Van'nia, cities long since demolished: and the Ven'eti were masters of Patávium (*Padua*), Vicen'tia (*Vicenza*), Ates'te (*Este*), Fórum Alliéni (*Ferrara*), Tar'visum (*Treviso*), Aquileía (*Aquilea*), Fórum Júlii (*Friuli*), and Tergéste (*Trieste*). In later ages, a horde, called the Carni, wrested from the Ven'eti the cities and country between the rivers For'mio and Talaven'tum (*Piave*).

Central or Proper Italy extended along the Adriatic coast from the city of An'cona to the river Fren'to (*Fortore*), and on the Mediterranean side was limited by the rivers Mácra and Sil'arus (*Sele*). It comprehended Etrúria, Um'bria, Sabin'ium, Látium, Picénum, with the countries of the Vestíni, Marrucíni, Pelig'ni, Mar'si, Fret'ani, Samnítes, Hirpíni, Campáni, and Picentíni.

Etrúria was inhabited by two distinct races, that seem to have very slowly amalgamated, the Tyrrhéni and the Hetrus'ci. It was bounded on the east by the river Tiber, on the west by the Mácra, on the north by the chain of the Apennines, and on the south by that portion of the Mediterranean commonly called the Tuscan sea. It was divided into a dodecarchy, or government of twelve tribes and cities. These ruling cities in the most flourishing period of Etrurian history were, Volsin'ii (*Bolsena*), Clúsium (*Chiusi*), Perúsia (*Perugia*), Cortóna, Aret'ium (*Arezzo*), Falérii (*Civita Castellana*), Volater'ræ (*Volterra*), Vetulónium (*Grosseto*), Rusel'læ (*Cerveteri*), and the cities of Veíi, Tarquinii, and Cæ're, which at present lie in ruins. There were many other places of importance in Etruria: on the seacoast were Lúna (*L'Erice*), Písæ (*Pisa*), Por'tus Her'culis Libur'ni (*Livorno* or *Leghorn*), Papulónia now in ruins, Tal'amon (*Telamone*), Centumcel'læ (*Civita Vecchia*), and

Al'sium (*Palo*). There were besides, in the interior, Nep'ete (*Nepe*), Sútrium (*Sutri*), Fánum Voltum'næ (*Viterbo*), Hortánum (*Orti*), Herbánum (*Orvieto*), Senæ Juliæ (*Saona*), Floren'tia (*Fiorenza, Firenze*, or *Florence*), Pistória (*Pistoia*), and Lúca (*Lucca*).

Umbria was bounded on the south by the river Nar (*Nera*), on the north by the Adriatic sea, on the east by the Æsis (*Fiumicino*), and on the west partly by the Tiber, and partly by the Bedesis (*Il Roneo*), which falls into the Adriatic near Ravenna. But the maritime part of Umbria having been early conquered by the Senonian Gauls, the cities it contains have been already mentioned in the account of Gallia Cispadána. The Umbrian cities on the Adriatic side of the Apennines were Sarsína, Urbínum (*Urbino*), Metauren'se (*Castel Durante*), Sentínum (*Sentimo*), and Cam'ers (*Camerino*). On the other side of these mountains were Igúvium (*Ugubio*), Mevánia (*Bagagna*), Spolet'ium (*Spoleti*), Tifer'num (*Citta di Castella*), Nucéria (*Nocera*), Assis'ium (*Assisi*), Hispellum (*Ispello*), Fulgin'ium (*Foligno*), Interam'nium (*Terni*), Narnia (*Narni*), and Ocric'ulum (*Ocricoli*).

The territory of the Sabines lay between the Nar, which divided it from Umbria, and the A'nio (*Teverone*), by which it was separated from Latium. It contained the city of Cúres, whose inhabitants, migrating to Rome, are said to have given its citizens the name of Quirítes; Reáte (*Rieti*), Nur'sia (*Norcia*), E'retum (*Monte Rotondo*), and Amiter'num (*Lamentaria*).

Látium was at first restricted within very narrow limits, being bounded by the Tiber, the A'nio (*Teverone*), and the Circæan promontory (*Monte Cercilli*); but after the subjugation of the Æ'qui, Hernici, Vol'sci, and Ausónes, it was extended to the Líris (*Garigliano*); and hence arises the distinction between Old and New Látium. The chief cities of Old Látium were Rome, Tíbur (*Tivoli*), Prænes'te (*Palestrina*), Tus'culum (*Frascati*), Aric'ia, Lanúvium (*Citta Lavina*), Al'ba Lon'ga (*Albano*), Lauren'tum (*Paterno*), and Os'tia. There were, besides, four Latin towns, of which the ruins can now scarcely be traced, Gábii, Antem'næ, Collátia, and Ar'dea. The chief cities of the Æqui were Car'sula (*Arsuli*), Valéria (*Vico Varo*), Subláqueum (*Subiaco*), and Al'gidum, now in ruins. To the Herníci belonged Anag'nia (*Anagni*), Alátrium (*Alatri*), Ver'ulæ (*Veroli*), and Ferentínum (*Ferentino*). In the country of the Volsci were An'tium, Cir'cæ, and Sues'sa Pométia, all three long since ruined; Anx'ur (*Terracina*), Vel'itræ (*Veletri*), Priver'num (*Piperno*), Aquínum (*Aquino*), Casínum (*Monte Cassino*), Arpinum (*Arpino*), Fregel'læ (*Ponte Corvo*), and Interam'na (*L'Isola*). The Ausónes possessed Caréto (*Gaeta*), Fun'di (*Fondi*), and For'miæ (*Mola*).

Picénum extended from the Adriatic to the Apennines, between the Æ'sis (*Esino*) and the Aternus (*Pescara*). The chief cities of the Picen'tes were Ancóna, As'culum (*Ascoli*), Interam'nium (*Teramo*), and A'tria (*Atri*). Several other nations besides the Picen'tes were included within the boundaries of Picénum. Of these, the Vestíni possessed An'gulus (*Civita di Sancto Angelo*) and Avel'la; the Marrucíni owned but one city, Téate (*Chiete*); the Peligni possessed Corfin'ium, now in ruins, and Sul'mo (*Sulmona*); the Mar'si, in the interior of the country, close to the Apennines, had only one important town,

Marrúbium (*Morrea*). On the southern seacoast were the Frentáni, whose chief cities were Ortóna, Anax'onum (*Lanzano*), and Histónium (*Guasto d'Amone*): the Samnites possessed the country between the territory of the Frentáni and the Apennines; their chief cities were Bovíanum (*Boiano*), Æser'nia (*Isernia*), Sepínum (*Sepina*), Allífæ (*Alifi*), and Tel'esia (*Telesi*). Finally, the Hirpíni held the south western side of the Apennines, and possessed Beneven'tum (*Benevento*), Equotúticum (*Ariano*), and Comp'sa (*Conza*).

Campánia, the most pleasant and fruitful division of Italy, extended between the territories of the Samnites and Herpíni and the Mediterranean from the river Liris to the promontry of Minerva. On its coast were Liter'num (*Torre di Patria*), Baíæ (*Baia*), Misénum (*Monte Miseno*), Parthen'ope or Neap'olis (*Naples*), and Sorren'tium (*Sorrento*), together with the cities of Herculáneum and Pom'peii, overwhelmed by an eruption of Mount Vesúvius. In the interior of the country were Cápua, Sues'sa Aurun'ca (*Sessa*), Venáfrum (*Venafro*), Casilínum (*Nova Capua*), Teánum Sidicínum (*Tiano*), Calátia (*Cajazzo*), Cáles (*Calvi*), Atel'la (*Aversa*), Acer'ræ (*Acerra*), Nóla and Nucéria (*Nocera*). Between the promontory of Minerva and the river Sil'arus (*Sele*) was a small district inhabited by a Picentine colony, whose chief city was Saler'num (*Salerno*).

Magna Græcia, so called from the number of Greek colonies that settled in it, comprised Apúlia, Lucánia, and the territory of the Brut'tii.

Apúlia (*La Puglia*) extended from the river Fren'to (*Fortore*) to the Japygian promontory (*Capo di Leuca*), at the southeastern extremity of Italy. It was divided into three portions: Daúnia, lying between the Fren'to and the Aúfidus (*Ofanto*); Peucétia, stretching from the Aúfidus to the isthmus between Brundúsium and Taren'tum; and Japy'gia, or Calábria, comprising the southeastern peninsula of Italy, or the heel of the boot to which Italy has been fancifully compared.

In the first two divisions were Teánum Ap'ulum (*Civitate Tragonara*), Sípuntum (*Siponto*) Lúceria (*Lucera*), Ar'pi (*Foggia*) As'culum Ap'ulum (*Asicli*), Venúsia (*Venosa*), Acheron'tia (*Acirenza*), Canúsium (*Canosa*), Can'næ (*Canna*), Salápia (*Salpe*), Bárium (*Bari*), and Egnátia (*Terra d'Anazzo*). The chief cities of Calábria were Brundúsium (*Brindisi*), Hydrúntum (*Otranto*), Callip'olis (*Gallipoli*), Ner'itum (*Nardo*), and Alétium (*Lezze*).

Lucánia lay between the Sílarus and the Laüs (*Laino*). It was divided from Peucétia by the Bran'danus (*Brandano*), and from Calábria by the upper part of the Tarentine gulf. On the Mediterranean, or Tyrrhenian sea, stood Pæs'tum or Posidónia (*Pesto*), Vélia (*Pisciotta*), and Buxen'tum (*Policastro*). On the Tarentine gulf were Metapon'tum (*Tere di Mare*) and Heracléa, called also Syb'aris and Thurii (*Policore*). The inland cities were Poten'tia (*Potenza*), and Grumen'tum (*Clarimonte*).

Greek colonies occupied the southwestern peninsula of Italy. Their chief cities on the western coast were Ceril'li (*Cirella*), Clamp'etia (*Amantea*), Tom'sa (*Torre Loppa*), Lamétia (*Sant Euphemia*), Scyllæ'um (*Sciglia*), and Rhégium (*Reggio*). On the eastern coast stood Lócri Epizephy'rii (*Jeraces*), Caulónia (*Castel Veteri*), Scylacéum (*Squillaci*), Cróto (*Crontone*), Petil'ia (*Belicastro*), and Rusciánum (*Rossana*).

The chief cities of the interior were Consen'tia (*Cosenza*) and Hippónium, called by the Romans Víbo Valen'tia (*Mont Leone*).

The chief Italian mountains are the Alps, which extend round the north of the peninsula in an irregular chain about eight hundred miles in length; and the Apennines, which go through Italy from the Maritime Alps to the straits of Sicily. The Massic, Gaurian, and Garganian mountains are detached ridges, celebrated for theiy fertility; and Vesuvius, near Naples, has been long remarkable for its volcano.

From the Alps flow the Pádus (*Po*), the Drúria (*Dora*), the Sessítes (*Sessia*), the Ticínus (*Tessino*), the Ad'dua (*Adda*), the Ol'lius (*Oglio*), the Min'crus (*Mincio*), the Tan'arus (*Tanaro*), the Trébia, and the Rhénus Bononien'sis (*Reno di Bologna*): all these are tributaries of the Pádus. The Ath'esis (*Adige*) has also its source in the Alps, but it falls into the Adriatic. The Ar'nus (*Arno*) and the Tiber flow from the Apennines into the Mediterranean: the tributaries of the latter river are the Clánis (*Chiana*), the Nar (*Nera*), and the A'nio (*Teverone*). Besides these, there are the Líris (*Garigliano*), separating Látium from Campánia; the Vultur'nus (*Voltorno*), in Campánia; the Sil'arus (*Silaro*), severing the territories of the Pincentíni and Lucáni; the Syb'aris (*Cochile*), and the Cráthis (*Crati*), in Lucánia; the Aúfidus (*Ofanto*), in Apulia; and the Ater'nus (*Pescara*) and Metaúrus (*Metauro*), in Picénum.

Italy has ever been celebrated for its fertility and beauty; its inhabitants were once the triumphant conquerors and lords of the known world; but ages of misgovernment have blighted this lovely peninsula, and it is now among the most degraded and miserable countries in Europe.

Section II.—*Historical Notices of the early Inhabitants of Italy.*

CHRONOLOGY UNCERTAIN.

The earliest inhabitants of Italy appear to have been branches of the great Pelasgic nation. Of these, the Œnotrians occupied the south of the peninsula, the Sicilians possessed the plain of the Tiber, and the Tyrrhenians were settled in Etruria. In process of time, the Œnotrians were subjugated by Hellenic colonies, the Sicilians subdued by some mountain-tribes who took the name of Latins, and the Tyrrhenians conquered by the Hetrusci, a people that probably descended from the Rhætian Alps.

Between Œnot'ria and Tyrrhénia was the territory of the Opicans or Oscans, called also Ausonians. Their language was intelligible to the Latins; for the Latin tongue is compounded of Greek and Oscan. To this race the Æ'qui and Vol'sci appear to have belonged.

The Latins, according to tradition, were driven down the A'nio by the Sabines, and they in their turn expelled a great portion of the Siculians from their habitations, who proceeded southward, and passed over the strait of Messina into the island which took from them the name of Sicily. In the old legends these Latin conquerors are called Sacráni; they were also named Priscans and Cascans. From the latter name, and the similarity of language, they must have been a branch

of the Oscan nation. The agreement between the Greek and Latin languages in words that relate to agriculture and the arts of social life, while they differ wholly in the names of objects belonging to war or the chase, is a strong proof that the agricultural laborers or serfs were of Pelasgian origin, and the warriors a superior caste of Oscan descent. Little is known of the religion of the ancient Latins, or the deities they worshipped. Jánus, or Diánus, was the god of the sun, Saturn the vivifying power of nature, and his wife Ops the productive energy of the earth; but the distinctive character of these deities was lost when, in a late age, the native legends of Látium were blended and confounded with the mythology of Greece.

The Sabines and their cognate tribes are included under the common name of Sabellians; they were the most widely extended and the greatest people in Italy when the Romans advanced beyond the frontiers of Látium. Their original home was in the neighborhood of Amiter'nium, among the highest of the Apennines that are now included in Abruzzo Ultra. From these they descended at a very remote age, driving the Cascans before them in one direction, and the Umbrians in another. Their colonies were sent out according to a singular religious institution called the "Ver Sácrum," or sacred spring. Every twenty years the children and cattle born within the twelvemonth were consecrated and set apart for founding a colony; and, as soon as they reached mature age, were sent forth for the purpose. One of these occupied Picénum, then inhabited by the Pelasgians; another passed into the land of the Opicans, or Oscans, and became the founders of the great Samnite race. To the Sabellan race belonged also the Frentanians on the coast of the Adriatic, the tribes that conquered Campánia, the powerful nation of the Lucanians, and the four confederate tribes of Marsians, Manucinians, Pelignians, and Vestinians. The Hernicans were a sub-colony of the Marsians.

The Lucanians, pushing their conquests into Œnotria, were soon involved in war with the Greek colonies, most of which they subdued. They were joined by the Samnites from Campánia (B. C. 437), who gained possession of Vultur'num. They soon advanced to the Laüs (B. C. 423), and confirmed their power by the total defeat of the Thurians (B. C. 387). At length they were brought into hostile contact with the Romans, and soon stripped of all their power.

The Sabellian tribes, more especially those in the north, were distinguished for their love of divination, the rigid severity of their morals, and their cheerful contentedness. In other respects their characters differed. The Sabines and most of the northern tribes lived in open villages; the Samnites fortified the hills on which they dwelt; and the Lucanians became attached to residence in cities. The want of union between the Sabellian tribes prevented that race from becoming predominant in Italy. The Samnites owed their downfall to the want of a central metropolis, and the unity it confers. It was only in time of war that they elected a commander-in-chief, called *emberator;* a term which the Latins borrowed, and changed into *imperator*, using it instead of their old words *dictator* and *prætor.*

The Etrurians or Etruscans, who conquered the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, were called in their own tongue "Raséna:" they established a kind of

feudal supremacy over the subjugated nation, and deprived the Tyrrhenians of all political privileges. All public affairs were decided in the general council of the Lucumones, a sacerdotal caste whose privileges descended by inheritance. From the want of a free and respectable commonwealth, the Etruscans, though possessed of great wealth and power, having been at one time masters of the commerce and navigation of the western Mediterranean, proved unequal to cope with the Romans, whose infantry was composed of free citizens. The regal office was not hereditary, but elective, and the power of the kings was very limited. Before the conquest the Tyrrhenians were remarkable for their piracies, and the Etruscans followed the same course. Their corsairs were the terror of the western Mediterranean, until their navy was almost annihilated, in a sea-fight off Cúmæ, by Híero, king of Syracuse. About two centuries afterward, they partially recovered their power, and extended their piracies even into the Ægean sea; but they were finally subdued by the Rhodians.

The Etruscans had made great advances in the arts and sciences. The ruins of their public works rival those of ancient Egypt in magnitude, and surpass them in utility, especially the dikes for fencing the delta of the Po, and the tunnels for draining the lakes that formed in the craters of extinct volcanoes. Their pottery and metal works, if not of Greek origin, were certainly improved by Grecian artisans, and may therefore be attributed to the Pelasgic Tyrrhenians. No Italian nation was so religious, or rather superstitious, as the Etrurians: from them the Romans borrowed most of their ritual and ceremonies, the rules of augury and divination, and the solemnities in the declaration of peace or war. At a very early age Greek literature supplanted the native literature of Etruria, and the ancient lore of the Tuscans fell into what seems to have been unmerited oblivion.

The Umbrians were a nation consisting of several distinct races, the most remarkable being the Camer'tes and the Sarsinátes. Their language appears to have been a mixture of Etrurian and Oscan. It is the misfortune of the Umbrians that their greatness had disappeared before the age of certain history; their glory seems to have passed away when the rich countries bordering on the seacoast were occupied by the Gauls.

The southeast of Italy, or Japy'gia, was occupied by the Messapians, the Peucetians, and the Daunians. The Messapians are said to have been an old Pelasgian colony from Crete; they were a very powerful people until the city of Tarentum had acquired sufficient strength to contend for the supremacy of southern Italy, when, after a tedious struggle, they were compelled to enter into an alliance of inferiority with the Tarentines.

The Peucetians appear to have been a Liburnian colony from Illyria; the Daunians, a Pelasgic colony from Ætólia. The latter were subdued by the Apulians, an Oscan horde, and their name was lost in that of their conquerors. The language of the inhabitants of that part of Italy called Japy'gia was Greek.

The Ligurians and Venetians appear to have been branches of the great Liburnian nation, which at one time possessed both sides of the northern Adriatic. The former were a brave, warlike people; for more

than forty years they resisted the Roman arms, and it is perhaps on this account that they are stigmatized as liars and deceivers by classical writers. On the other hand, the Venetians submitted without a struggle; but it is probable that the evils they had suffered from the invasion made them anxious to obtain the protection of some powerful state.

Section III.—*The Greek Colonies in Italy.*

from B. C. 1030 to B. C. 277.

The earliest Greek settlement in Italy, of which we have any certain historical information, came from Chálcis in the island of Eubœa, and settled at Cúmæ (B. C. 1030). This city soon attained a high degree of prosperity, established a powerful navy, and founded flourishing colonies, of which Neap'olis and Zan'cle (afterward called Messana) were the chief. Its form of government was aristocratic; but this constitution was subverted (B. C. 544) by the tyrant Aristodémus. Freedom was restored after his assassination; but the Cumans, weakened by internal dissensions, suffered severely in a war with the Eretrians and Daunians (B. C. 500), and were finally subdued by the Campanians. Cúmæ was annexed to the Roman dominions (B. C. 345); but in consequence of its harbor at Puteoli, it retained a considerable share of its importance even after the loss of its independence.

Tarentum was founded by the Parthenii from Spar'ta, under Phalan'tus (B. C. 707), as has been already mentioned. The colonists had to maintain long wars against the Italian tribes in their neighborhood, especially the Messapians and Lucanians; but they prevailed over these uncivilized barbarians, and made their city one of the most flourishing maritime states in western Europe. Luxury, however, finally brought effeminacy and weakness. To escape from the grasping ambition of the Romans, the Tarentines invited Pyr'rhus, king of Epírus, into Italy; but after the departure of that monarch, the city became dependant on Rome (B. C. 277).

Cróton was founded by the Achæans (B. C. 710). Even in the first century of its existence the city attained such power as to be able to raise an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. The constitution was, in a great degree democratic, and continued so until the philosopher Pythag'oras came to reside in Cróton (B. C. 540). He established a secret association among his disciples, the chief object of which was to secure a monopoly of political power to the members of the Pythagorean society. In a few years three hundred men, all Pythagoreans, held the sovereignty of Cróton; and the influence of the new sect was established not only in the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, but over a great part of ancient Greece and the islands of the Ægean. The Crotonians soon after engaged in war with the Sybarites, and destroyed their city. Success proved ruinous; the inferior ranks of men in Crótona, intoxicated with prosperity, and instigated by the artful and ambitious Cy'lon, whose turbulent manners had excluded him from the order of Pythag'oras, into which he had repeatedly attempted to enter, became clamorous for an equal partition of the conquered territory of Syb'aris, which being denied, as inconsistent with the nature of the oligarchy established by the Pythagoreans, they secretly con-

spired against their magistrates, attacked them by surprise in the senate-house, put many to death, and drove the rest from their country. Pythag'oras himself died soon afterward at Metapon'tum, in Lucania, having lived just long enough to witness the ruin of the structure he had labored so anxiously to raise. Cróton never perfectly recovered from the fatal effects of this civil war; it was repeatedly captured by the kings of Syracuse; and after the departure of Pyr'rhus from Italy, it became dependant on Rome.

Syb'aris was founded by an Achæan colony (B. C. 720). The extreme fertility of the soil, and the generous admission of all strangers to the right of citizenship, caused the population to increase so rapidly, that, in a war against the Crotonians, the Sybarites are said to have brought three hundred thousand men into the field. Its vast wealth, derived chiefly from an extensive trade in wine and oil with northern Africa and Gaul, rendered it the most extensive, populous, and luxurious city in Europe from about B. C. 600 to B. C 550; so that the debauchery and effeminacy of the Sybarites became proverbial. Disputes arose between the aristocratic and democratic factions, which led to a civil war. At length, Télys, the leader of the multitude, obtained possession of the supreme power, and expelled five hundred of the principal nobles, who fled for refuge to Crótona. The Sybarites sent to demand these refugees, and, meeting with a refusal, put to death the Crotonian ambassadors. Such an outrage naturally led to a war between the two cities (B. C. 510). With far inferior forces the Crotonians defeated the Sybarites in the field, took their city by storm, and razed it to the ground.

The Sybarites, driven from their habitations, besought the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians to restore them, requesting them, at the same time, to send a colony to share in the new city they had resolved to build. The ambassadors were rejected at Spar'ta; but the Athenians, who delighted in such applications, cheerfully granted their aid (B. C. 446). A squadron of ten ships, having a considerable number of troops on board, was sent to Italy, under the command of Lam'po and Xenoc'rates; and, at the same time, proclamation was made throughout Greece, that all persons willing to emigrate to the new colony should receive the protection of the Athenian fleet. Great numbers availed themselves of the proposition, and the Sybarites, aided by the new settlers, soon recovered their former possessions, and founded Thúrium, near the site of their ancient city. Peace did not long inhabit these new dwellings; the inhabitants, coming from so many various quarters, could not forget their old animosities, and began to dispute which section among them could claim to rank as founders of the city. An appeal was made to the Delphic oracle (B. C. 433): the priests of that temple declared the city to be a colony of Apol'lo. But this did not put an end to discord; the Sybarites, believing that they had the best right to their own country, began to exclude the foreign colonists, who were by far the majority, from all honors and employments; this provoked a civil war, which ended in a second expulsion of the Sybarite families. The Thurians then invited fresh colonists from Greece, and formed themselves into a commonwealth, choosing Charon'das, of Catána, for their legislator. They soon sunk under the enervating effects of luxury, and, being unable to defend themselves against the Lucanians, placed them-

selves under the protection of the Romans. This afforded the Tarentines an excuse for attacking the city, of which they made themselves masters, and thus brought upon themselves the vengeance of Rome. At the close of the Tarentine war, Thúrium became a Roman dependancy. It suffered very severely in the second Punic war, and, having been almost depopulated, was occupied by a Roman colony (B. C. 190).

The city of Lócri Epizephy'rii was inhabited by the people of the same name. The original colonists were sent out by the Lócri O'zolæ (B. C. 683); but these were joined by a great variety of settlers, chiefly from western Greece. Zaleúcus, one of their own citizens, became the legislator of the Locrians, and his wise institutions remained unchanged for nearly two centuries. The constitution appears to have been a judicious mixture of aristocracy and democracy. The Locrians continued to be honorably distinguished by their peaceful condition, quiet conduct, and good manners, until Diony'sius II., tyrant of Syracuse, having been expelled by his subjects, sought refuge in Lócri, which was the native country of his mother (B. C. 357). His insolence, his licentiousness, and the excesses of his followers, brought the state to the verge of ruin; and, when he returned to Syracuse (B. C, 347), the Locrians revenged their wrongs on his unfortunate family. When Pyr'rhus invaded Italy, he placed a garrison in Lócri (B. C. 277); but the Locrians rose in revolt, and put the intruders to the sword. The king of Epírus, in revenge, stormed and plundered the city. After his return home, it submitted to the Romans, and was one of the places that suffered most severely in the second Punic war.

Rhégium was colonized jointly by the Chalcidians and Messenians (B. C. 668); but the chief power was possessed by the Messenian aristocracy. This oligarchy was subverted by Anaxiláus (B. C. 494), and an absolute despotism established. After some time the Rhegians recovered their freedom, and attempted to secure tranquillity by adopting from the Thurians the constitution of Charon'das. Thenceforward Rhégium enjoyed tranquillity and happiness, until it was captured and destroyed by Dionys'ius I., of Syracuse (B. C. 392). It was partially restored by Dionys'ius II.; but, during the wars of Pyr'rhus in Italy, it was still so weak as to require the protection of a Roman garrison. A legion, raised in Campánia, was sent to Rhégium, under the command of Décius Jubel'lus. These soldiers having been used to a life of hardship, began soon to envy the luxurious ease and wealth of the citizens they had come to protect, and they formed a perfidious plan for their destruction (B. C. 281). They forged letters from the Rhegians to Pyr'rhus, offering to put that monarch in possession of the city, and, under this pretence, they put the principal part of the citizens to death, and drove the rest into exile. The Roman senate was not slow in punishing this atrocious outrage; they sent an army against the guilty Campanians, who had been reinforced by several bands of profligate plunderers, and, after a severe struggle, obtained possession of the city. The survivors of the wicked legionaries were beaten with rods, and beheaded in bands of fifty at a time; and a few Rhégians who survived were reinstated in possession of their estates, liberties, and laws. But the city was too weak to maintain its independence, and it became thenceforth subject to Rome.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF SICILY.

Section I.—*Geographical Outline.*

The fertile island of Sicily was known by various names to the ancients. It was called Triquet'ra, or Trinac'ra, from its triangular shape; Sicania and Sicilia from the Sic'ani and Sic'uli, Italian hordes who peopled a great part of the country. Its three extreme promontories were named Pelórum (*Faro*), Pachy'num (*Passaro*), and Lilybæ'um (*Bocco*); the first of these faces Italy, the second Greece, and the third Africa. From the narrowness of the strait opposite Pelorum, it has been supposed that Sicily was broken off from Italy by some convulsion of nature; and the Greek city Rhégium, which stood on the Italian side of the strait, derives its name from this common opinion.* The strait is remarkable for the rapidity of its current, and for the rock Scyl'la, and whirlpool Charyb'dis, the passage between which was accounted very dangerous. These places are frequently described by the Latin poets. Ovid thus alludes to the opinion of Italy having been joined to Sicily near the city of Zan'cle, or Messana:—

> "So Zan'cle to the Italian earth was tied,
> And men once walked, where ships at anchor ride;
> Till Neptune overlooked the narrow way,
> And in disdain poured in the conquering sea."

The most remarkable cities on the eastern coast of Sicily were Zan'cle, or Messána (*Messina*), deriving its first name from the old Sicilian word Zan'clos signifying a reaping-hook, to which its curved shore bears some fanciful resemblance; and its second from the Messenian exiles, who conquered the city: Tauromin'ium (*Taormina*), on the river Tauromin'ius (*Cantara*), near which was the coast called Cop'ria, or "the dunghill," from the number of wrecks cast upon it by the whirlpool of Charyb'dis: Cat'ana, a Chalcidian colony on the river Aménes (*Judicello*): Morgan'tium, a city of the Italian Sic'uli, near the mouth of the Sigmæ'thus (*La Jaretta*): Leontíni, a flourishing Chalcidian colony: Hyb'la, celebrated for its honey, founded by the Sicanians, and subsequently colonized by the Megarians: and Syracuse, the ancient capital of the island.

Syracuse contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in circumference, four very considerable cities united into one, like Lon-

* From ῥήγνυμι, *to break.*

don, Westminister, Southwark, and Lambeth. Acradína, the largest of the four, contained the principal public buildings, such as the Prytanéum, the palace of justice, and the temple of Jupiter Olympius. Ty'che,* which stood between Acradína and the hill Epip'olæ, contained the Gymnasium for the exercise of youth, and several temples, especially one dedicated to Fortune, from which this division of the city derived its name. The third quarter, called Orty'gia, was an island, connected with the other parts by a bridge; it contained two beautiful temples, one sacred to Diana, and the other to Minerva, the tutelary deities of Syracuse. Neap'olis, or the new city, was the latest erected: it contained the temples of Céres and Proserpine, and the statue of Apol'lo Temen'ites, celebrated by Cicero as the most valuable monument of Syracuse.

Near Syracuse was a steep hill named Epip'olæ, defended in the later ages by a fort called Lab'dalon. On this hill was the famous prison called Latom'iæ, on account of its being partly excavated from the living rock.† It was a cave one hundred and twenty-five paces long and twenty feet broad, constructed by order of Dionys'ius the tyrant, who imprisoned there those whom he suspected of being opposed to his usurpation. A winding tube, constructed on the model of the human ear, ascended from the cavern to a private apartment, where the tyrant used to sit and listen to the conversation of his unhappy captives.

The celebrated fountain of Arethúsa, now dried up, arose in the island of Orty'gia. The poets fabled that the Al'pheus, a river of E'lis, in the Peloponnésus, rolled its waters either through or under the waters of the sea, without mixing with them, as far as the fountain of Arethúsa; which gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil:—

> Thy sacred succor, Arethúsa, bring,
> To crown my labor; 'tis the last I sing;
> So may thy silver streams beneath the tide,
> Unmixed with briny seas, securely glide!

On the African side of Sicily stood Camarína, between the rivers O'anus (*Frascolari*) and Hip'paris (*Camarana*): it was anciently a very wealthy city; but its inhabitants having drained a marsh by which the city was protected, the enemies found easy access, and destroyed it; hence *Ne moveas Camarinam*, "Remove not Camarina," has passed into a proverb. Following the line of coast westward, we meet Géla (*Terra Nova*), now in ruins, and Ag'ragas or Agrigen'tum (*Girgenti*), between the rivers Ag'ragas (*San Biaggio*) and Hyp'sa (*Drago*). It was anciently the rival of Syracuse: and we may judge of its former strength and splendor from the following description given of it by the historian Polybius: "It exceeds most of the Sicilian cities in strength, beauty, and situation, and magnificent edifices. Though erected at the distance of eighteen hundred furlongs from the sea, it can conveniently import all kinds of provision and munitions of war. From its natural strength, increased judiciously by fortifications, it is one of the most impregnable places in the island. Its walls are built upon a rock, rendered inaccessible by art. The river, from which the city takes its name, protects it on the south, and it is covered by the Hyp'sa on the

* From τύχη, *fortune.* † From λαας, *a stone*, and τεμνω, *to cut.*

west; on the east it it is defended by a fortress, built on the brink of a precipice, which serves instead of a ditch." The citadel, called Om'-phale, which stood at the mouth of the Ag'ragas, was more ancient than the city itself.

The other cities on the African side were Mínoa Heracléa (*Castel Bianco*), deriving its first name from a Cretan, and its second from a Lacedæmonian colony, on the banks of the Haly'cus (*Platani*); and Selínus (*Terra delle Pulci*), on the river Selínus (*Madiuni*), founded by a colony from Meg'ara.

On the coast opposite Italy were the cities Lilybæ'um (*Marsala*), celebrated in ancient times for its excellent harbor; Drep'anum (*Trapani*), deriving its name from a fancied resemblance of its coast to a scythe;* E'ryx (*Trepano del Monte*), on a mountain of the same name; Seges'ta, or Eges'ta, now in ruins, supposed to have been founded by a Trojan colony, who named the streams that watered their territory the Scaman'-der and the Sim'ois, in memory of the rivers of their native land; the former of these is now *Il fiume di San Bartolomeo*, the latter a rivulet without a name; Panor'mus (*Palermo*), the present capital of Sicily, originally founded by the Phœnicians, between the Oróthus (*Amiraglio*) and the Leutherus (*Baiaria*). In the neighborhood of Panor'mus was a mountain fortress called E'reta (*Monte Pelegrino*): Himæ'ra, Alæ'sa, and Agathyr'na, are now in ruins.

In the interior of the country were Ad'ranum (*Aderno*), near the foot of Mount Ætna; En'na (*Castro Janni*), sacred to Ceres; and En'-gyum (*Mandania*), near the springs of the Alæ'sus (*Casonia*).

The most remarkable natural object in Sicily is the celebrated volcano of the lofty Mount Ætna, covered with eternal snows, though ever burning. It has been described by Sil'ius Ital'icus:—

"Its lofty summits, wondrous to be told,
Display bright flames amid the ice and cold;
Above, its rocks, with flames incessant glow,
Though bound in icy fetters far below;
The peak is claimed by winter as its throne,
While glowing ashes o'er its snows are shown."

The fire which continually burns in the bowels of the mountain made the poets place here the forges of Vulcan and his Cyclopean attendants, and the prison of the giants who rebelled against Jupiter. This fiction is beautifully related by Virgil, in his description of the mountain:—

"The port capacious, and secure from wind,
Is to the foot of thund'ring Ætna joined.
By turns a pitchy cloud she rolls on high;
By turns hot embers from her entrails fly,
And flakes of mountain-flames that lick the sky.
Oft from her bowels massy rocks are thrown,
And shivered by their force come piecemeal down.
Oft liquid lakes of burning sulphur flow,
Fed from the fiery springs that burn below.
Enceladus, they say, transfixed by Jove,
With blasted limbs came trembling from above;

* From δρεπανον, *a scythe.*

And when he fell, the avenging father drew
This flaming hill, and on his body threw;
As often as he turns his weary sides,
He shakes the solid isle, and smoke the heavens hides."

The Æolian or Vulcanian islands lie off the north coast of Sicily, in the Tuscan sea. The most remarkable are Lip'ara (*Lipari*) and Stronyg'læ (*Stromboli*). North of Cape Lilybæ'um were the islands called Æ'gates, or Æ'gades: they are three in number; Phorban'tia (*Levanzo*), Ægúsa (*Favignano*), and Héra (*Maretino*).

Section II.—*Historical Notices of the ancient Inhabitants of Sicily.*

CHRONOLOGY UNCERTAIN.

The Cyclopians and Læstrigons are said to have been the first inhabitants of Sicily. It is impossible to trace their origin; we only know that their settlements were in the vicinity of Mount Ætna. Their inhumanity toward strangers, and the flames of Ætna, were the source of many popular fables and poetic fictions. It was said that the Cy'clops were giants; that they had but one eye, placed in the centre of their forehead; that they fed on human flesh; and that they were employed by Vulcan to forge the thunderbolts of Jove.

Next in antiquity were the Sicanians, probably an Italian horde driven southward by the pressure of the Pelas'gi, though many ancient writers assert that they came from Spain. They finally settled in the western part of the island, and were said to have joined the Trojan exiles in building E'ryx and Egésta.

After the Sic'ani had been for some ages exclusive masters of the island, the Sic'uli, an ancient people of Ausónia, crossed the strait; and having defeated the Sicanians in a sanguinary engagement, confined them in a narrow territory, and changed the name of the island from Sicánia to Sicily. Some centuries after this revolution, Greek colonies began to settle on the Sicilian coast; the principal states that founded settlements in the island were Chal'cis in Eubœ'a, Meg'ara, Corinth, the Dorians from Rhodes and Creté, and the Messenians, driven from their native country by the Spartans. To these may be added two Italian colonies, the Morgétes and the Mamer'tines.

The Sic'uli were first united under one head by a king named Æ'olus, whose age is uncertain. Their most renowned sovereign was Deucétius, who engaged in a long war with the Syracusans; but having been frequently defeated, he was forced to surrender himself to their mercy. With unusual clemency, the Syracusans granted him liberty and life, and assigned a pension for his support, on condition of his living in the territories of their parent city, Corinth. Having removed this formidable rival, the Syracusans reduced the whole country of the Sic'uli, stormed their chief city, Triquet'ra, and levelled it to the ground. When the Athenians invaded Sicily under the command of Nic'ias, they were joined by the Sic'uli, who gave them very effective assistance. They likewise aided the Carthaginians in their first attempts to gain possession of the island. Having been subsequently induced to join the Syracusans, they were disgracefully betrayed to the

Carthaginians by the tyrant Dionys'ius, and were forced to bear a cruel yoke, until their independence was restored by Timóleon.

Section III.—*The History of Syracuse.*

from b. c. 735 to b. c. 212.

Syracuse was founded by a Corinthian colony (b. c. 735), under the guidance of Ar'chytas, a nobleman of rank, compelled to quit his native country by some political dispute. Its form of government for two centuries and a half was republican; and though, during this period, the state does not appear to have risen to any considerable height of power, yet the Syracusans founded the colonies of A'cræ, Cas'menæ, and Camarína. An aristocratic faction having cruelly oppressed the citizens, the populace at length combined to throw off the yoke, and drove the tyrannical nobles into exile (b. c. 485). They fled to Géla, then ruled by Gélon, an able and ambitious usurper, who had recently become sovereign of his country. Gélon levied an army, and, accompanied by the exiles, marched to Syracuse, of which he easily made himself master.

Under the administration of its new master the city rose rapidly in wealth and importance, while Gélon himself acquired so much fame by repeated victories over the Carthaginians, that the Athenians and Spartans, then menaced by the Persian invasion, earnestly sought his assistance. Gélon demanded to be appointed captain-general of the confederate Greeks; a stipulation to which the Athenians and Spartans returned a stern refusal; and before any further steps could be taken, he learned that Xer'xes had engaged the Carthaginians to attack the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, while he invaded the parent state.

After spending three years in making preparations, the Spartans sent against Sicily an immense armament, under the command of Hamil'car, said to consist of three hundred thousand men, two thousand ships of war, and three thousand vessels of burden. Having effected a landing, Hamil'car laid siege to Himéra, then ruled by Théron, the father-in-law of Gélon. The king of Syracuse, though unable to muster more than fifty thousand men at this sudden emergency, marched with all expedition to raise the siege. On his road he had the good fortune to intercept a messenger from the Selinuntines to the Carthaginian general, promising to send him a stipulated body of cavalry on an appointed day. Gélon led an equal number of his horse to the Carthaginian camp at the specified time, and having gained unsuspected admission, so disconcerted the enemy by a sudden attack, that the whole host was thrown into confusion, and the Syracusans won an easy victory. Hamil'car was slain, and his mighty army all but annihilated. Carthage humbly sought peace, which was generously granted by the conqueror. During the brief remainder of his reign, Gélon strenuously exerted himself for the benefit of his subjects; and though no one can justify the means by which he acquired supremacy, there are few who will not pardon his original error on account of the use he made of his power. His subjects, after his death, honored him as a demigod.

Hiero I. succeeded his brother Gélon (b. c. 477); his administration was more brilliant than useful; he protected the arts and sciences; but

he also encouraged a taste for luxury and magnificence, contrary to the policy of his more enlightened predecessor. He subdued the cities of Cat'ana and Nax'us, expelled the ancient inhabitants, and supplied their place with fresh colonies from Syracuse and the Peloponnesus. A more honorable and useful achievement was his decisive victory over the Etrurian pirates off Cúmæ; these had long been the terror of the western Mediterranean; but after their overthrow by Híero, they ceased to infest the seas for several centuries. After this exploit he engaged in war with the tyrant of Agrigen'tum, who was forced to abdicate the government, and his subjects placed themselves under the protection of Híero.

Thrasyb'ulus, likewise a brother of Gélon, became sovereign of Syracuse on the death of Híero (B. C. 459); but his tyranny and cruelty soon provoked a revolution; he was dethroned and the republican constitution restored. But the Syracusans gained little by the change. A system of secret voting, called *petalism*,* was introduced, precisely similar to the Athenian ostracism, and most of the leading statesmen were banished by a giddy populace. It was at this period that the Athenians made their unfortunate attempt to conquer Sicily, whose results have been already described in the chapter on Grecian history. After the complete destruction of the Athenian armaments (B. C. 413), the Egestans, who had invited the invaders, sought and obtained the aid of Carthage: this led to a series of sanguinary wars, which have been noticed in the chapter on the history of Carthage.

Taking advantage of the political disturbances in Syracuse, Dionys'ius I. usurped the government (B. C. 405), and though deservedly branded as a tyrant, it must be confessed that his vigorous administration was crowned with success abroad and prosperity at home. The greater part of his reign was passed in wars against Carthage and the cities of Magna Græcia, and also against the ancient race of the Sic'uli, whose choice of party generally decided the success of these wars.

Dionys'ius I. was cut off by poison (B. C. 368), and was succeeded by his youthful son, Dionys'ius II., under the guardianship of the virtuous Dio. But neither Dio nor his friend the philosopher Pláto, could improve the corrupted character of the young prince. He drove Dio into banishment (B. C. 360), and then gave a loose reign to his passions, indulging in the most extravagant luxury and debauchery. Dio returned (B. C. 357), and after a long struggle, restored the republican form of government. He was, however, assassinated (B. C. 353). Syracuse became the prey of sanguinary factions, of which Dionys'ius, after ten years of exile, took advantage to recover his throne. His tyranny, and the treachery of I'cetas the Leontine, who, when invited to aid the Syracusans, betrayed their interests to the Carthaginians, compelled the citizens to seek succor from Corinth. Timóleon, the most splendid example of a true republican that ancient history affords, was sent to their assistance, but with very inadequate forces (B. C. 345). His abilities were, however, of more value than an army; he dethroned Dionys'ius, expelled I'cetas, and, by a brilliant victory, humbled the pride of the Carthaginians. Timóleon's death (B. C. 337) was followed by a long period of stormy weakness, which ended in the usurpation

* From πεταλον, *a leaf*.

of Agathoc'les (B. C. 317). The wars of that usurper in Sicily and Africa will be found in the chapter on Carthaginian history.

After the death of Agathoc'les (B. C. 289), the Syracusans, harassed by intestine commotions, and closely pressed by the Mamer'tines and Carthaginians, suffered the most dreadful calamities, and were at length forced to supplicate the aid of Pyr'rhus, king of Epírus. That monarch, after having conquered almost the entire island, so disgusted his supporters by his arrogance, that he was compelled to retire (B. C. 275). The Syracusans at length, wearied of anarchy, conferred the throne on Híero II., descended from the ancient royal family of Gélon. Under this prince the city enjoyed peace and prosperity during the wars between Rome and Carthage, in which he had the wisdom to take the Roman side. He died of old age (B. C. 215), after a long and glorious reign. After his death, the Carthaginian party acquired supremacy in Syracuse, and made a profligate use of their power. The new rulers soon provoked the resentment of the Romans, who sent an army into Sicily, and after a long siege, protracted by the ingenious mechanical inventions of the celebrated mathematician Archimédes, took it by storm (B. C. 212), and laid it level with the ground.

Most of the other Greek cities in Sicily were involved in the fortunes of Syracuse. Agrigen'tum, having been used as a military and naval station by the Carthaginians in the first Punic war, was seized by the Romans so early as B. C. 262. Sicily finally became a Roman province, and was one of the most valuable attached to the empire. It was also one of the best governed; a blessing which must be attributed not merely to its vicinity to the seat of power, but also to the fact of its corn-harvests being regarded as the resource to which the Romans should look as the agricultural productions of Italy became more and more inadequate to the support of the population.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

SECTION I.—*Traditions respecting the Origin of the Romans.*

THE legends of Rome, preserved by her best historians, relate that Ænéas, after the destruction of Troy, led a colony of his countrymen into Italy, and founded the city of Lavin'ium. It would be easy to show that this tale is destitute of truth or importance, but it is worth while to trace its origin. That the Romans were partly of Pelasgic origin appears evident from the name of their city, which in Greek signifies "a fortress."* In almost every country where the Pelas'gi settled we find a city named Ænus, which, therefore, was probably a generic rather than an individual name. If any of the Pelas'gi who settled on the hills at the south side of the Tiber came from an Ænus, they most probably retained their ancient name Æneadæ; and the signification of that patronymic being forgotten in process of time, it was confounded with another similar name, preserved by an independent tradition, the Ænéada, or followers of Ænéas, who survived the destruction of their country.

The legends proceed to state that three years after the landing of the Trojans in Italy, they were supernaturally guided to the spot where Lavin'ium was erected. Their rising power gave offence to the Rutulians and Etruscans; Tur'nus and Mezen'tius led an army to expel the intruders. A battle was fought on the banks of the river Numicius; Tur'nus was slain by Ænéas, who, in his turn, fell a victim to Mezen'tius; or, as was more generally believed, disappeared in the stream, and became a god, under the name of Júpiter In'diges. Mezen'tius was ultimately slain by Iúlus, or Ascánius, the son of Ænéas, whose descendants became lords of Latium.

After the lapse of thirty years, Lavin'ium was deserted for the more secure city of Al'ba, erected on the Alban Mount (*Monte Cavo*); and here the thirty confederate cities of Latium offered common sacrifices to the gods of the Pelasgic nation.

The traditions then go on to state that, at an uncertain date after the erection of the city, Prócas, king of Al'ba, leaving two sons at his death, bequeathed his kingdom to Númitor, the elder, and his treasures, including the ancient wealth that had been saved from the sack of Troy, to Amúlius. His riches enabled the younger prince to bribe a band of supporters, dethrone his brother, procure the murder of Númitor's youthful son, and have his daughter Il'ia, or Rhéa Syl'via, appointed a

* Ρωμη, *strength.*

vestal virgin. While going to draw water from a spring, for the service of the temple, she was violated by the god Mars, and became the parent of twin boys. Amúlius caused Syl'via to be put to death, and the children thrown into the A'nio. The helpless infants were borne down the stream to the Tiber; and as that river subsided from a recent overflow, they were deposited at the foot of the Palatine hill, beneath a fig-tree, called the *fícus ruminális*. They were suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by a woodpecker, until they were discovered by Ac'ca Lauren'tia, wife of Faustulus, the royal shepherd. Among her twelve sons and the neighboring shepherds, the twins became distinguished for courage, and were chosen heads of rival factions. The followers of Rom'ulus were named Quinctil'ii; those of Rémus, Fábii. When they grew up, Rémus, being involved in a dispute with the herdsmen of the deposed Númitor, and being taken prisoner, was carried to Al'ba as a robber. The youthful prince, when brought into the presence of his grandfather, so charmed him by the intrepidity of his replies, that Númitor hesitated to pronounce sentence of death. In the meantime, Rom'ulus, having learned from the ancient shepherd the secret of his birth, assembled his comrades to rescue Rémus; and, being joined by some of his grandfather's old adherents, deposed Amúlius, and restored Númitor to his throne.

Love for the spot where their lives had been thus miraculously preserved, induced the young men to solicit their grandfather for permission to erect a city on the banks of the Tiber. Scarcely had leave been granted, when a violent contest arose between the brothers; Rom'ulus insisted that the city should be called Rome, and should be built on Mount Palatine; Rémus demanded that it should be named Remúria, and erected on Mount Aventine. It was resolved that the question should be decided by the most favorable augury. Rémus had the first omen, six vultures; but Rom'ulus the more perfect, twelve vultures. A second dispute arose; but the party of Rom'ulus prevailed, and the foundation of the new city was laid on Mount Palatine, with all the ceremonies of Tuscan superstition. Scarcely had the walls began to appear above the surface, when Rémus leaped over them in an insulting manner, and was slain either by Rom'ulus or one of his followers.

According to Var'ro, whose authority has been followed by most chronologists, Rome was founded on the 21st of April, being the day sacred to Páles, the goddess of shepherds, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, four hundred and thirty-one years after the destruction of Troy, and seven hundred and fifty-three before the commencement of the Christian era. It was built in a square form, and contained originally about a thousand miserable huts. Such was the humble beginning of a city destined to be the capital of the world.

Section II.—*From the Foundation of the City to the Abolition of Royalty.*

from b. c. 753 to b. c. 509.

In order to procure inhabitants for his new city, Rom'ulus opened an asylum for all whom guilt or misfortune compelled to quit their native country. When he had thus procured a competent number of

citizens, he convened an assembly of the people to choose a constitution and rulers. As he had anticipated, he was elected king; but at the same time his power was limited by municipal institutions tending to secure a considerable degree of freedom. He divided the colony into three tribes, and these into thirty cúriæ: next he constituted classes or orders of the state, separating the wealthier or more nobly born, whom he styled patricians, from the inferior rank of plebeians. The dignity of the patricians was hereditary; and eligibility to the principal offices of state was long confined to their order. To prevent envy or sedition arising from such a distinction, he engaged both classes to each other by the obligation of clientship. Every plebeian was allowed to choose "a patron" from the body of the patricians, to whom he became a client; and the sanctity of this mutual tie was preserved by the most awful denunciations, civil and religious, against its violation. A senate of one hundred was chosen to aid the king by their counsels. Rom'ulus nominated the first, who had the privilege of governing the city in his absence: each of the three tribes and thirty cúriæ chose three, which completed the number. The senators, either from their age, or from the similitude of their care, were named Pátres (*fathers*).

The next object that required the attention of Rom'ulus was the formation of treaties of intermarriage with the neighboring states; but these, despising the mean origin of the Romans, rejected his proposals with scorn. But though they thus refused alliance, they flocked to witness the Consuália, splendid games which Rom'ulus proclaimed in honor of Consus, or Neptune. While the strangers gazed unsuspectingly on the spot, their maidens were seized by an armed band of young Romans, who compelled them to become their wives by force. Several of the injured cities had recourse to arms, but were successfully defeated. At last Títus Tátius, king of the Sabines, led a more powerful army against them; and Rom'ulus, unable to withstand him in the field, retreated into the city, leaving a garrison to protect an important outpost on the Capitoline hill. Tarpéia, the daughter of the governor, dazzled by the splendid bracelets of the Sabines, agreed to betray the fortress "for what the besiegers wore on their arms." The Sabines, either mistaking her meaning, or anxious to punish her treachery, threw their shields on her as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Romans found themselves obliged, by the loss of this important outpost, to hazard a general engagement; but while victory was still doubtful, the Sabine women, rushing between the armies, induced them, by earnest supplications, to make terms of peace. It was agreed that the Sabines should erect a new city on the Quirinal and Capitoline hills; that there should be a "comitium," or place of common assembly for both nations, in the space between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, and that Rom'ulus and Tátius should reign conjointly. The murder of Tátius, not long after, at Lavin'ium, left Rom'ulus sole monarch of both nations.

The romantic circumstances just narrated bear every mark of having been derived from some national ballad or legendary lay, and consequently are not to be received as historic truth. Even less confidence is due to the narrative of the Tuscan wars, with which the Latin his-

torians have filled the blank of thirty-seven years in the life of Rom'ulus. But a second heroic lay recited, that, after a long reign, he disappeared from earth, and became a god, under the name of Quirínus. Opposed to this was an ancient tradition, that he was torn to pieces by an aristocratic faction in the senate-house (B. C. 717).

On the death of Rom'ulus, the senate appeared anxious to retain the supreme power, and each senator in rotation was to enjoy regal authority for one day, under the title of *interrex*. This form of government continued a year, when the people compelled the senate to elect a king. Their choice fell upon Núma, a Sabine, from the little town of Cúres, to whom Tátius had given his daughter in marriage. The history of Núma is as legendary as that of Rom'ulus: it was generally believed that he had been a disciple of Pythag'oras, and this opinion maintained its ground in spite of many chronological difficulties. The traditions declare that when Núma was informed of his election, he refused to enter on his office, until assured that the gods, by their auguries had confirmed the choice of the senate. His first care was to regulate the laws of property; he divided among the citizens the lands that Rom'ulus had conquered, and founded the worship of Ter'minus, the god of boundaries, thus protecting the limits of estates by a religious sanction. His most important labor, however, was the regulation of the national worship: pretending to be secretly guided by the goddess Egéria, he framed the entire ritual law of the Romans, including regulations for the priesthood and for the prayers and worship of the people. His tranquil reign is said to have lasted forty years; the temple of Janus, which he had erected, and ordained to be open in time of war, and shut in peace, remained closed during the entire period, and his pious example diffused the blessings of tranquillity throughout the whole Italian peninsula. He died of old age (B. C. 679); and the legend adds, that the nymph Egéria, through grief for his loss, melted into a fountain.

After an interregnum, as in the former case, Tul'lus Hostil'ius, the son of a Roman captain who had been eminently distinguished by his valor in the wars of Rom'ulus, was chosen king. The history of his reign, though still retaining much of legendary fiction, especially in the account of the Alban war, contains some circumstances that may be regarded as facts. In the very beginning of his reign, mutual acts of violence led to a war between the Romans and Albans. The armies of both cities were drawn up against each other at the Fos'sa Cluil'ia, where it was agreed to avert a battle by a combat between three brothers on each side, the Horátii and Curiátii, whose mothers were sisters, and had each brought three children into the world at a birth. The three Curiátii and two of the Horátii fell upon the field. The surviving Horátius sullied his victory by slaying his sister, who was bewailing the death of her cousin, to whom she had been betrothed; and was about to be executed by Tul'lus, but he appealed to the people, and the Romans unanimously insisted on the pardon of their champion.

In consequence of the previous agreement, Al'ba became subject to Rome. Tul'lus next engaged in war with the Fiden'ates, and summoned his new vassals to his aid. Met'tius Fuffétius, the Alban dictator, broke his faith with the Romans, but had not courage to complete his defec-

tion. His meditated treachery was punished with death. Soon afterward the Romans surprised Al'ba, and levelled it to the ground, sparing only the temples of the gods; no injury, however, was done to the citizens; they were removed to Rome, and habitations assigned them on the Cœlian hill. The destruction of Al'ba, and the settlement of its citizens on the Cœlian hill, may be regarded as historical facts; the other circumstances are clearly disguised by poetic fiction.

After the conquest of Al'ba, Tul'lus waged successful wars against the Latins and Sabines; but he was cut off in the midst of his victorious career (B. C. 640), by some superstitious experiments recommended to him as a remedy for sickness, which the legends declare brought down upon him the vengeful thunderbolts of the gods.

An'cus Mar'tius, said to have been the grandson of Núma, was the next king. Like his ancestor, he turned his attention to the regulation of religious ceremonies, especially those used in declaring war or proclaiming peace; he also caused the principal parts of the Roman ritual to be transcribed on tables, that all might know how to conduct themselves in public or private worship. His peaceful labors were interrupted by a war with the Latins, whom he subdued, and carried several thousands of them to Rome, where they were assigned settlements on Mount Aventine. His conquests were extended into Etrúria and along both banks of the Tiber to the sea. He founded the town and port of Os'tia at the mouth of the river; but it is probable that this first naval establishment of the Romans was intended rather for piracy than trade. Nor did he pay less attention to the city than to its dominions; a new line of fortifications, the first bridge over the Tiber, and the first public prison, now the oldest remaining monument in Rome, are generally ascribed to An'cus. Of still greater importance was his legal constitution of the plebeian order in the state, and the assignment of lands to this body from the conquered territories. His death (B. C. 618) is said by some authors to have been accelerated by violence.

We now approach one of the most important, but also one of the most obscure, periods in the early history of Rome; the reigns of Tarquin'ius Pris'cus and his son-in-law Ser'vius Tul'lius. Lúcius Tarquin'ius Pris'cus is said to have been the son of Damarátus, one of the Bac'chiads, who fled from Corinth to avoid the vengeance of Cyp'selus. Niebuhr has pointed out the many chronological difficulties involved in this statement, but these do not furnish sufficient reason for rejecting the legend altogether: by the simple change of "son" into "descendant," by no means an improbable substitution, the truth of the story is brought within the verge of possibility. His original name is said to have been Lúcumo; this we know to have been an Etrurian title of dignity; and if we understand by it that he held a magisterial office in his native country, it will explain the respect with which he was received at Rome, and the trust reposed in him by An'cus. He is said to have removed from Tarquin'ii, his native city, partly because his foreign descent exposed him to envy, and partly at the instigation of his wife Tan'aquil, who was celebrated for her skill in augury. With this history there seems to be intermingled the traditions respecting Cœ'les Viben'na, a leader of independent companies, who hired his soldiers as

mercenaries in the Tuscan wars, and finally came and settled at Rome with his followers in an uncertain age.

Tarquin'ius Pris'cus was appointed guardian of the young sons of An'cus; but by his influence with the people, he had the claims of these princes set aside, and was himself chosen king. He introduced many Etrurian customs and ceremonies into Rome, especially those connected with the dignities of kings and magistrates. The accounts of his wars with the Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines, are very contradictory; but it seems not improbable that, toward the close of his reign, these three nations acknowledged his supremacy. His victory over the Sabines was owing to his superiority in cavalry. It had been originally his intention to add three new centuries to the equestrian order; but this plan was opposed by the celebrated augur, At'tus Næ'vius, whose authority, in an age of superstition, rivalled that of the kings. A mode was found for reconciling the opponents; new centuries were established, but no addition was made to the names assigned by Rom'ulus; so that henceforward there were the first and second Ram'nes, Títies, and Lúceres. But Tar'quin's name is rendered still more memorable by the stupendous public works he commenced for the security and improvement of the city, especially the great sewers, the embankments of the Tiber; the foundation of the city walls, the porticoes in the forum, and the racecourse of the circus. To console the people under their toils, he instituted the great or Roman games, which were celebrated annually in September. At these games chariot-races were for the first time displayed at Rome; they were so highly approved by the Roman people, that they became the most popular exhibition on all festive occasions.

Tarquin'ius is said to have reigned thirty-eight years, when he was assassinated by the agents of the sons of An'cus Mar'tius (B. C. 578), who dreaded that he would bequeath the kingdom to his son-in-law, Ser'vius Tul'lius, the darling of the Roman people.

Ser'vius Tul'lius for some days concealed the fact of Tar'quin's death; but when he had secured the votes of the people, he made it public, and having convened an assembly to elect a sovereign, was unanimously chosen king. In the old legends, the birth of Ser'vius Tul'lius is described as equally marvellous and humble. His mother was said to have been a captive named Ocrésia; his father, a deity. While yet an infant, sleeping in the cradle, lambent flames, playing round his forehead, predicted his future greatness; and Tan'aquil, encouraged by the omen, had him brought up in the palace as a prince, and gave him her daughter in marriage. Opposed to this is the testimony of the emperor Claudius Cæsar, derived from lost Tuscan authorities. In a speech, recommending some Lugdunensian Gauls for admission into the senate, he says, "Ser'vius Tul'lius, according to the Latin authorities, was the son of the captive Ocrésia; but if we pay any regard to the Tuscans, he was the most faithful follower of Cœ'les Viben'na, and a sharer in his varied adventures. When harassed by the vicissitudes of fortune, he quitted Etruria with the remains of the army that Cœ'les had commanded. He occupied the Cœlian mount, which he thus named in honor of his old commander. In Tuscany he was called Mastar'na, but he exchanged this for the Roman name Ser'-

vius Tul'lius. Having been chosen king, he exercised his authority to the highest advantage of the state." Though Ser'vius waged several successful wars, his military fame was far inferior to his political glory; for his institutions not only laid the foundation, but completed the framework of the future republic. He formed a federal union between the Latin cities, placing Rome at the head of the league, and cemented the union by instituting common sacrifices for the united states on Mount Aventine. Of still greater importance was his institution of the census, or record of the property possessed by the citizens, and his distribution of the right of suffrage (*comitia centuriáta*) to centuries arranged according to the property of the six classes into which the census divided the people. All his laws were designed to secure free and equal government, and an impartial administration of justice. His wise and beneficent laws were received by the patricians with sullenness and anger; they were indignant at the restraints imposed upon their tyranny and exactions; accordingly they entered into a conspiracy with Lúcius Tarquin'ius, the son of the late monarch, who had married the daughter of Ser'vius. The plot exploded in the senate-house: the aged king was murdered, and his body flung into the streets (B. C. 535). Tul'lia, his wicked daughter, in her haste to congratulate Tar'quin on his success, drove her chariot over her father's corpse, and proceeded onward, though her vest was stained with his blood.

Tar'quin, surnamed the Proud, was raised to the throne by the patricians, without the assent of the people being asked. In the history given of his reign, it is scarcely possible to separate what is merely legendary from what is worthy of credit; but it seems pretty certain that he gratified his supporters by diminishing the privileges of the plebeian order, and that he soon after made the patricians themselves feel the weight of his tyranny. He confirmed the supremacy of Rome over the Latins, united the Hernicans to the confederation by treaty, and gained several advantages over the Vol'sci. While the tyrant was besieging Ardéa, his son Sex'tus violated the honor of Lucrétia, a noble Roman lady. She summoned her relatives, and, having informed them of the outrage, committed suicide. Lúcius Június Brútus, who up to this time is said to have concealed patriotic resolutions under the mask of pretended insanity, though he held an important magistracy, convoked an assembly of the people, and exhibited the bleeding body of Lucrétia to the multitude (B. C. 509). A decree was immediately passed for expelling the Tar'quins and abolishing royalty. The army sent in its adhesion, and Tar'quin, finding himself universally shunned, fled into Etrúria.

SECTION III.—*From the Establishment of the Roman Republic to the Burning of the City by the Gauls.*

FROM B. C. 509 TO B. C. 386.

THE abolition of royalty was a purely patrician revolution, from which the great body of the people gained no immediate advantage. Two annual magistrates, at first called prætors, but afterward consuls, chosen from the patrician ranks, inherited the entire royal power, but did not, like the kings, possess any priestly dignity. The first magistrates

elected under the new system were Brútus, and Collatínus, the husband of Lucrétia. Scarcely had they entered on their office, when ambassadors arrived from Etrúria to plead the cause of Tar'quin. Though these deputies met with no public success, they were enabled to organize a conspiracy among the younger patricians, who had shared in the tyrant's debaucheries; and among the accomplices of the plot, were the sons of Brútus and the nephews of Tar'quin. The plans of the conspirators were accidentally overheard by a slave, concealed in the apartment where they assembled, and information of the treason given to the consuls. Public duty triumphed over parental affection: Brútus not only pronounced sentence of death upon his sons, but witnessed their execution without shedding a tear. The property of the Tarquin'ii was confiscated; the whole family condemned to perpetual banishment; and the consul, Collatínus, w' ose relationship to the late family excited suspicion, was included in the sentence. Pub'lius Valérius was elected to the vacant magistracy. Soon after, in an engagement between the Etruscans and Romans, An'cus the eldest son of Tar'quin, and Brútus, fell by mutual wounds; but the victory was decided in favor of the young republic.

Valérius delayed some time before proceeding to the election of a new colleague. This circumstance, and a splendid house he was erecting on one of the Roman hills, inspired a suspicion that he was aiming at royalty. To prove his innocence, he demolished the building, proposed laws for restraining the consular power, and resigned the ensigns of his dignity to Spúrius Lucrétius. For his patriotic conduct, Valérius was honored with the surname Pop'licola (*a friend of the people*). In the following year Valérius and Horátius were chosen consuls, the latter of whom had the honor of dedicating the national temple of Jupiter Capitolínus. In this sanctuary were preserved the Sibylline oracles, and the records of the pontiffs and augurs.

To the first year after the banishment of the Tar'quins belong the celebrated *lex de provocatione* (law of appeal), and the first treaty between Rome and Carthage. The patricians had always the right of appeal from the sentence of the supreme magistrate to the general council of their own body: a similar right of trial by their peers was secured to the plebeians by the law of Valérius Pop'licola, to which the senate seems to have yielded a very ungracious assent.* The treaty with Carthage shows how extensive the possessions of Rome had been under the monarchy: Ardéa, An'tium, Arícia, Circéii, and Terracína, are enumerated as subject cities, and Rome stipulates for them as well as herself.

From these historical facts, we now turn to a legendary narrative, in which truth is so blended with fiction, that it is impossible to determine more than one or two circumstances on which any reliance can be placed. After their former defeat, the Tarquin'ii had recourse to the aid of Lar Porsen'na, king of Clúsium, the most powerful of the Tuscan princes, who at once led an overwhelming force to the Janic'ulum, a fortified hill on the north bank of the Tiber, joined to the city by a

* The Valerian law was imperfect in its sanction; there was no other penalty to enforce it than the declaration that he who violated it acted wrongly.

wooden bridge. The Romans were defeated, and fled over the bridge; the enemy would have gained admission into the city along with the fugitives, had not Horátius Coc'les, with two companions, defended the entrance of the bridge until it was broken down behind him, when he leaped into the Tiber, and swam safely to his friends. As a mark of gratitude, every citizen, during the famine caused by the subsequent siege, brought him a portion of provision; a statue was erected to him at the expense of the republic, and as much land was bestowed upon him as he could plough round in a day. Porsen'na continuing to blockade the city, a youth, named Caius Múcius, undertook, with the approbation of the senate, the task of assassinating the invading king. He entered the camp in disguise, but slew only a secretary instead of Porsen'na. When brought before that monarch, to show his contempt for tortures, he thrust his right hand into a fire that burned upon the altar, and held it there until it was consumed. The king, admiring such heroism, gave him his life and liberty: Múcius, in gratitude, informed him that three hundred Roman youths had similarly sworn his destruction; and Porsen'na, alarmed for his life, immediately offered terms of peace to the Romans. In memory of his daring exploit, Múcius was thenceforth named Scæ'vola (*left-handed*), and was rewarded as munificently as Coc'les. Hostages were given by the Romans for the due performance of the treaty; and the legend relates that one of them, a noble lady named Clœ'lia, won the admiration of Porsen'na by escaping from her guards, and swimming on horseback over the Tiber, amid a shower of darts hurled at her by her baffled pursuers. The aid which the Romans subsequently afforded Porsen'na when he was defeated before Arícia, induced him to render back the territory which had been yielded to him as part of the price of the peace.

Thus far the legend: but there is certain evidence that, in this war, the Romans surrendered their city and became tributary to the Tuscans, and it is probable that they embraced the opportunity afforded them by the defeat of Porsen'na in Latium, to regain their independence.

A war with the Sabines, who wished to take advantage of the weakened condition of the republic, followed. It was chiefly remarkable for the migration of At'tus Claúsus, a noble Sabine, with all the members and clients of his house, to Rome. There he changed his name to Ap'pius Claúdius, and founded one of the most distinguished families of the republic. Though they lost their able leader, Pop'licola, the Romans were victorious in three successive campaigns; and the Sabines were forced to purchase peace with corn, money, and a part of their lands.

Tar'quin's son-in-law, Mamil'ius, induced the Latins to arm themselves in behalf of the exiled king, taking advantage of the violent disputes that raged between the patricians and plebeians respecting the law of debt. Ever since the expulsion of the king, the Roman nobles, after the abolition of royalty, had, by a series of iniquitous measures, usurped the most fertile portion of the conquered lands, which they leased out to the plebeians. Having thus the monopoly of the only property existing at the period, they became the sole capitalists of the republic, and lent out money at an exorbitant rate of usury. By the

Roman law, those who were unable to discharge their debts became slaves to their creditors (*nexi*), and were subject to whatever punishment barbarous masters pleased to inflict. Goaded to madness by their wrongs, the plebeians refused to enlist in defence of their country until their grievances were redressed. The reasonable demands of the people were strenuously supported in the senate by Mar'cus Valérius, the brother of Pop'licola; but they were obstinately opposed by Ap'pius Claúdius, whose haughty and selfish counsels had a predominant effect on a short-sighted aristocracy. After long delay it was resolved to elect a single supreme magistrate, with the title of dictator, and invest him with absolute authority (B. C. 497). The people assented to the law; and Títus Lar'tius, one of the consuls, was appointed to the new office. After having ravaged the territories of the enemy, he dismissed all his prisoners without ransom; and this generosity so gratified the Latins, that they agreed upon a suspension of arms.

When the truce was expired, war again commenced, and the senate again appointed a dictator. Aúlus Posthúmius, the second dictator, encountered the Latins at the lake of Regil'lus, and inflicted on them a decisive defeat. Tar'quin, thus frustrated in his last hope, retired to Cúmæ, in Campánia, where he soon after died in exile.

While Tarquin'ius excited alarm, and the wars with Látium and Etrúria continued, the senate ruled with some show of justice and moderation. But when danger was passed, the patricians began to treat the plebeians as slaves. To the palace of every noble was attached a prison for debtors; and, in seasons of distress, after the sittings of the courts, herds of sentenced slaves were led away in chains to the private jails of the patricians. At length the plebeian armies, after having been frequently deceived by false promises, deserted their officers in the very midst of war, and marched in a body to a hill called Mons Sácer, on the river A'nio, within three miles of Rome, where they were joined by vast multitudes of their discontented brethren (B. C. 493). The patricians and their clients took up arms; their numbers were not contemptible; but, unaccustomed to military service, they dared not encounter a peasantry inured to warfare. The pressure of foreign enemies rendered an accommodation necessary; ten senators were sent to negotiate a peace with the plebeians, and a treaty was concluded, by which all the contracts of insolvent debtors were cancelled, those who had been reduced to slavery were set at liberty, the Valerian laws were restored to their former efficacy, and five annual magistrates were chosen to watch over the rights of the people, whose persons were declared to be inviolable. In the same year a league was made with the Latins, not, as before, on the basis of Roman superiority, but on terms of perfect equality. A similar federation was subsequently made with the Hernicans; and both these treaties prove indisputably, that the disturbances produced by aristocratic tyranny, subsequent to the abolition of royalty, had seriously diminished the Roman power.

These losses began to be retrieved by successful wars against the Æquians and Volscians. The common histories of this period are full of extraordinary difficulties and contradictions; the accounts extracted from them must, therefore, be received with the suspicion that necessarily attaches to all traditionary legends. We are informed, that the suc-

cess of the Volscian war was mainly owing to a young nobleman, Caius Mar'cus, who acquired the surname of Coriolánus, from his conduct at the capture of Coriolí. Soon after, Rome suffered grievously by a famine; but a Sicilian prince, hearing of the dearth, sent a large supply of corn to relieve the distresses of the citizens. Coriolánus proposed in the senate that this corn should not be distributed to the poor until the plebeians had resigned all the privileges they had acquired by their recent secession. For this detestable attempt he was impeached by the tribunes (B. C. 490), and brought to trial before that form of assembly (*comitia tribúta*), in which the plebeians had the superiority. He was condemned to exile, and in his rage joined the Vol'sci. Guided by his superior talents, the Volscians defeated the Romans in every engagement, and at length laid siege to the city. Rome must have fallen, had not Vetúria the mother, and Volumnia the wife of Coriolánus, prevailed upon the enraged exile to grant his countrymen terms of peace. On his return to the Volscian territories he was put to death in a tumult raised by Attius Tul'lius, a celebrated chief of the Vol'sci, who envied the fame of Coriolánus, and persuaded his countrymen that the illustrious exile had betrayed them. An opposing tradition is recorded by several historians, namely, that Coriolánus lived to a very advanced age, and often used to exclaim, "How miserable is the state of an old man in banishment!" It is impossible to ascertain which deserves the greater credit; but it is sufficiently manifest that the history of Coriolánus is not to be received without a considerable share of skepticism.

The Vol'sci, after the death of Coriolánus, lost rapidly all the advantages they had acquired, and were besides involved in a war with the Æ'qui, their former allies. But the Romans could not avail themselves of these favorable circumstances, being harassed by disputes respecting the agrarian law proposed by Spúrius Cas'sius. The general purport of the law was, that lands conquered from the enemy should be divided into small estates, and assigned to the plebeians, instead of being leased out in large portions to the patricians. This appears to have been merely a revival of the ancient constitution of Sérvius, and was obviously based in equity; for no persons had a better claim to the public lands than those by whose valor and labors they had been acquired. The senate and patricians obstinately opposed a project that threatened to destroy the source of their profits; and Spúrius Cas'sius, in his anxiety to accomplish his great objects, is said to have aimed at royalty. He was brought to trial on this charge before the collective body of the patricians, which has been by later writers confounded with the general assembly of the people (B. C. 484). He was convicted, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock. Another account of the death of Cas'sius has been given by some historians not unworthy of credit. They inform us that he was put to death by his own father as a traitor to his order.

There are few circumstances in Roman history more remarkable than that during seven consecutive years (from B. C. 483 to B. C. 479), one of the seats in the consulship was held by some member of the Fabian family. This arose from the powerful support which that family gave to the older patrician houses in their effort to monopolize the chief dignities. Civil dissensions were thus aggravated; the populace demanded an agrarian law; the minor patrician houses clamored for a share in the

honors of the state; and the senate could only evade the difficulty by keeping the nation constantly involved in war. At length the soldiers refused to conquer; and Cæ'so Fábius had the mortification to see a certain victory wrested from his hands by the determination of his followers not to pursue their advantages. This unexpected disgrace had such an effect on the Fábii, that they resolved to conciliate the favor of the commonalty, and declared themselves the patrons of popular measures. They thus lost the favor of the senate; and though the affection of the soldiers enabled them to acquire military glory, they were unable to carry any of the measures that they advocated. Weary of disappointment, they resolved to establish a colony of the members of their family, their clients, and dependants, on the frontiers, to guard the Roman territories from the Viren'tes. The number of persons capable of bearing arms mustered by this single house amounted to three hundred and six. They took post on the Creméra, where they were all cut off by the Etrurians (B. C. 476). It is said that only one young man of the Fábii escaped from this ruin of his family, and became the progenitor of a new race; but this is manifestly an exaggeration.

The Etruscans, following up their success, advanced within sight of Rome, formed a camp on the Janic'ulum, ravaged both sides of the river, and crowded the city with fugitives. The consuls, Virgin'ius and Servil'ius, at length attacked the enemy in different quarters, and, after a desperate battle, forced them to retreat. From this time fortune began to favor the Romans, probably on account of the Etrurians being engaged in war with Híero, king of Syracuse; and peace was at length concluded for forty years (B. C. 470). Niebuhr conjectures, with apparent plausibility, that it was at this time the Romans recovered the territory of which they had been deprived by Porsen'na.

In the year after the conclusion of the peace, Cneíus Genúcius, tribune of the people, impeached the consuls, Fúrius and Man'lius, before the general assembly of the commonalty, for refusing to give effect to the agrarian law. The consuls made a feeble defence; and the patricians, failing to bribe or intimidate the bold tribune, had him assassinated. Taking advantage of the consternation produced by this daring crime, the consuls ordered a general levy, intending to divert the people from their purpose of engaging them in foreign war. This plan would have succeeded, had not the refusal of one man, Vol'ero Pub'lius, to serve in the ranks, after having previously held the commission of centurion, led to a fierce commotion, which frustrated the consular plans. Vol'ero, being chosen tribune by his countrymen, instead of seeking personal revenge, by impeaching the consuls, struck a fatal blow at the supremacy of the patrician faction, by transferring the election of the tribunes from the centuries to the tribes, and establishing the right of the general assembly of the commonalty to deliberate on all matters affecting the common weal, which should be brought before them by the tribunes; a law which was in effect the same as the establishment of the liberty of the press in our own days. While these laws were under discussion, the consul, Ap'pius Claúdius, was pre-eminently distinguished by his opposition to the popular claims; and when they were extorted from the senate, he unwisely vented his dissatisfaction on the army that he led against the Vol'sci. His soldiers, in revenge, fled before

the enemy. Ap'pius punished them by decimation, putting every tenth man to death. When his year of office expired, he was impeached capitally for such atrocious vengeance; but he escaped the penalty of his tyranny by committing suicide.

For several years the Roman history presents little more than a repetition of the struggles between the patricians and plebeians; desultory wars with the Æqui and Vol'sci; and a succession of physical calamities, uniting the horrors of plague, pestilence, and famine. Ap'pius Herdónius, a Sabine adventurer, took advantage of these circumstances, and one night surprised and seized the capitol with an army of about four thousand men, composed of outlaws and slaves (B. C. 459). Instigated by the tribunes, the people refused to take up arms unless security was given that their grievances should be redressed; particularly insisting on the legal restriction of the consular power by a written code, according to the proposal of Terentil'lus (*lex Terentilla*) a few months before. The consul Valérius promised compliance; and the people stormed the capitol, slew Herdónius, and punished his associates: but Valérius having fallen in the assault, the senate refused to fulfil the conditions he had stipulated.

During the Æquian war (B. C. 457), a consular army was intercepted by the enemy in the defiles of Mount Æ'gidus, and so closely blockaded, that there seemed no choice between death or disgraceful submission. Some horsemen, breaking through the hostile lines, brought the news to Rome; and the senate, in alarm, resolved to create a dictator. Their choice fell upon Títus Quinc'tius Cincinnátus, a patrician violently opposed to the popular claims, but celebrated for personal integrity. His son Cæ'so had recently fled from Rome to escape a trial for high crimes and misdemeanors; and Cincinnátus had been reduced to great pecuniary distress by being compelled to pay the surety he had given for his son's appearance. The dictator delivered the consul Minúcius and the army from their danger; but before resigning office he used the absolute power with which he was invested, to recall his son Cæ'so from banishment, and drive his accuser into exile. There is, indeed, some reason to believe, that the dictatorship of Cincinnátus, which has been so much lauded, was a mere artifice to baffle the demand of the people for a written code of laws. It, however, failed of success: the tribunes succeeded in getting their numbers increased from five to ten: Sic'cius Dentátus, a veteran plebeian of approved valor, stimulated his order to fresh exertions in behalf of their freedom; and at length the senate yielded a reluctant assent to the formation of a code.

Ambassadors having been sent to the principal Grecian states and colonies for the purpose of collecting the best codes of celebrated legislators, on their return, ten persons, hence called decemviri, were chosen, with consular power, to arrange and digest a body of laws. A new constitution was established, known in history as the laws of the Twelve Tables, which continued, down to the time of the emperors, to be the basis of all civil and penal jurisprudence. It established the legal equality of all the citizens; but it preserved some of the most odious privileges of the aristocracy, especially the exclusive eligibility to the consulship, and it prohibited the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians (B. C. 450). The patricians, hoping to procure some modification in laws

which they regarded as ruinous to their interests, and the plebeians, gratified by the advantages they had obtained, united to continue the decemviral authority for another year. The decem'virs, now secure of power, threw off the mask, grievously oppressed the people, and treacherously betrayed old Sic'cius Dentátus, whose approved valor they dreaded, to the enemy. At length Ap'pius, one of their number, attempted to make Vir'ginia, the daughter of a brave officer, the victim of his lust, by illegally assigning her as a slave to one of his creatures. Her father, Vir'ginius, slew the girl in the public court to save her from dishonor, and, aided by her lover Icil'ius, raised such a storm against the decemvirs, that they were forced to resign their office, and the ancient forms of government were restored. The tribunician power was not only re-established, but formidably increased by a law of the consul Valérius (B. C. 446), which invested the votes of the commons with the force of laws.*

Civil commotions were renewed in consequence of the exertions made by the tribune Canuléius to abolish the law against intermarriages, and to open the consulship to plebeians. The repeal of the marriage-law was conceded, after a difficult struggle (B. C. 455); and the second popular demand was evaded by transferring the consular power to the annual commanders of the legions,† who were to be six in number, and one half chosen from the people (B. C. 443). But even this concession was for some time evaded by the senate, under the pretence of informalities in the election of those officers. Soon afterward (B. C. 442), new magistrates, called censors, were chosen, not only to regulate the taking of the census, but also to superintend public morals; a power that soon enabled these magistrates to take rank among the very highest dignitaries of the state. These changes, however, did not conciliate the people, and a severe famine (B. C. 438) aggravated their discontent. In the midst of this distress, Spúrius Mæ'lius, a plebeian knight, purchased with his private fortune a large quantity of corn in Tuscany, which he distributed gratuitously to the people. His object probably was to become the first plebeian consul, which laudable object the patricians perverted into the crime of aiming at the sovereignty. They therefore appointed Cincinnátus dictator, who at once sent Spurius Ahála, his master of the horse, to summon Mæ'lius before his tribunal. The knight was standing unarmed in the forum when thus called upon to take his trial; he showed some reluctance to obey the dictator's command, and was cut down by Ahála. The old dictator applauded this murder of a defenceless man as an act of patriotism; but the people took a different view of the transaction, and Ahála only escaped condemnation by voluntary exile.

While these commotions raged in the city, the Romans were engaged in desultory wars against the Sabines, the Æquians, and the Volscians, which generally terminated to the advantage of the republic, though they led to no decisive result. A more important affair was the war against Veii, provoked by Lar Tolum'nius, king of the Veien'tes, who put to death the Roman ambassadors to the people of Fídenæ. Satisfaction being refused for this outrage (B. C. 404), the Romans came to

* Lex Valeria; ut quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret.
† Tribuni militum consulari potestate.

the resolution of destroying Veii, which, being the richest city of Etruria, had long been a dangerous rival of their republic. To effect this object, it was necessary to have a permanent standing army; and a property-tax was levied to supply payment for the troops. After the blockade and siege had continued nearly ten years, Fúrius Camil'lus, who had distinguished himself by defeating the Etrurian armies that attempted to aid the Veien'tes, was chosen dictator. By his directions a mine was constructed from the Roman camp into the Veientine citadel, through which an entrance was obtained, and Veii taken (B. C. 395). Its riches were shared by the soldiers, its inhabitants enslaved or held to ransom, and the images of its gods transferred to Rome.

Notwithstanding his great services, Camil'lus was condemned to exile on the charge of having embezzled part of the plunder of Veii; but scarcely had he departed, when the Romans were involved in the most calamitous war that has yet occurred in their history. The barbarous Gauls, having crossed the Alps in numerous hordes, laid waste the fertile fields of Etrúria, and besieged the important city of Clúsium. The Etrurians sought aid from the Romans, who sent some of the young nobility to remonstrate with the Bren'nus, or chieftain of the Gauls. This barbarous chieftain treated the deputies with such scorn, that, forgetting their sacred character, they entered the besieged city, and joined in a sally of the garrison. The Bren'nus, enraged at such a violation of the law of nations, demanded satisfaction from the senate; and when this was refused, broke up his camp, and marched direct against Rome. A body of troops, hastily levied to repel the invasion, took post on the river Al'lia, about eleven miles from Rome (B. C. 389). In the very commencement of the engagement, the Romans, seized with sudden panic, broke and fled; they were pursued with dreadful slaughter to their very gates; and had not the victors paused to gather the spoil, an end would have been put to the Roman name and nation.

To defend the city of Rome against such an enemy was impossible; it was therefore resolved to place the best troops as a garrison in the citadel, supplying them with whatever provisions remained in the city, while the mass of the population should seek refuge in the neighboring towns. The priests and principal objects of religious reverence were removed to the old Pelasgic city, Cæ're Agyl'la. About eighty of the chief pontiffs and patricians, probably devoting themselves, according to the superstition of the age, for the safety of the republic, remained quietly sitting on their curule chairs in the forum. When the Gauls entered the city, they were amazed to find it deserted: pursuing their march, they entered the forum, and slew those whom they found there. They then laid siege to the capitol; but soon became weary of so tedious a task, especially after their attempt to take the citadel by storm had been frustrated by the cackling of the sacred geese kept in the temple of Juno, and the valor of Mar'cus Man'lius. They finally agreed to quit the city, on receiving a ransom of one thousand pounds' weight of gold. According to the ordinary legend, Camil'lus, recalled from banishment by a hasty decree of the people assembled at Veii, appeared with an army while the gold was being weighed, defeated the Gauls, and liberated his country. Polyb'ius, a Greek historian, gives a much more probable account. He says, that the Gauls returned home

to protect their own country from an invasion of the Ven'eti, and intimates that they bore off their plunder without interruption.

Section IV.—*From the Rebuilding of the City to the first Punic War.* From B. C. 363 to B. C. 264.

So helpless was Rome after the departure of the Gauls, that it was exposed to repeated insults from the neighboring townships, which had hitherto been subject to its sway. The citizens looked forward with dismay to the task of rebuilding their walls and houses; they clamored for an immediate removal to Veii, and were with difficulty prevented from accomplishing their purpose by the firmness of Camil'lus. While the subject was under discussion, a lucky omen, probably preconcerted, decided the irresolute. Just as a senator was rising to speak, a centurion, coming with his company to relieve guard, gave the usual word of command: "Ensign, plant your colors; THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN!"* The senators rushed out of the temple, exclaiming, "A happy omen: the gods have spoken—we obey." The multitude caught the enthusiasm, and exclaimed with one voice, "ROME FOR EVER!"

Under the prudent guidance of Camil'lus, the military strength of Rome was renewed, and the states which had triumphed in the recent humiliation of the city were forced again to recognise its superiority. Man'lius, the brave defender of the capitol, finding himself excluded from office by the jealousy of his brother patricians, declared himself the patron of the plebeians. This revived the old dissensions with all their former virulence. Camil'lus was appointed dictator; and by his orders Man'lius was brought to trial, convicted of treason, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock (B. C. 382). A plague, which burst forth soon after, was popularly attributed to the anger of the gods at the destruction of the hero who had saved their temples from pollution. By their triumph over Man'lius, and their steadiness in opposing popular claims, the patricians acquired such strength, that the populace became overawed, and the commons ceased to display the spirit and courage they had previously shown in their contests with the nobles. "Rome was on the point of degenerating into a miserable oligarchy; her name is the utmost we should have known of her, had not her irretrievable decline been arrested at the moment by the appearance of two men, who changed the fate of their country and of the world." †

The renovators of the constitution were Caius Licin'ius Stólo, and Lúcius Seu'tius Lateránus. They were aided in their patriotic labors by Mar'cus Fábius Ambus'tus, a patrician, the father-in-law of Licin'ius, who is said to have favored the popular cause to gratify the ambition of a favorite daughter. There were three rogations, or bills, brought forward by Licin'ius: the first opened the consulship to the plebeians; the second prohibited any person from renting more than five hundred acres of public land, and forbade any individual to feed on a common pasturage more than one hundred of large, and five hundred of small cattle. It also fixed the rents of the public lands at the tenth

* Hîe manebimus optimé. † Niebuhr.

of the corn produce (*fruges*), and a fifth of the produce of vines, aloes, and other fruit-trees. The third rogation proposed that, in all cases of outstanding debts, all the interest which had been paid should be deducted from the capital, and the balance paid by equal annual instalments in three years. The patricians protracted their resistance to these laws during five years, using every means of force and fraud in their power to frustrate the designs of Licin'ius. At length the people took arms, and occupied Mount Aventine. Camil'lus, being chosen dictator, saw that nothing but concession could avert the horrors of a civil war; and the senate allowed the three bills to become law (B. C. 366), stipulating only that the consuls should no longer act as civil judges, and that new magistrates should be chosen, with the title of prætors, to exercise judicial functions. The plebeians having once made good their claim to the consulship, acquired successively, as a matter of course, participation in the other high offices of state: the dictatorship was opened to them B. C. 353; the censorship, B. C. 348; the prætorship, B. C. 334; and even the priestly office, B. C. 300.

During these civic struggles the Romans maintained their reputation abroad by several victories over their enemies, especially the Gauls and the Etrurians. But they were soon engaged in a more important struggle with the Samnites; and this contest, which lasted, with little intermission, more than half a century, opened a way for the subjugation of southern Italy, and laid the foundation of Rome's future greatness. The Samnites having invaded Campánia, the people of Cap'ua, to ward off impending danger, declared themselves subjects of Rome. Ambassadors being sent to warn the Samnites against invading the new province, the Samnites treated their remonstrances with contempt, and war was immediately declared. It was carried on slowly at first, but generally to the advantage of the Romans, until the Samnites sought terms of truce. During this interval the Latins attacked the Samnites, who requested assistance from their recent enemies, and orders were issued by the senate that the Latins should desist from hostilities. These commands being disobeyed, war was declared against the Latins, and the conduct of it intrusted to the consuls Man'lius and Décius. To prevent the confusion which might arise between armies speaking the same language, Man'lius commanded that no Roman soldier should quit his ranks under pain of death (B. C. 330). The consul's own son, challenged to single combat by a commander of the enemy, disobeyed these orders, and was instantly sent to execution by the stern father. In the engagement which ensued, the Romans were on the point of being routed, until Décius, the plebeian consul, devoting himself, according to the superstitions of the age, for the good of his country, rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell covered with wounds. The soldiers, now persuaded that the gods had been conciliated, renewed the fight with enthusiastic confidence, and the Latins were completely defeated. The Romans followed up their success with so much spirit during the three ensuing campaigns, that all Latium and Campánia were subdued, and annexed as provinces to the territory of the republic.

These great advantages gained by their rivals, alarmed the Samnites; many also of the states in southern Italy, especially the Luca-

nians and Tarentines, became jealous of the rising greatness of Rome. Papir'ius Cur'sor was appointed dictator to crush this dangerous confederacy: he gained several victories over the Samnites; and these successes being improved by the generals that followed him, reduced the enemies so low, that they were once more forced to solicit a cessation of arms (B. C. 321). But these peaceful appearances lasted only a few months: Pon'tius, an able Samnite general, stimulated his countrymen to renew the war, and bade defiance to the Roman power. The consuls Vetúrius and Posthúmius were sent with a large army to invade Sam'nium (B. C. 320); but the crafty Pon'tius contrived to draw these generals, with their leaders, into a mountainous and rocky defile, called the Caudine Forks, where they could neither fight nor fly; and while they were in this situation, the Samnites blockaded all the passages. The Romans being forced to capitulate, Pon'tius sent to ask his father in what manner the persons should be treated: the old man recommended that they should either be dismissed with all honor and freedom, or slaughtered without mercy. Pon'tius unwisely adopted a middle course; he spared the lives of the Romans, but compelled them all, officers and soldiers, to pass under the yoke, and forced the consuls to give hostages for evacuating Sam'nium.

This disgraceful treaty was disavowed by the senate, and the officers who had signed it were sent bound to Pon'tius, that he might wreak his vengeance upon them; but the Samnite general spurned such poor satisfaction, and vainly demanded either that the whole Roman army should be again placed in his power, or that the articles of capitulation should be strictly observed. The Romans turned a deaf ear to these proposals; Papir'ius Cur'sor once more showed them the way to victory; his successors in command followed his example; and the Samnites, completely humbled, sought and obtained conditions of peace (B. C. 303). But amity could not long subsist between nations aspiring each to the supremacy of Italy: the war was renewed (B. C. 297); and Fábius Max'imus, with his colleague, the younger Décius, rivalled the exploits of Papir'ius Cur'sor. The Samnites were aided by the Umbrians, the Etrurians, and the Gauls; but the desperate valor of the Romans enabled them to triumph over this formidable confederacy. Once they were on the point of being defeated by the Gauls (B. C. 294); but the younger Décius, imitating the example of his father, devoted himself an offering to the gods, and, at the sacrifice of his life, purchased a decisive victory for his countrymen. At length the Samnites, having lost their brave general Pon'tius, were completely subdued by Cúrius Dentátus (B. C. 290), and forced to submit to the terms dictated by the conquerors. In the same year the Sabines were conquered; and Cúrius had the unusual honor of having two triumphs decreed to him in one consolate.

The Tarentines, and the other states in southern Italy, dreading that the Romans would take vengeance on them for their having aided the Samnites, incited the Gauls to attack the republic. These barbarians were at first successful; but they were finally crushed by Dentátus and Fabrícius. Preparations were made for a war against Taren'tum, and its luxurious citizens placed themselves under the protection of Pyr'rhus, king of Epírus. That royal knight-errant, believing that it was

in his power to found as extensive an empire in the western world as Alexander the Great had recently established in Asia, readily obeyed the summons; and having sent his friend Cinéas with a strong detachment to secure the citadel of Taren'tum, soon followed with a powerful army, having some elephants among his forces, the first that had been used in the wars of western Europe (B. C. 279). It was solely to these animals that Pyr'rhus was indebted for his first victory over the consul Lævínus; and so little were the vanquished terrified by defeat, that they vainly offered him a renewal of battle before the termination of the campaign. He was still more unsuccessful in his attempts at negotiation; his bribes were rejected by the Roman consul and ambassador Fabrícius; and the offers of peace which he sent to the senate by the orator Cinéas were peremptorily rejected.

A second time Pyr'rhus defeated the Romans; but was so little satisfied with his success as to exclaim, "Another such victory and I am undone!" The war then lingered, and Pyr'rhus passed over into Sicily, with his usual inconstancy, to deliver the Greek states in that island from the Carthaginians. During his absence his allies suffered very severely, and sent pressing messages soliciting his return; an excuse of which Pyr'rhus readily availed himself to cover the shame of his failure in Sicily (B. C. 274). Cúrius Dentátus and Cornélius Len'tulus were chosen consuls to oppose him, and two considerable armies were placed at their disposal. Pyr'rhus marched against the former, hoping to surprise him in his camp near Beneven'tum; but his lights failing him, he was obliged to halt, until the dawn revealed his approach to the Romans. Instead of being the assailant, the Epirote monarch was himself attacked by Dentátus; his elephants were driven back on his own lines by fireballs and torches; and after vainly endeavoring to stop the slaughter of his bravest troops, he was forced to fly with a small escort to Taren'tum. Thence he returned to Greece, leaving a garrison under the command of Mílo in the citadel, which, however, finally surrendered to the Romans. The Samnites, Bruttians, and Lucanians, who had joined Pyr'rhus, were easily subdued after his departure; and Rome established her supremacy over all the countries in Italy, from the northern frontiers of Etruria to the Sicilian straits, and from the Tuscan sea to the Adriatic.

SECTION V.—*From the Commencement of the Punic Wars to the Beginning of the Civil Dissensions under the Grac'chi.*

FROM B. C. 264 TO B. C. 134.

THE Mamer'tine mercenaries, who had seized Messéna and slaughtered the citizens, justly dreading the vengeance of the Syracusans, divided into two parties; one seeking the protection of the Carthaginians, the other that of the Romans. Thus the first pretence of quarrel between the two mightiest republics of ancient times was, which should have the honor, or rather dishonor, of shielding from merited punishment a piratical banditti, stained by every species of crime. The Romans were long delayed by their reluctance to acknowledge such discreditable allies; but finding that the Carthaginians had gained possession of the Messenian citadel, they made speedy preparations to

prevent their rivals from becoming masters of Sicily. An army intrusted to the command of the consul Ap'pius Claúdius, was conveyed across the straits (the vigilance of the Carthaginian fleet being eluded by stratagem), and gained possession of Messéna. Successive victories over the Syracusans and Carthaginians soon procured the Roman allies among the Sicilian states, and inspired them with the hope of becoming masters of the island. Hiero, king of Syracuse, deserted his former allies, and by his early alliance with Rome, secured the tranquillity of his kingdom in the coming contest. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, who had looked upon Sicily as an almost certain conquest, were filled with rage when they learned the danger that threatened their possessions in that island. They hired a vast number of mercenaries in Gaul, Liguria, and Spain; they made Agrigen'tum their chief naval and military depôt, storing it plentifully with the munitions of war. Notwithstanding the great natural and artificial strength of Agrigen'tum, the Romans, eager to seize the Carthaginian magazines, laid siege to the city, and defeated an immense army that had been sent to its relief (B. C. 262). Dispirited by this misfortune, the garrison abandoned the city, which, with all its stores, fell into the hands of the Romans. But this success only roused the senate and people of Rome to fresh exertions; they saw that their conquests could not be secure while the Carthaginians held the supremacy of the sea, and they therefore directed all their energies to the preparation of a fleet.

Though not wholly unacquainted with ships, the Romans had hitherto paid little or no attention to naval affairs; and their model for building ships-of-war was a Carthaginian vessel that had been driven ashore in a storm. After some indecisive skirmishes, the consul Duil'ius, relying on his invention of the "corvus," a machine which served both as a grappling-iron and drawbridge, hazarded an engagement with the Carthaginian fleet (B. C. 260). No sooner had the hostile ships closed, than the Romans lowered the new machines on the enemies' decks, and, fighting hand to hand, carried no fewer then fifty galleys by boarding. The Carthaginian admiral finding naval tactics of no avail, drew off the rest of his fleet. To commemorate this their first victory by sea, the Romans erected a rostral* column in the forum, which still continues in excellent preservation, the chief injury it has sustained being the loss of part of the inscription. In a second naval engagement, near the island of Lip'ara (B. C. 256), the Carthaginians lost eighteen vessels, of which eight were sunk and ten taken. From this time forward the Romans began to pay great attention to maritime affairs; they maintained navies in the two seas of Italy, and when the ships were not employed in war, they were sent to make surveys of the coasts. The increasing importance of navigation appears manifest, from the repeated representations of war-galleys on the Roman coins; these do not occur before the first Punic war, but after that period we find them becoming very common.

The struggle between the rival republics had lasted about eight years, when the Romans, following the example of the Syracusan Agathoc'les, resolved to invade Africa, knowing that the native tribes of that con-

* That is, ornamented with representations of the *rostra*, or beaks of ships.

tinent were weary of the tyranny and rapacity of Carthage. An armament of three hundred and thirty ships was prepared for this great enterprise, and intrusted to the command of the consuls Reg'ulus and Man'lius (B. C. 255). A third sea-fight was a necessary preliminary to this invasion; the Carthaginians were once more defeated, sixty-four of their galleys were taken, and thirty destroyed. The victorious fleet pursued its voyage; Reg'ulus effected a landing without loss, and took the city of Clypéa by storm. Soon after, he defeated the Carthaginian army in a general engagement, and seized the city of Túnis. In great terror the Carthaginians sought for peace; but the terms demanded by Reg'ulus were so harsh, that they resolved, at all hazards, to continue the war, and were confirmed in their determination by the arrival of a body of mercenary troops from Greece, under the command of Xanthip'pus, a Spartan general of high reputation. To this foreigner the Carthaginians intrusted the command of their army: he eagerly sought an opportunity of bringing the enemy to an engagement; the Romans did not decline his challenge; but they found that one man was sufficient to change the fortune of the war. Xanthip'pus won a complete victory: the greater part of the Romans were taken prisoners or cut to pieces, two thousand alone escaping to the city of Clypéa; Reg'ulus himself was among the captives.

The Spartan general, after this brilliant exploit, returned home. A Roman fleet was sent to bring off the garrison of Clypéa, and gained on the voyage a great victory over the Carthaginians; but on the return of the ships, three hundred and twenty of them, with all on board, were destroyed by a tempest. A second naval armament suffered a similar fate; and the Romans, disheartened by these repeated misfortunes, abandoned for a time the sea to their enemies. But they were in some degree consoled by a second triumph obtained near Panor'mus, in Sicily, over As'drubal (B. C. 249), which gave them a decided superiority in the island.

The Carthaginians, daunted by this misfortune, took Reg'ulus from his dungeon to go as their ambassador to Rome, trusting that, weary of a long captivity, he would urge the senate to grant favorable terms of peace. Reg'ulus, however, persuaded his countrymen to continue the war, assuring them that the resources of Carthage were exhausted. It is generally stated, that the patriotic general, after his return to Africa, was tortured to death by the disappointed Carthaginians. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that he died a natural death, and that the tale of his savage murder was invented to excuse the cruelty with which his family treated their Carthaginian captives. The renewed war began unfavorably for the Romans, their entire fleet having been wrecked on the south coast of Sicily (B. C. 248), and Hamil'car Bar'ca, the new commander of the Carthaginians, proving a worthy successor of Xanthip'pus. But they were not dispirited by these losses; a new fleet, of better construction than any they had yet possessed, was built, and placed under the command of the consul Lutátius Cat'ulus; at the same time strong reinforcements were sent to the army in Sicily. The hostile navies met near the Ægátes; the consul had lightened his vessels by landing all unnecessary burdens on one of these islands; but Han'no, the Carthaginian admiral, in his hurry to engage, left his ves-

sels encumbered with baggage. The battle was brief but decisive; fifty of Han'no's vessels were sunk, and seventy taken; and the Carthaginians were for ever deprived of the empire of the sea (B. C. 241).

But the consequences of this defeat threatened still more fatal results to Carthage: Hamil'car Bar'ca, with the last army on which the republic could depend, was closely blockaded in a corner of Sicily, and the Roman cruisers cut him off from all communication with Africa: were he forced to surrender, Carthage would be left at the mercy of the barbarous tribes in its neighborhood. Under these circumstances the Carthaginians sought peace, but could obtain no better terms than those which Reg'ulus demanded when in sight of their gates (B. C. 240). These conditions were, that the Carthaginians should evacuate all the islands of the Mediterranean, restore the Roman prisoners without ransom, and pay three thousand talents of silver (about 600,000*l.*) to defray the expenses of the war.

After the termination of the first Punic war, Rome enjoyed a brief period of domestic and external tranquillity; and the temple of Janus was shut for the second time since the foundation of the city. Tedious wars were waged against the Ligurians and the Gallic tribes which had settled in northern Italy, when the people became weary of peace; but a more important contest was provoked by the piracies of the Illyrians, whose queen, Teúta, procured the murder of the ambassadors sent to remonstrate against the outrages of her subjects. A navy was soon established in the Adriatic, and an army sent into Illyricum, whose rapid successes compelled Teúta to purchase peace by resigning the greater part of her territories (B. C. 227). This speedy conquest diffused the fame of the Romans throughout eastern Europe; for most of the Greek states had suffered severely from the piracies of the Illyrians. The war was subsequently renewed (B. C. 218), and the Illyrians again overthrown with greater disgrace and loss.

The Carthaginians were anxious to compensate their losses in Sicily by the subjugation of Spain; and their extensive conquests in that peninsula gave great umbrage to their suspicious rivals. A pretext for interference was soon found. Han'nibal, the son of Hamil'car Bar'ca, who had been brought, while yet a child, to the altar by his father, and sworn never to relax in his enmity to Rome, laid siege to Sagun'tum, a Greek colony on the Ibérus, and treated with contempt the remonstrances of the Roman ambassadors (B. C. 218). His conduct having been approved by the Carthaginian senate, both parties made instant preparations for renewing hostilities, and soon commenced the second Punic war.

Before the Roman armies were ready to take the field, Han'nibal had completed the conquest of Spain, and crossed the Pyrenees on his road to Italy. The consul, Scip'io, hastened to prevent him from passing the Rhone; but being frustrated by the superior diligence of the Carthaginian general, he sent the greater part of his forces into Spain, and sailed with the remainder for Italy, in order to intercept his enemies as they descended from the Alps. Even these formidable mountains caused but little delay to the enterprising Han'nibal. He led his army across them in fifteen days (B. C. 217); and, advancing through the country of the Taurini, took their capital city (*Turin*) by storm.

Scip'io hasted to meet the invaders on the banks of the river Ticínus; but he was defeated with great loss, and further weakened by the desertion of his Gallic mercenaries, who eagerly flocked to the standard of Han'nibal, regarding him as another Bren'nus.

In the meantime, Scip'io had been reinforced by Sempróníus, the other consul; but he found that these succors were more than counterbalanced by the impetuosity of his colleague. Sempróníus, eager to engage, imprudently forded the river Trébia, though its waters were swollen by rain and melted snow. The Romans, suddenly attacked as they came out of the river, were not able to cope with their enemies, who were fresh and vigorous; nevertheless they made a brave resistance, and the central division, unbroken, made its way from the field to the city of Placen'tia. The victory, however, was of the greatest service to Han'nibal, as it secured him the alliance of the Gauls in northern Italy.

Flamin'ius, the consul of the next year, displayed even more impetuosity and imprudence than Sempróníus. Marching incautiously in search of Han'nibal, he fell into an ambuscade near the Thrasymenian lake, and was slain, with the greater part of his army (B. C. 216). The Romans were so alarmed by the intelligence of this great calamity, that they created Fábius Max'imus dictator, though, in the absence of the surviving consul, they were obliged to dispense with the legal formalities. Fábius adopted a new system of tactics; he declined fighting; but moving his camp along the summit of the hills, he closely watched the motions of the invaders, harassed their march, and intercepted their convoys. From his steadfast adherence to this policy, Fábius received the name of Cunctátor (*the delayer*). During this period, the Roman armies in Spain, under the command of the Scip'ios, gained many important advantages, and thus prevented the Carthaginians from sending succors to Han'nibal.

At the close of the year, Fábius resigned his authority to the consuls Paul'lus Æmil'ius and Teren'tius Var'ro (B. C. 215). The latter hurried his more prudent colleague into a general action at the village of Can'næ, near the river Aúfidus, where the Romans suffered a more severe defeat than any they had received since their fatal overthrow by the Gauls on the Al'lia. This victory gave Han'nibal a secure position in southern Italy: it is even supposed, that he would have got possession of Rome itself, had he marched thither immediately after the battle.

But the Romans, notwithstanding their great losses, did not despair: Scip'io, a young man destined at no distant period to raise his country to the summit of greatness, encouraged the nobles of his own age to stand firm at this crisis; and Fábius Cunctátor being appointed to the command of the army, resumed the cautious system, the advantages of which had been already so fully proved. Han'nibal, in the meantime, led his forces to Cap'ua, where his veterans were enervated by the luxury and debauchery of that licentious city. At the same time he concluded an alliance with Philip, king of Macedon; but the Romans, by their intrigues in Greece, found sufficient employment for that monarch at home, to prevent his interference in the affairs of Italy. They even sent an army against him, under the command of the prætor Lævímus,

and thus, though exposed to such danger in Italy, they maintained a vigorous contest in Greece, Spain, and Sicily.

It was in Sicily that success first began to dawn upon the Roman cause (B. C. 211): the ancient city of Syracuse was taken by the prætor Metel'lus; and the celebrated mathematician, Archim'edes, by whose engines the defence had been protracted, was slain in the storm. Two years afterward, Agrigen'tum, the last stronghold of the Carthaginians, was betrayed to Lævínus; and the Romans remained masters of the entire island, which henceforth became a regular province.

In the meantime the war lingered in Italy; the Roman generals were rarely able to cope with Han'nibal, though Marcel'lus is said to have gained a general battle over the Carthaginians. On the other hand, Han'nibal, receiving no reinforcements from Carthage, feared to peril his limited resources in any decisive enterprise. At length he summoned his brother As'drubal, who had long maintained the Carthaginian cause against the Scipios in Spain, to join him in Italy; and As'drubal, without encountering any great difficulty, soon crossed the Pyrenees and Alps. The consuls, Liv'ius and Néro, having discovered the direction of the Carthaginian's march, hastened to intercept him. As'drubal, misled by his guides, was forced to hazard an engagement at a disadvantage on the banks of the Metaúrus, and was cut to pieces with his whole army (B. C. 206). The first information Han'nibal received of this great misfortune, was the sight of his brother's gory head, which the consuls caused to be thrown into his camp. Soon after, the Romans alarmed the Carthaginians by the prospect of a war in Africa, having entered into a treaty of alliance with Massinis'sa, the legitimate king of Numidia, and also with the usurper Sy'phax.

At length Scip'io, the conqueror of Spain, was chosen consul, and, contrary to the strenuous exertions of Fábius, he prevailed upon the senate to permit him to transfer the war into Africa; and this was the more readily conceded, as the conclusion of peace with Philip (B. C. 203) had placed a fresh army at their disposal. Scip'io, on landing in Africa (B. C. 202), found that Sy'phax had been won over to the Carthaginian side by his wife Sophonis'ba, the daughter of As'drubal. The Roman general, knowing, however the inconstancy of the Numidian, commenced negotiations, which were protracted with equal duplicity. While Sy'phax was thus amused, Scip'io suddenly surprised and burned his camp; then attacking the Numidians in the midst of the confusion, he put forty thousand of them to the sword. After this achievement, Scip'io laid siege to U'tica: the Carthaginians raised a large army to relieve a place of so much importance; but they were routed with great slaughter, and pursued to their very walls. This victory exposed Carthage itself to the perils of a siege; Túnis, almost within sight of the city, opened its gates to the Romans; and the Carthaginian senate driven almost to despair, recalled Han'nibal from Italy to the defence of his own country.

Han'nibal, on his return home, would have made peace on reasonable terms, had not the Carthaginian populace, elated by the presence of the hero of a hundred fights, obstinately resisted any concession. With a heavy heart the brave old general made preparations for a decisive engagement in the field of Záma. Han'nibal's abilities were not less con-

spicuous in this fatal fight than in the battles he had won in Italy: but the greater part of his forces were raw troops, unfit to cope with Scipio's disciplined legions. After a dreadful struggle, the Romans prevailed, and they followed up their advantages with so much eagerness, that twenty thousand of the Carthaginians fell in the battle or the pursuit. Han'nibal, after having performed everything that a general or brave soldier could do to restore the fortune of the day, fled with a small body of horse to Adrumétum, whence he was soon summoned to Carthage to assist the tottering republic with his counsels (B. C. 201). There he informed the senate that "Carthage had no resource but in peace;" and these words, from the mouth of the warlike Han'nibal, were decisive. Ambassadors were sent to seek conditions from the conqueror; and the humbled Carthaginians accepted the terms of peace dictated by Scipio, who henceforward was honored with the title of Africánus. The chief articles of the treaty were, that Carthage should deliver up to the Romans all their deserters, fugitive slaves, and prisoners-of-war; surrender all her ships-of-the-line, except ten triremes, and all her elephants; restore Numidia to Massinis'sa: enter into no war without the permission of the Roman people; pay as a ransom ten thousand talents of silver (about two millions sterling): and give one hundred hostages for the performance of the treaty. To these harsh terms the Carthaginians subscribed: Scip'io returned home, and was honored with the most magnificent triumph that had yet been exhibited in Rome.

Rome was now become a great military republic, supreme in western Europe, and commanding a preponderating influence in the east, where the kingdoms formed from the fragments of Alexander's empire had sunk into weakness from the exhaustion of mutual wars. The Athenians, exposed to the attacks of Philip, king of Macedon, sought the protection of the Romans, which was readily granted, as the senate had long been anxious to find a pretext for meddling in the affairs of Greece (B. C. 206). War was declared against Philip, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes of the people; and it was resolved to follow up Scipio's policy, by making the enemy's country the theatre of hostilities. An army was sent into Macedonia, and its conduct was soon intrusted to Quin'tius Flamin'ius, whose diplomatic skill was even more conspicuous than his military talents. After some minor engagements, in none of which did Philip evince much ability as a general or statesman, a decisive battle was fought at Cynosceph'alæ (B. C. 206), in which the Macedonians were irretrievably overthrown, and forced to submit to such terms of peace as the conquerors pleased to dictate. This success was followed by the solemn mockery of proclaiming liberty to Greece at the Isthmian games, which filled the foolish spectators with so much delight, that they virtually became slaves to the Romans through gratitude for freedom.

Antíochus, king of Syria, hoping to establish the empire of the Selecúcidæ in the east, soon caused a renewal of the wars in Greece. Han'nibal was accused to the Romans by his treacherous countrymen of having secretly intrigued with this monarch; and having reason to fear that he would be surrendered to his enemies, he fled to Antíochus in Asia. The great general, however, found that the vain-glorious Syrian was unable to comprehend his prudent plans for conducting the war, and had the mortification to find himself suspected of being secretly in

league with the Romans. In the meantime the Ætolians, displeased by the policy which the Romans were pursuing, invited Antíochus, into Europe; and that monarch, passing over into Greece, made himself master of the island of Eubœ'a (B. C. 191). War was instantly declared; the consul, Acil'ius Glábrio, appeared in Greece with a powerful army; he gained a signal victory over the Syrians at the straits of Thermop'ylæ, and reduced the Ætolians to such great extremities, that they were forced to beg a peace; but the senate demanded such harsh conditions, that they resolved to endure the hazards of war a little longer (B. C. 190).

In the following year, the senate intrusted the conduct of the war to Lúcius Scip'io, under whom his brother Africánus served as a lieutenant. Having soon tranquillized Greece, the two brothers passed into Asia: after many minor successors, they forced Antíochus to a general battle near the city of Magnésia, in which that monarch was completely overthrown (B. C. 189). He was forced to purchase peace by resigning all his possessions in Europe, and those in Asia north of Mount Taurus; paying a fine of fifteen thousand Eubœan talents (about three millions sterling); and promising to give up Han'nibal. That illustrious exile fled for refuge to Prúsias, king of Bith'ynia; but finding that he was still pursued by the vindictive hatred of the Romans, he put an end to his life by taking poison, which in anticipation of such an extremity, he always carried with him concealed in a ring.

On their return home, the Scip'ios were accused of having taken bribes from Antíochus and embezzling the public money (B. C. 186). Africánus refused to plead, preferring to go into voluntary exile at Liter'num, where he died. Lúcius was condemned; and on his refusal to pay the fine imposed, all his property was confiscated. About the same time Rome exhibited the first example of religious persecution: a sect called the Bacchanalians, having been accused of the most monstrous crimes, several laws were enacted for its extirpation; but it is scarcely possible to discover how far the charges against this unfortunate society were supported by evidence.

The mastery assumed by the Romans in Greece gave great and just offence to the principal states; but their yoke was felt by none so grievously as Per'ses, king of Macedon, who opened for himself a way to the throne by procuring the judicial murder of his brother Demétrius. Mutual complaints and recriminations soon led to open war (B. C. 170). Per'ses having collected his forces, entered Thessaly, captured several important towns, defeated a Roman army on the river Péneus, and was joined by the greater part of the Epirote nation. His successes continued until the Romans intrusted the conduct of the war to Æmil'ius Paul'lus, son of the general that had fallen in the battle of Can'næ, though he was past the age at which they usually sent out commanders. While the new general advanced against Macedon, the prætor Ancius invaded Illyr'icum, whose monarch had entered into alliance with Per'ses, and subdued the entire kingdom in the short space of thirty days. Per'ses being hard pressed, resolved to hazard a battle near the walls of Pyd'na (B. C. 167). After both armies had remained for some days in sight of each other, an accident brought on an engagement contrary to the wishes of the leaders; it ended in a complete victory of the Ro-

mans. Per'ses fled to Samothrace, but was soon forced to surrender, and was reserved to grace the triumph of the conqueror. Macedon, Epírus, and Illyr'icum, were reduced to the condition of provinces, and it became evident that the independence of the remaining Grecian states would not long be respected. The triumph of Æmil'ius Paul'lus was the most splendid which had been yet exhibited in Rome, and it became the precedent for the subsequent processions of victorious generals.

The destruction of the Macedonian monarchy was soon followed by that of the miserable remains of the once proud republic of Carthage. To this war the Romans were stimulated by the rigid Cáto, surnamed the Censor, who was animated by his envy of Scip'io Nasíca, on account of his great influence in the senate, and by a haughty spirit of revenge for some slights which he imagined he had received from the Carthaginians when sent as ambassador to their state. The pretext for the war was some quarrels between the Carthaginians and the Numidians, in which, however, the former only acted upon the defensive. At first, the Carthaginians attempted to disarm their enemies by submission; they banished all who had incurred the displeasure of the Romans, and surrendered their arms and military stores to the consuls; but when informed that they must abandon their city and consent to its demolition, they took courage from despair, and set their insulting foes at defiance (B. C. 168). They made the most vigorous exertions to supply the place of the weapons they had surrendered: men of every rank and station toiled night and day in the forges; the women cut off their long hair, hitherto the great source of their pride, to furnish strings for the bows of the archers, and engines of the slingers; and the banished As'drubal was recalled to the defence of his country.

From this unexpected display of courage and patriotism, the Romans found Carthage not quite so easy a conquest as they had anticipated: during the first two years of the war they suffered repeated disappointments; but at length they intrusted the command of their armies to Scip'io Æmiliánus, the adopted son of the great Africánus (B. C. 147). On his arrival in Africa Scip'io's first care was to restore the discipline of the soldiers, who had been allowed by their former commanders to indulge in dangerous licentiousness. His strictness and moderation won him the friendship of the African nations, and enabled him in his second campaign (B. C. 146) to press vigorously the siege of Carthage. After a severe struggle, the Romans forced an entrance into the city on the side of Cóthon, or the port, and made themselves masters of the great wall. Thence Scip'io, with a large body of soldiers, cut his way to the principal square of the city, where he bivouacked all the following night. On the next morning the fight was renewed, and the whole city, except the citadel and the temple of Æsculápius, taken: six days were spent in preparation for the siege of these strongholds; but, on the seventh, the garrison in the citadel surrendered at discretion; and the deserters in the temple of Æsculápius, setting fire to that building, perished in the flames.

Scanty as are our limits, two incidents connected with the destruction of this ancient commercial metropolis, so long the rival of Rome for supremacy in the western world, must not be omitted. When Scip'io

beheld Carthage in flames, his soul was softened by reflections on the instability of fortune, and he could not avoid anticipating a time when Rome herself should experience the same calamities as those which had befallen her unfortunate competitor. He vented his feelings, by quoting from Homer, the well-known lines in which Hector predicts the fall of Troy :—

> "Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates;
> (How my heart trembles, while my tongue relates!)
> The day when thou, imperial Troy, must bend,
> And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end."

The second incident is still more tragic : As'drubal, the first mover of the war, had fled with the deserters, accompanied by his wife and children, to the temple of Æsculápius, but went over to the Romans a little before the destruction of that edifice. While the fire was kindling, the wife of As'drubal, having decked herself in the best manner she could, appeared with her two children on the top of the temple, whence, calling out to Scip'io, she begged him to punish her husband according to his deserts, that traitor to his God, his country, and his family. Then directing her speech to As'drubal—"Thou wicked, perfidious wretch," she exclaimed, "thou most cowardly of men! This fire will quickly consume me and my children : but thou, once ruler of mighty Carthage, what a triumph shalt thou adorn! And what punishment wilt thou not suffer from him at whose feet thou art sitting!" This said, she cut the throats of her children, threw their bodies into the burning building, and sprung after them into the very centre of the flames.

During the third Punic war, the disturbances excited in Macedonia by an impostor, Andris'cus, who pretended to be the son of Philip, kindled a new war, which proved fatal to the independence of Greece. The Achæans stimulated by some factious leaders, took up arms but were subdued the very same year that Carthage was destroyed. Mum'mius, the consul who conducted this war, sacked and burned Corinth ; and after having plundered the city of its statues, paintings, and most valuable effects, levelled its walls and houses to the ground. Thebes and Chalcis soon after shared the same sad fate. If we may believe Velleíus Pater'culus, Mum'mius was so little acquainted with the value of the beautiful works of art which fell into his possession, that he covenanted with the masters of the ships, whom he hired to convey from Corinth to Italy a great number of exquisite pieces of painting and statuary, that "if they lost any of them, they should furnish others in their stead."

Spain next began to attract the attention of the Romans. No nation that the republic had subdued defended its liberties with greater obstinacy. The war for the subjugation of the Spaniards commenced six years after the expulsion of the Carthaginians from the western peninsula, and was exceedingly obstinate (B. C. 200). This struggle was protracted partly from the natural state of the country, which was thickly populated and studded with natural fortresses, partly from the courage of the inhabitants, and partly from the peculiar policy of the Romans, who were accustomed to employ their allies to subdue other nations. The chief enemies against whom the invaders had to contend were the

Celtiberians and Lusitanians; and so often were the Romans defeated, that nothing was more dreaded by the soldiers at home than an expedition against such formidable foes. At length the Lusitanians found a leader worthy of their bravery (B. C. 146) in Viriátus, who, from a shepherd, became a hunter and a robber; and in consequence of his distinguished valor was chosen general-in-chief by his countrymen. This bold leader long maintained his ground against the Roman armies, and was equally formidable whether victorious or vanquished. Indeed, he was never more to be dreaded than immediately after defeat, because he knew how to make the most of the advantages arising from his knowledge of the country, and of the dispositions of his countrymen. Unable to compete with Viriátus, the consul Cæ'pio treacherously procured his assassination (B. C. 140); and the Lusitanians, deprived of their leader, were easily subdued.

The Numantine war in hither Spain had been allowed to languish while the Lusitanians remained in power; it was now renewed with fresh vigor on both sides, and the pro-consul Pompey laid siege to Numan'tia. He was soon compelled to raise the siege, and even to enter into a treaty with the Numantines; but dreading the resentment of the senate, he disavowed the negotiation, and, by his great interest, escaped the punishment of his perfidy. A similar disgrace befell Pompey's successor, Mancínus; and the Romans, alarmed by the great victories of the Numantines, raised Scip'io Æmiliánus a second time to the consulship, and assigned him Spain as his province. Scip'io spent his entire consular year in restoring the discipline of soldiers dispirited by defeat, and neglected by their former generals; he then, with the inferior title of pro-consul, directed all his attention to concluding the war. Having obtained reinforcements from Africa, he laid close siege to Numan'tia, blockading every avenue to the town. After a protracted defence of more than six months, the Numantines destroyed their wives and children, set fire to their city, threw themselves on their swords or into the flames, and left the victors nothing to triumph over but empty walls (B. C. 133). Spain henceforth became a Roman province, governed by two annual prætors.

A rich province in Asia was obtained nearly at the same time on much more easy terms. At'talus, king of Per'gamus, dying, bequeathed his dominions to the Roman republic: and the senate took possession of the valuable inheritance, without heeding the remonstrances of the legitimate heir. But this acquisition of the wealthiest and finest districts in Asia Minor eventually cost the Romans very dear, both by the corruption of morals consequent on the great influx of Asiatic wealth, and the dreadful wars in which this legacy involved them with Mithridátes, king of Pon'tus.

SECTION VI.—*From the Beginning of the Civil Dissensions under the Grac'chi, to the Downfall of the Republic and Death of Pompey.*

FROM B. C. 134 TO B. C. 48.

DURING the Punic, Macedonian, and Spanish wars, the power of the senate, on which the administration of the government necessarily devolved, increased very rapidly, and the form of the constitution con-

sequently was changed more and more into that of a hateful aristocracy, against which the tribunes of the people struggled rather as factious demagogues than as honest defenders of popular rights. The aristocracy acquired vast wealth in the government of the provinces, and they employed their acquisitions in extending their political influence. The most obvious means of effecting this purpose was jobbing in the public lands, undertaking the management of extensive tracts, and sub-letting them to a crowd of needy dependants.

Tibérius Grac'chus, the son of a consul, whose mother Cornélia was a daughter of the celebrated Scip'io Africánus, witnessed with indignation the progress of corruption, and, to check it, resolved to enforce the Licinian prohibition against any individual renting more than five hundred acres of the public land. His office of tribune enabled him at once to commence operations; but before committing himself to the hazards of a public struggle, he sought the advice of the most virtuous and respectable men in Rome, all of whom sanctioned his project. Not daring to oppose directly the attempt to enforce a well-known law, the corrupt nobles engaged one of the tribune's colleagues to thwart his measures. Grieved, but not disheartened, Tibérius procured the deposition of this unworthy magistrate, and carried a law, constituting a triumvirate, or commission of three persons, to inquire into the administration of the public lands, and the violations of the Licinian law (B. C. 132). This was followed by a proposal, that the treasures which At'talus, king of Per'gamus, had bequeathed to the Romans should be distributed among the poorer classes of the people. During the agitation of this and some similar laws, his year of tribuneship expired, and the patricians resolved to prevent his re-election by absolute violence. So great was the uproar on the first day of the comitia, that the returning officer was obliged to adjourn the proceedings. Early in the following morning, when the assembly met, Tibérius received information that some of the nobles, accompanied by bands of armed retainers, had resolved to attack the crowd and take his life. Alarmed by this intelligence, he directed his friends to arm themselves as well as they could with staves; and when the people began to inquire the cause of this strange proceeding, he put his hand to his head, intimating that his life was in danger. Some of his enemies immediately ran to the senate, and reported that Tibérius Grac'chus openly demanded a crown from the people. Scip'io Nasíca, a large holder of public lands, seized this pretext to urge the consul to destroy the reformer. On the refusal of that magistrate to imbrue his hands in innocent blood, Nasíca, accompanied by a large body of the patricians, with their clients and dependants, assaulted the unarmed multitude; Tibérius was slain in the tumult, and many of his friends were either murdered or driven into banishment without any legal process. So great was the odium Nasíca incurred by his share in the murder of his kinsman, that the senate, to screen him from popular resentment, sent him to Asia, under a pretext of public business, but in reality as a species of honorable exile: he died in a few months, the victim of mortification and remorse.

While the city was thus disturbed by civil tumults, Sicily was harassed by the horrors of a servile war; and the new province of

Per'gamus was usurped by Aristonícus, a natural brother of the late king At'talus. Both wars were terminated by disgraceful means, which the Romans would have scorned to have used at an earlier period of their history: Eúnus, the leader of the slaves, was betrayed by some wretches the consul had bribed: and Per'gamus was not subdued until the springs which supplied water to the principal towns were poisoned.

Caíus Grac'chus had been a mere youth when his brother Tibérius was so basely murdered; but, undaunted by that brother's fate, he resolved to pursue the same course, and was confirmed in his determination by his mother Cornélia, a woman of undaunted spirit, animated by the purest principles of patriotism. He commenced his career by offering himself a candidate for the office of quæstor, to which he was elected without opposition. His integrity and ability in this station won him "golden opinions from all sorts of men." On his return to Rome he was chosen tribune of the people; and he immediately began to take measures for enforcing the agragrian law (B. C. 122). In his second tribuneship, he procured the enactment of a law transferring the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senators to the equestrian order; a change rendered absolutely necessary by the impunity that had long been granted to the grossest delinquency and extortion. At length the senate set up Drúsus, another tribune, as a rival to Grac'chus. This wretched minion of an unprincipled faction made several grants of public money and remissions of taxes to the people, with the direct sanction of the senate; and soon became a favorite with the ignorant multitude. A severer blow was the exclusion of Grac'chus from the tribuneship when he stood candidate the third time, the officers having been bribed to make a false return; and this was followed by the election of Opim'ius, the most violent of the aristocratic faction, to the consulship.

A contest could not long be avoided: the nobles, confiding in the numbers of their armed retainers, were anxious to provoke a battle; but Grac'chus, though personally menaced by the consul, was desirous that peace should be preserved. An accident precipitated the struggle. While the consul was performing the customary morning sacrifice, Antyl'ius, one of his lictors, carrying away the entrails, said, with contemptuous voice and gesture, to the friends of Grac'chus and Ful'vius, "Make way there, ye worthless citizens, for honest men!" The provoked bystanders instantly assaulted the insolent lictor, and slew him with the pins of their table-books.

This imprudence afforded Opim'ius the opportunity he had so eagerly desired; the senate hastily assembled, and passed a vote investing him with dictatorial power.* Grac'chus, with his most zealous followers, took possession of Mount Aventine: here he was soon attacked by the sanguinary Opim'ius; three thousand of his followers were slain, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber; and Caíus himself chose to fall by the hands of a faithful slave, rather than glut his cruel enemies by his tortures (B. C. 120). With the Grac'chi perished the freedom of the

* The vote by which absolute power, in cases of emergency, was given to the consuls, consisted in the following formula: "*Ut darent operam consules ne respublica quid detrimenti caperet.*"

Roman republic; henceforth the supreme power of the state was wielded by a corrupt, avaricious, and insolent aristocracy, from whose avarice and oppression even the worst tyranny of the worst of the emperors would have been a desirable relief.

The profligacy and corruption of the senate, now that the check of popular control was removed, soon became manifest by their conduct in the Jugurthine war. Micip'sa, king of Numidia, the son of Massinis'sa, divided his monarchy on his death-bed between his two sons Hiemp'sal and Ad'herbal, and his nephew Júgurtha, though the latter was of illegitimate birth. Júgurtha resolved to obtain possession of the entire inheritance, procured the murder of Hiemp'sal, and compelled Ad'herbal to seek refuge at Rome. The senate at first seemed disposed to punish the usurper; but soon won over by his bribes, they actually voted him a reward for his crimes, decreeing that the kingdom of Numidia should be divided equally between him and Ad'herbal. Impunity only stimulated Júgurtha to fresh iniquities; he declared war against his cousin, gained possession of his person by a capitulation, and, in violation of the terms, put him to death. Even this atrocity failed to rouse the senate; and Júgurtha would have escaped unpunished, had not Mem'mius, one of the tribunes, exposed the profligate venality of the aristocracy in a general assembly of the people, and persuaded them to send Cas'sius the prætor into Africa, to bring Júgurtha thence to Rome, on the public faith, in order that those who had taken bribes might be convicted by the king's evidence.

Júgurtha, being brought before the assembly, was interrogated by Mem'mius; but Bæ'bius, another tribune, who had been bribed for the purpose, forbade the king to make any reply. The Numidian, however, soon added to his former crimes, by procuring the murder of his cousin Massíva in Rome, suspecting that he was likely to be raised to the throne of Numidia by a party in the senate. Such an insult could not be borne; Júgurtha was instantly ordered to quit Italy (B. C. 109), and an army raised against him was intrusted to the command of the consul Al'binus. Instead of prosecuting the war, Al'binus left his brother Aúlus, a vain, avaricious man, in command of the army, and returned to Italy. Aúlus invaded Numidia, hoping that Júgurtha would purchase his forbearance by a large sum; but he was surrounded, betrayed, and forced to capitulate on the most disgraceful terms. The Roman people was roused to exertion by this infamy; a commission was issued for inquiring into the criminality of those who had received bribes; several of the leading nobles, among whom was Opim'ius, the murderer of Caíus Grac'chus, were convicted on the clearest evidence, and sentenced to different degrees of punishment. Finally, the conduct of the war was intrusted to Quin'tus Metel'lus, a strenuous partisan of the aristocracy, but an able general, and an incorruptible statesman. When Metel'lus had almost completed the conquest of Numidia, he was supplanted by his lieutenant Caíus Márius, a man of the lowest birth, but whom valor, talent, and a zealous devotion to the popular cause, had elevated to fame and fortune. Raised to the consulship, and intrusted with the conduct of the war against Júgurtha, by the favor of the people, Márius showed little respect for the vote of the senate that had continued Metel'lus in command. He raised fresh levies, and passed over

into Africa just when Júgurtha had been forced to seek refuge with Boc'chus, king of Mauritánia (B. C. 106). The principal cities and fortresses of Numidia were speedily subdued, and the united army of Júgurtha and Boc'chus routed with great slaughter. The Moorish king, terrified by his losses, was at length prevailed upon to betray Júgurtha to Syl'la, a young nobleman who held the important office of quæstor in the army of Márius; and this wicked usurper, after having been exhibited in the conqueror's triumph, was starved to death in prison.

In the meantime, the barbarous hordes of the Cim'bri and Teutónes were devastating Transalpine Gaul, and had defeated the Roman armies sent to check their ravages. At length, their total defeat of Cæ'pio's army, and slaughter of eighty thousand men, spread such general consternation, that the senate and people combined to raise Márius to the consulate a second time, contrary to law. It was not, however, until his fourth consulship (B. C. 100), that Márius brought the Teutónes to a decisive engagement at A'quæ Lútiæ. The annals of war scarcely record a more complete victory; more than one hundred thousand of the invaders having been slain or made prisoners. He was no less fortunate in a second engagement with the Cimbrians; but on this occasion his old quæstor, but now his rival, Lúcius Syl'la, had fair grounds for claiming a large share in the honors of the day. About the same time, a second servile war in Sicily was terminated: so cruelly was the revolt of these unhappy men punished, that more than a million of the insurgents are said to have perished in the field, or been exposed to wild beasts in the arena.

A much more dangerous war, called the Marsic, the Social, or the Italic, was provoked by the injustice with which the Romans treated their Italian allies. The different states having in vain sought a redress of grievances from the senate and people, entered into a secret conspiracy, which soon extended from the Líris eastward to the extremity of ancient Italy. The Mar'si, long renowned for their bravery, were foremost in the revolt, and hence their name is frequently given to the war. After a tedious contest of three years, in which half a million of men are supposed to have perished, the Romans granted the freedom of their city to the states that laid down their arms (B. C. 87), and tranquillity was restored in Italy.

But the Roman power was exposed almost to equal danger in Asia by the rising greatness of Mithridátes, the celebrated king of Pon'tus, who, in a short time, made himself master of all the towns and islands in Asia Minor, with the single exception of Rhodes. Márius and Syl'la eagerly contended for the chief command in this important war; the latter prevailed, and procured the banishment of his rival, who very narrowly escaped with his life. Syl'la departed with his army to Asia; but, during his absence, the consul Cin'na recalled Márius, and Italy was involved in all the horrors of civil war (B. C. 86). After a severe struggle, the aged exile having everywhere defeated the partisans of the nobles, made his triumphant entry into Rome, and filled the entire city with slaughter. Having caused the murder of most of the leading senators and knights that had joined in procuring his banishment, he

declared himself consul without going through the formality of an election, and died soon after, in the seventy-first year of his age.

In the meantime, Syl'la defeated the armies of Mithridátes in Greece, took Athens by storm, slaughtered its citizens without mercy or compunction, and compelled the king of Pon'tus to solicit peace. Syl'la willingly consented, for he had neither ships nor money to carry on the war; and he longed impatiently to be in Italy, that he might revenge himself on his enemies, who were so cruelly persecuting his partisans.

On the news of the approach of Syl'la with a victorious army (B. C. 83), the consuls Cin'na and Car'bo made every preparation for the impending war; but the former was murdered by his mutinous troops, and the latter, though aided by the younger Márius, did not possess abilities adequate to the crisis. After a severe struggle, Syl'la prevailed, and became master of Rome. He surpassed even the cruelties of Márius, slaughtering without mercy not merely his political opponents, but all whom he suspected of discontent at his elevation. While the city was filled with mourning and consternation, he caused himself to be elected dictator for an unlimited time (B. C. 81); but, to the great astonishment of everybody, he resigned his power at the end of three years, and retired to private life. He died soon after (B. C. 77) of a loathsome disease brought on by intemperance and debauchery.

The consul Lep'idus attempted to seize the power which Syl'la had abdicated; he was declared a public enemy, defeated in the field, forsaken by his friends, and abandoned by his faithless wife: he sunk under this complication of misfortunes, and died of a broken heart. But though the senate escaped this danger, they were alarmed by the rapid progress of the Marian faction in Spain (B. C. 76), where Sertórius had collected a powerful army from the relics of that party. After some deliberation, the management of this war was intrusted to Pom'pey, afterward surnamed the Great, though he had not yet attained the consular age, and was still a simple Roman knight. Sertórius proved more than a match for the young general, defeating him in several engagements; but treachery proved more efficacious than valor; the bold adventurer was murdered by Perper'na (B. C. 73); and the insurgents, deprived of their able leader, were finally subdued by Pom'pey (B. C. 70). Before the Spanish war was terminated, Italy was thrown into confusion by the daring revolt of Spar'tacus (B. C. 72). This dangerous insurgent, with about eighty companions, forced his way out of a school for training gladiators at Cap'ua, and resolved, instead of hazarding his life in the arena, for the brutal sport of the Roman populace, to make war on the republic. Two brilliant victories so established his fame, that the slaves, deserting their masters, flocked to his standard from all quarters, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men. Fresh successes now crowned his arms; prætors and consuls were sent against him, and defeated; his forces rapidly increased to one hundred and twenty thousand; and he even attempted to make himself master of Rome. At length the prætor Cras'sus succeeded in suppressing this formidable revolt; but his victory was chiefly owing to the want of union and discipline in the army of the insurgents (B. C. 70). Spar'tacus himself fell in the

field, and great numbers of his followers were crucified by the barbarous conquerors.

Cras'sus and Pom'pey were chosen consuls the next year: both were ambitious of supreme power, and both began to pay their court to the people; Cras'sus by largesses of corn and money, Pom'pey by restoring the tribunitian power, and repealing many of the unpopular laws of Syl'la. These measures gave Pom'pey so much influence, that he was chosen to manage the war against the Cilician pirates, in spite of the most vigorous opposition of the senators; and to this commission there were added, by the Manilian law, the government of Asia, and the entire management of the war against Mithridátes (B. C. 65). Little did the tribune Manil'ius foresee that he was placing the whole power of the Roman empire in the hands of a man who would soon become the most strenuous supporter of the senate.

Pom'pey made a judicious use of the power with which he was intrusted; he subdued Mithridátes, and established the sway of the Romans over the greater part of western Asia. But while he was thus engaged gathering laurels in the remote east, the republic narrowly escaped destruction from the conspiracy of Cat'iline (B. C. 62). The original contriver of this celebrated conspiracy, Ser'gius Cat'iline, was a young man of noble birth, sullied, however, by the most infamous debauchery and crimes. The recent examples of Márius and Syl'la stimulated him to attempt making himself master of his country; and he found many associates among the profligate young nobles, whom their riotous extravagance had overwhelmed with a load of debt. The great impediment to the success of the plans of the conspirators was the vigilance of the consul Cicéro, who had raised himself to the highest rank in the state by his consummate eloquence and great skill in political affairs. His murder was deemed a necessary preliminary to any open efforts; but Cicéro received secret warnings of his danger from Cúrius, one of the conspirators, whose mistress had been bribed by the consul; and he was thus enabled to disconcert all the plans of Cat'iline. While the city was alarmed by rumors of danger, Cat'iline had the hardihood to present himself in the senate-house, where Cicéro pronounced so dreadful an invective against him, that the hardened conspirator was unable to reply, and fled from the city to commence open war.

In the meantime, his associates in the city attempted to form an alliance with the Allob'roges, a people of Gaul that had sent ambassadors to petition the senate for some relief from the debt with which their nation was oppressed. These ambassadors betrayed the negotiations to Cicéro, who took his measures so well, that he arrested the chiefs of the conspiracy with the proofs of their guilt on their persons. After a warm debate in the senate, it was resolved that the traitors should be put to death; Julius Cæsar, who was now fast rising into notice as the chief of the popular party, protesting almost alone against the dangerous precedent of violating the Porcian law, which forbade the capital punishment of a Roman citizen. When Cat'iline heard the fate of his associates, he attempted to lead his forces into Gaul; but he was overtaken by a consular army, defeated, and slain. So pleased were the senate with the conduct of Cicéro on this occasion, that they gave him the honorable title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Pom'pey soon afterward returned to Rome, and the old jealousies between him and Cras'sus were renewed; but Julius Cæsar, whose eminent abilities were now known and valued, succeeded in bringing the rivals together, and uniting them with himself in a partnership of power, generally called "the first triumvirate" (B. C. 59). They were supported in this project by the infamous Clódius, whose sole aim was to be revenged on Cicéro for having given evidence against him on a criminal trial. To wreak his vengeance more effectually, he had himself transferred from the patrician order to the plebeian, and then becoming a candidate for the tribuneship, was elected without much opposition. By the exertions of Clódius, Cicéro was driven into banishment; but he was honorably recalled after a year's exile, and restored to his dignity and estates. While Clódius, by his violence, kept the city in constant agitation, Pom'pey and Cras'sus were again elected consuls together; the former chose Spain, the latter Syria, for his province, hoping that its wealth would be the prey of his boundless avarice (B. C. 54). Cæsar was in the meantime winning fame by the conquest of Gaul, and establishing a military reputation which soon eclipsed that of all his contemporaries.

The union of the triumvirs was first disturbed by the death of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been married to Pom'pey, and exercised great influence over both her father and her husband. But the compact was completely broken by the unfortunate termination of the rash expedition which Cras'sus undertook against the Parthians, in which he perished, with the greater part of his army (B. C. 52).

Cæsar's victorious career in Gaul lasted nearly eight years (from B. C. 57 to B. C. 49). During this space of time he subdued all the barbarous and warlike tribes between the Pyrenees and the German ocean; he even crossed the Rhine, and gained several victories over the Germans; and, passing over into Britain, he subdued the southern part of the island. Pom'pey at first favored all the projects of his colleague, procured him a prolongation of his command and supplies of troops; but he soon became envious of exploits that obscured the fame of his own achievements; his creatures began to detract from the brilliancy of Cæsar's victories, and many of that general's official letters were suppressed by the senate. It became soon obvious that the jealousies of the two surviving triumvirs could be arranged only in the field of battle, and their partisans began to prepare for combat long before the principals had any notion of breaking the peace.

The contest began by Cæsar's demanding permission to hold the consulship while absent. He had secured his interest and increased his adherents by the most lavish bribes, having spent nearly half a million on the purchase of Caíus Cúrio alone. This powerful and popular tribune placed the senate in a very difficult position, by proposing that both Pom'pey and Cæsar should resign their offices, and retire into private life (B. C. 51). Some time was wasted in negotiations; but at length the senate (Jan. 7, B. C. 49) passed a decree by which Cæsar was commanded to disband his army before a specified day, under the penalty of being declared a public enemy. Mark Antony and Quin'tus Cas'sius, tribunes of the people, put their negative on this vote; but their prerogative was dis-

puted, and a debate ensued, in the course of which many severe speeches were made against them. Finally, the vote for suspending the constitution passed by a large majority in a very full house. It was decreed that "the consuls, prætors, proconsuls, and other magistrates near Rome, should take care that the republic received no detriment." Antony and Cas'sius fled from the city the same night, disguised as slaves. They were followed by Cúrio and Cæ'lius.

When Cæsar received this intelligence, he resolved to march immediately into Italy, before Pom'pey could collect forces sufficient for the defence of the peninsula. The rapidity of his movements disconcerted his enemies; and the news of his having passed the Rúbicon, spread such alarm at Rome, that the senate and Pom'pey's party abandoned the city, leaving the public treasure behind them. All Italy was subdued in sixty days. On the 17th of March, Pom'pey sailed from Brundúsium for Greece, abandoning his country to his rival. Sicily and Sardinia speedily followed the fate of the peninsula.

Elated by this great success, Cæsar returned to Rome, took the funds from the public treasury, and, after a brief respite of six or seven days, set out to attack Pom'pey's lieutenants in Spain. He met with unexpected resistance from the city of Marseilles, but, leaving a detachment to besiege the place, he continued his march to Iler'da, where he found his enemies posted under the command of Afránius and Petréius. An undecisive battle was fought at Iler'da; but Cæsar, taking advantage of the inexperience and incapacity of his opponents, soon reduced them to such straits, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. The reduction of the remainder of the Spanish peninsula was soon completed, and Cæsar returned into Gaul to finish the siege of Marseilles. Cæsar's presence soon forced the citizens to surrender. Their lives were spared, but they were forced to give up all their arms, magazines, and money. But while he was thus everywhere victorious in person, the armies commanded by his lieutenants met with some reverses in Illyricum and Africa.

On his return to Rome, Cæsar was created dictator. Having made proper arrangements for the government of the city, he prepared to follow Pom'pey into Greece, where that general had collected an immense army from the principal states of the east. His inferiority by sea exposed Cæsar's soldiers to great dangers and hardships in their passage from Brundúsium to Dyrac'chium; but they were finally transported into western Greece, and a tedious campaign, in which both leaders showed themselves equally reluctant to hazard a general engagement. From Epirus both armies moved into Thessaly; and on the 30th of July (B. C. 48), the battle, which decided the fate of the world, was fought on the plains of Pharsália. Pom'pey's forces were completely routed, their camp stormed, and the bodies of fugitives that preserved a semblance of regularity in their retreat, forced to yield themselves prisoners. The unfortunate general himself made no effort to retrieve the fortune of the day: when his squadron of cavalry, on which he placed his principal reliance, were routed, he retired to his tent, whence he fled in disguise when the enemy began to storm his entrenchments.

From the field of battle Pom'pey fled to the Ægean sea, probably designing to renew the war in Syria; but finding the Asiatic states in-

clined to withdraw their allegiance when they heard of his defeat, he steered for Egypt, accompanied by his wife Cornélia, trusting he would receive protection from the young king of that country, with whose father he had been united by the strictest bonds of friendship. But the guardians of the young king resolved to murder the unfortunate fugitive, and intrusted the execution of the crime to Septim'ius, a Roman deserter, and Achil'las, the captain of the Egyptian guards. Lúcan has given a very vivid description of the catastrophe.

"Now in the boat defenceless Pompey sate,
Surrounded and abandoned to his fate;
Nor long they held him in their power abroad,
Ere every villain drew his ruthless sword:
The chief perceived their purpose soon, and spread
His Roman gown, with patience, o'er his head:
And when the cursed Achillas pierced his breast,
His rising indignation close repressed.
No sighs, no groans his dignity profaned,
No tears his still unsullied glory stained:
Unmoved and firm he fixed him on his seat,
And died—as when he lived and conquered—great."

At the sad sight of the Egyptian treachery, Cornélia's attendants, disregarding her lamentations, weighed anchor and stood out to sea. Pom'pey's body was flung into the waves, but it was dragged out in the night by one Cor'dus, who had been Pom'pey's quæstor in Cy'prus, and interred with the Roman rites of sepulture. Plutarch informs us that his ashes were subsequently removed to Italy, and deposited in a vault in his Alban villa, by Cornélia: but Lúcan asserts that they remained in Egypt, and remonstrates against the neglect shown to the remains of the hero.

Section VII.—*The Establishment of the Roman Empire.*

from B. C. 48 to B. C. 30.

The news of Pom'pey's death occasioned a fresh division among his fugitive friends. Many who were attached personally to him, and who held out in hopes of seeing him again at their head, determined to have recourse to the conqueror's clemency. Cornélia returned to Italy, well knowing that she had nothing to apprehend from Cæsar. Cáto, with Pom'pey's two sons, remained in Africa, and marched overland to join Várus and Júba, king of Numidia. We shall see immediately how they renewed the war, and exposed the victor to fresh fatigues and dangers.

Cæsar, immediately after his victory, commenced a close pursuit of his competitor; and did not hear of his death until his arrival in Alexandria, when messengers from the Egyptian king brought him Pom'pey's head and ring. Cæsar turned with disgust from these relics. He ordered the head to be inhumed with due honor; and to show his disapprobation of Egyptian treachery, he caused a temple to be erected near Pom'pey's tomb, dedicated to Nem'esis, the avenging power of cruel and inhuman deeds. His next task was to arrange the disputed succession of the crown; but, seduced by the charms of the princess Cleopátra, he showed an undue preference for her interests, and thus

induced the partisans of the young king Ptolemy to take up arms. As Cæsar had only brought a handful of men with him to Alexandria, he was exposed to great danger by this sudden burst of insurrection. A fierce battle was fought in the city. Cæsar succeeded in firing the Egyptian fleet; but unfortunately the flames extended to the celebrated public library, and the greater part of that magnificent collection of the most valuable works of ancient times perished in the flames. After the struggle had been protracted for some time, Cæsar at length received reinforcements from Syria, and soon triumphed over all his enemies. From Egypt he marched against Pharnáces, the unnatural son of the great Mithridátes, and subdued him so easily, that he described the campaign in three words, "VENI, VIDI, VICI"—(*I came, I saw, I conquered*).

Having thus settled the affairs of the East, he departed for Rome, having been created dictator in his absence; and found on his return the affairs of the city in the greatest confusion, caused by the quarrels between Antony and Dolabel'la. Cæsar with difficulty reconciled their differences, and began to make preparations for his war in Africa against Cáto and the sons of Pom'pey. On his arrival in Africa, he did not find victory quite so easy as he had anticipated; but at length he forced his enemies to a decisive engagement at Thap'sus, and gave them a complete overthrow. Thence he advanced to U'tica, which was garrisoned by the celebrated Cáto, whose hostility to Cæsar was inflexible. It was not, however, supported by his followers; and Cáto, seeing his friends resolved on yielding, committed suicide. The sons of Pom'pey made their escape into Spain, where they soon collected a formidable party.

Having concluded the African war in about five months, Cæsar returned to Rome (B. C. 45) to celebrate his triumph. The senate placed no bounds to their adulation, passing, in their excessive flattery, the limits even of ordinary decency. They decreed that in his triumph his chariot should be drawn by four white horses, like those of Júpiter and the Sun: they created him dictator for ten years, and inspector of morals for three years: they commanded his statue to be placed in the capitol, opposite to that of Júpiter, with the globe of the earth beneath his feet, and with the following inscription, "To Cæsar, the demigod."

During his residence at Rome, the dictator distinguished himself by several acts of clemency, more truly honorable to his character than all the titles conferred upon him by a servile senate. Having provided for the safety of the city during his absence, he hasted into Spain to terminate the civil war by crushing the relics of his opponents, who still made head under the sons of Pom'pey. Early in the spring (B. C. 44), the two armies met in the plains of Mun'da: the battle was arduous and well contested; Cæsar had never been exposed to such danger; even his veterans began to give ground. By leading, however, his favorite tenth legion to the charge, he restored the fortune of the field, and his exertions were crowned with a decisive victory, which put an end to the war. The elder of Pom'pey's sons was taken and slain; Sex'tus the younger escaped to the mountains of Celtibéria.

Having thus completely extinguished the last embers of the civil war, Cæsar contemplated several vast designs for extending and im-

proving the empire he had acquired. He resolved to revenge the defeat and death of Cras'sus on the Parthians; he undertook to rebuild and repair several towns in Italy, to drain the Pomptine marshes, to dig a new bed for the Tiber, to form a capacious harbor at Os'tia, and to cut a canal through the isthmus of Corinth. But these gigantic projects did not compensate, in the minds of his countrymen, for the criminal design he was understood to have formed of making himself king of Rome. Mark Antony, it is supposed at Cæsar's secret instigation, offered the dictator a regal crown at the feast of the Lupercália, which Cæsar, perceiving the displeasure of the people, deemed it prudent to refuse: Antony, however, had it entered in the public acts, "That by the command of the people, as consul, he had offered the name of king to Cæsar, perpetual dictator; and that Cæsar would not accept of it."

A large body of the senators, regarding Cæsar as a usurper, conspired for his destruction, among whom Brútus and Cas'sius were the most conspicuous. They resolved to put their plot into execution in the senate-house (March 15, B. C. 44); but they very narrowly escaped detection, from a variety of untoward accidents. As soon as Cæsar had taken his place, he was surrounded by the conspirators, one of whom, pretending to urge some request, held him down by his robe: this was the signal agreed upon; the other conspirators rushed upon him with their daggers, and he fell, pierced by twenty-three wounds, at the base of Pom'pey's statue. The murderers had no sooner finished their work, than Brútus, lifting up his dagger, congratulated the senate, and Cicéro in particular, on the recovery of liberty; but the senators, seized with astonishment, rushed from the capitol and hid themselves in their own houses. Tranquillity prevailed until the day of Cæsar's funeral, when Mark Antony, by a studied harangue, so inflamed the passions of the populace, that they stormed the senate-house, tore up its benches to make a funeral pile for the body, and raised such a conflagration that several houses were entirely consumed. This was a clear warning to the conspirators, who immediately quitted Rome, and prepared to defend themselves by force of arms.

Mark Antony long deceived the conspirators by an appearance of moderation, and an affected anxiety to procure an act of amnesty; but when joined by Octávius Cæsar, the nephew and heir of the murdered dictator, he threw off the mask, and proposed extraordinary honors to the memory of Cæsar, with a religious supplication to him as a divinity. Brútus and Cas'sius at length discovering that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were daily growing more desperate, left Italy, and sought refuge in the East. Octávius Cæsar, becoming jealous of Antony, joined the party of the senate; and Antony, retiring into Cisalpine Gaul, levied an army of veterans, and came to an engagement with the armies of the republic, in which both the consuls were slain. Antony, defeated in the field, fled to Lep'idus in Spain: and Octávius Cæsar, whom the death of the consuls had placed at the head of the army, entered secretly into a correspondence with the enemies of the senate. Their mutual interests led to the formation of a league between Octávius, Lep'idus, and Antony, called the second triumvirate (November 27, B. C. 43), and their confederacy was cemented

by the blood of the noblest citizens of Rome, shed in a proscription more ruthless and sanguinary than those of Márius and Syl'la. The most illustrious of the victims was the celebrated Cicéro, whose severe invectives against Antony had procured him the relentless hatred of the triumvir. Octávius is said to have hesitated long before consenting to the sacrifice of the greatest orator that Rome ever produced, and the most patriotic of her recent statesmen; but at length he permitted the fatal consent to be extorted, and Cicéro fell a victim to a band of assassins, headed by a tribune whom he had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause.

The triumvirs having taken vengeance on their enemies in Italy, began to prepare for carrying on war against Brútus and Cas'sius. Macedonia became the theatre of the new civil war: the republicans at first seemed destined to conquer; they appeared to possess superior talents and greater forces by land and sea. But in the double battle at Philip'pi, fortune rather than talent gave the victory to the triumvirs; and Cas'sius destroyed himself after the first contest, and Brútus after the second (B. C. 42). Antony made a cruel use of his victory, putting to death his political opponents without mercy. Octávius emulated the crimes of his colleague, and treated the most illustrious of his prisoners with barbarity and abusive language.

After his victory Antony visited Greece, where he was received with the most refined flattery. Thence he passed into Asia, where all the sovereigns of the East came to offer him homage; but he was most gratified by a visit from the celebrated Cleopátra, who rendered the voluptuous triumvir a captive to her charms. Resigning all his plans of war against the Parthians, he followed this celebrated beauty into Egypt, and in her company neglected all care of public affairs. Octávius Cæsar, on the other hand, proceeded to Italy, and took the most efficacious means for securing the permanence of his power. Lucius the brother, and Ful'via the wife of Antony, excited a new war against Octávius; but they were soon defeated, and the capture of their principal stronghold, Perúsia (B. C. 41), rendered Cæsar's nephew master of Italy, and almost the recognised heir of his uncle's power.

Antony was still immersed in pleasure at Alexandria, when he received the account of his brother's defeat, and the ruin of his party in Italy; at the same time he heard that Octávius had made himself master of both Gauls, and had got all the legions into his hands that were quartered in those districts. He was roused by these tidings from his lethargy, and immediately proceeded toward Italy; but blaming Ful'via for all his disasters, he treated her with so much contempt, that she died of a broken heart. This circumstance paved the way to a reconciliation; Antony married Octávia, the half-sister of his rival, and a new division was made of the Roman empire. Sex'tus Pom'pey, who during the troubles had become powerful by sea, was included in the new arrangements, and obtained the possession of the Peloponnésus and several important islands.

But the mutual jealousies of the triumvirs rendered peace of short duration. Octávius drove Pom'pey from Sicily, and compelled him to seek refuge in the East, where he was put to death by one of Antony's lieutenants; and about the same time he deprived Lep'idus of all his

power, and took possession of his dominions. Antony, while his rival was thus acquiring strength, degraded himself by an unsuccessful war against the Parthians; after which he returned to Alexandria, and lost all regard to his character or his interest in the company of Cleopátra. Octávia went to the East, hoping to withdraw her husband from the fascinating siren; but the infatuated triumvir refused to see her, and sent her orders to return home. He completed this insult by sending her a bill of divorce, and professing a previous marriage with Cleopátra. Preparations for war were instantly made on both sides; but Antony's debauchery, and slavery to the caprices of an abandoned woman, disgusted his best friends, and many of them deserting him brought such an account of his extravagance to Rome, that the indignant citizens passed a decree for deposing him from the consulship.

The great rivals were soon in readiness for action. Antony had the most numerous forces; but Octávius had the advantage of a more disciplined army, and, at least in appearance, a better cause. Their fleets and armies were soon assembled at the opposite sides of the gulf of Ambrácia, where they remained for several months without coming to a decisive engagement. At length, Antony, instigated by Cleopátra, formed the fatal resolution of deciding the contest by a naval battle. The fleets met off the promontory of Ac'tium (September 2, B. C. 31), while the hostile armies, drawn up on the shore, were simple spectators of the battle. For a long time success was doubtful; until Cleopátra, wearied with expectation, and overcome with fear, unexpectedly tacked about, and fled toward the Peloponnesus with the Egyptian squadron of sixty sail; and, what is more surprising, Antony himself, now regardless of his honor, fled after her, abandoning his men who so generously exposed their lives for his interest. The battle, notwithstanding, continued till five in the evening, when Antony's forces were partly constrained to submit by the great conduct of Agrip'pa, and partly persuaded by the liberal promises of Octávius. The army of Antony could not believe in the flight of their general, and held out for seven days in expectation of his returning to join them; but hearing no tidings of him, and being deserted by their allies, they hasted to make terms with the conqueror.

Antony and Cleopátra continued their flight to Egypt, where the queen displayed more courage and enterprising spirit than her lover. She caused some of her galleys to be carried over the isthmus (of Suez) into the Red sea, proposing to save herself, with her treasures, in an unknown world; but the Arabians having burned her vessels, she was forced to abandon a design so full of difficulties, and she therefore commenced fortifying the avenues of her kingdom, and making preparations for war. She also solicited foreign assistance, addressing herself to all the princes in the alliance of Antony. While Cleopátra was thus employed, Antony exhibited the most lamentable weakness: at first he affected to imitate Tímon the misanthrope, and shut himself up without either friends or domestics; but his natural temper did not allow him to remain long in this state, and quitting his cell, he gave himself up to feasting and every kind of extravagance.

In the meantime, the forces of Octávius advanced on each side of Egypt. Cornélius Gal'lus took possession of Paretónium, which was the

key of Egypt on the west side ; and Antony, who speeded with his fleet and army to wrest it out of his hands, was forced to retire with great loss, especially of his ships. Pelúsium, the eastern security of the kingdom, was surrendered to Octávius at the first summons : it was reported that Seleúcus the governor betrayed the place by Cleopátra's orders ; but she, to clear herself from such an imputation, delivered up his wife and children into Antony's hands. Cæsar advanced to besiege Alexandria : Antony made an effort to impede his march, but he was abandoned by his soldiers ; and finding he could not die with glory in the field, he returned to Alexandria, overcome with rage and fury, running and crying out, " that Cleopátra had betrayed him, when he had ruined all his fortunes for her sake alone." The queen, hearing his violent transports, retired in terror to a monument she had erected, secured the doors, and caused a report to be spread of her death. Upon this news, Antony attempted to commit suicide, and inflicted on himself a mortal wound : hearing, however, in the midst of his agonies, that Cleopátra still lived he caused himself to be transported to her monument, and expired in her presence.

Cleopátra seems to have formed some hope of obtaining the same influence over Octávius Cæsar that she had exercised over Antony ; but finding the conqueror insensible to her charms, and having received secret information that he reserved her to adorn his triumph, she bribed a countryman to convey an asp to her in a basket of figs, and applied the venomous creature to her arm, and thus died. Egypt was then reduced into the form of a Roman province, and its immense riches transported to Rome, which enabled Octávius to pay all he owed to his soldiers. On his return to Rome, the senate saluted him by the honorable name of Augus'tus, and by a unanimous vote conceded to him the entire authority of the state.

The era of the Roman empire is usually dated from Jan. 1st, B. C. 28. The title of Augus'tus was at first only personal, and did not convey any idea of sovereignty : several of the imperial family took it who never were emperors, such as German'icus. The female line, who had not the least shadow of sovereignty with the Romans, had it as Antónia Major ; and thus Liv'ia first took the name of Augusta when she was adopted, by her husband's will, into the Julian family. After the time of Dioclésian it was changed into Sem'per Augus'tus ; and this title was, in modern times, assumed by the emperors of Germany and Austria. It may appear surprising that the Romans made no vigorous effort to recover their republican constitution ; but, in truth, Roman liberty was destroyed when the Grac'chi were murdered : all the subsequent civil dissensions were contests for power between different sections of the oligarchy ; and the people, weary of the oppression of the aristocracy, gladly sought shelter from the tyranny of the nobles in the despotic sway of a single master.

CHAPTER XVI.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Section I.—*European Countries.—Spain.*

In general the boundaries of the Roman empire may be described as the great western ocean, the rivers Rhine and Danube in Europe, the chain of Mount Caucasus, the river Euphrátes and the Syrian deserts in Asia, and the sandy deserts of Africa. It thus included the fairest portions of the known world surrounding the Mediterranean sea.

Its most western province was the Spanish peninsula, whose boundaries, being fixed by nature, continue unvaried. This great country, usually called Iberia by the Greeks, either from a colony of Iberians, or from the river Iberus (*Ebro*), was known to the Romans by the names Hispania or Hesperia. It was usually divided into three great portions, Lusitania, Bætica or Hispania Ulterior, and Tarraconensis or Hispania Citerior.

The chief islands were the major and minor Baleáres (*Majorca* and *Minorca*), whose inhabitants were celebrated for their skill as slingers and archers.

Section II.—*Transalpine Gaul.*

Ancient Gaul was bounded on the north and south by the sea, on the west by the Pyrenees, and on the east by the rivers Rhine and Var. It was divided into three great sections, Bel'gia, Aquitánia, and Gal'lia Própria; in which the language, manners, and customs, differed considerably.

The religion of the ancient Gauls, like that of the ancient Britons, was druidical; they worshipped a supreme deity called Hésus, or Æsar, to whom they believed the oak to be sacred, especially if the parasitical plant called mistletoe were found growing upon it. Their rites were very sanguinary: human victims were sacrificed in their groves and circles of stone; and it is said that their nobles occasionally volunteered to offer themselves upon the national altars. Temples were not erected in Gaul, until after its conquest by the Romans; but long before that period the worship of a crowd of inferior deities had been introduced.

The several Gallic tribes were usually independent of each other; but on great occasions a general council of the nation was summoned,

especially when preparations were made for any of the great migrations which proved so calamitous to Greece and Italy. Their superior valor rendered these tribes very formidable to all the southern nations; it was commonly said, that the Romans fought with others for conquest, but with the Gauls for actual existence. But from the time of the subjugation of their country by Julius Cæsar, their valor seemed to have disappeared together with their liberty; they never revolted, except when the extortions of their rulers became insupportable; and their efforts were neither vigorous nor well-directed. In no province did Roman civilization produce greater effects than in Gaul; many public works of stupendous size and immense utility were constructed; roads were constructed and paved with stone; durable bridges were built, and aqueducts formed to supply the cities with water. Remains of these mighty works are still to be found, and they can not be viewed without wonder and admiration.

Section III.—*Britain.*

Though Britain was not reduced to the form of a Roman province until long after the time of Julius Cæsar, yet, as that general brought it nominally under subjection, it will be better to describe its ancient state here than to interrupt the history of the empire in a subsequent chapter. The name of Britain was originally given to the cluster of islands in the Atlantic now called British, the largest of which bore the name of Albion. The southern part of Albion, or England, was originally colonized from Gaul; the tribes that inhabited the east and north are said to have been of German descent; and there is a constant tradition, that the Scots in the northwest came originally from Ireland.

That part of Britain now included in the kingdom of England and principality of Wales, was anciently divided among seventeen tribes, to whom probably some of inferior note were subject.

The principality of Wales, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the Severn, was inhabited, in the Roman times, by the Silúres, the Dem'etæ, and the Ordovíces. The last-named tribe possessed North Wales, and long bade defiance to the Roman power in their mountain fastnesses. The island of Móna (*Anglesey*), celebrated as the ancient seat of the Druids, belonged to the Ordovíces.

The inhabitants of the country beyond the Firths of Solway and the Forth were named M'etæ and Caledónii, but, in a later age, the Picts and Scots. Juvérna, or Hiber'nia (*Ireland*), was known only by name to the Romans.

Three walls, strengthened by castles, were successively raised to check the incursions of the Picts and Scots by the emperors Adrian, Antoninus, and Severus. The last was the most important, according to Camden, who seems to have traced it with great care. It began at Blatobul'gium (*Bulness*), on the Irish sea, kept along the side of Solway Firth, by Burgh-upon-sands, to Lugoval'lum (*Carlisle*), where it passed the Itúna (*Eden*). Thence it was carried on over the little rivers Cambeck, Living, and Poltrose, into the Northumbrian hills, along which it passed to the German ocean. This wall was about eight feet thick, and was protected by a ditch twelve yards broad.

When Britain was first visited by the Romans, the inhabitants had made considerable advances in civilization. Their country was well peopled and stocked with cattle; their houses were as good as those of the Gauls, and they used iron and copper plates for money. They made little use of clothes, instead of which they painted and tattooed their skins. In war they made use of chariots, with sharp blades fixed to the axle-trees, which they drove at full speed against the hostile ranks. Their chief traffic was with the Gauls and the Phœnicians, who came to the Cassiter'ides (*Scilly islands*), for tin. Little is known respecting their religion, except that they were held in mental thraldom by a caste of priests named Druids, and that they were guilty of offering human sacrifices to their gods. Each tribe had its own king; but in cases of emergency, a common chief was elected, who possessed, however, little more than a nominal authority. The most singular monument of the Druids remaining is Stonehenge in Wiltshire, a circular edifice of enormous stones, which probably was the national temple. Britain was finally abandoned by the Romans in the early part of the fifth century.

Section IV.—*The Northern Provinces of the Empire.*

Italy, Greece, Sicily, Macedon, &c., having been already described in former chapters, we shall conclude the account of the Roman empire in Europe by a notice of the countries south of the Danube, which were formed into provinces during the reign of Augus'tus Cæsar.

Vindelic'ia was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the east by the Æ'nus (*Inn*), on the west by Helvétia (*Switzerland*), and on the south by Rhæ'tia: it derived its name from the river Vindo (the *Wert*). Its chief tribes were the Vindelic'ii and Brigan'tii. Two others are mentioned by Horace in his ode celebrating the conquest of this country by Tibérius and Drúsus, addressed to Augus'tus:—

> "Of late the Vindelicians knew
> Thy skill in arms, and felt thy sword,
> When Drusus the *Genanni* slew,
> And *Brenni* swift, a lawless horde.
> The towers which covered all around
> The rugged Alps' enormous height,
> By him were levelled with the ground,
> And more than once confessed his might."

Their principal towns were Augus'ta Vindelícorum (*Augsburgh*) and Brigan'tia (*Bregenz*), neither of which were remarkable in ancient history. The principal rivers were the Védo and the Ly'cus (*Lech*).

Rhæ'tia nearly coincided with the country now called the territory of the Grisons; it had Vindelic'ia on the north, the Æ'nus (*Inn*) on the east, the chain of the Alps from Lacus Verbánus (*Lago Maggiore*) to Lácus Brigantínus (*Lake of Constance*) on the south, and Helvétia on the west. The principal tribe were the Rhæ'ti, whom some have identified with the Raséna or ancient Etrurians. They were a brave, but cruel people; and when they invaded Italy in the reign of Augus'tus Cæsar, their ravages exceeded those that had been in earlier times perpetrated by the Gauls.

The chief towns were Cúria (*Chur*), which became the capital of the

province in the reign of the emperor Adrian, Veldidéna (*Wilden*), and Tridentum (*Trent*).

Nor'icum, formerly a kingdom, but afterward a Roman province, extended between the Danube and the Alpes Noriæ in the neighborhood of Trent from the Æ'nus (*Inn*) to Mons Cétius (*Kahlenberg*), and consequently included a great portion of modern Austria, the archbishopric of Saltzburgh, and all Styria and Carinthia. Its southern boundaries were the Julian Alps and the Sávus (*Save*). Its chief cities were, in Nor'icum Rípense, or the part bordering on the Danube, Jovavum or Jovávia (*Saltzburgh*), Boidúrum (*Innstadt*), so named from the Boíi, the most important of the Noric tribes; Lentia (*Lenz*) and Lauríacum (*Lorch*). In the interior, or Norícum Mediterráneum, we find Pons Æ'ni (*Innspruck*), Vis'celli (*Weltz*), Gráviacii (*Gurch*), Agun'tum (*Innichen*), Teur'nia (*Villach*), and Sol'va, once the capital of the country, but long since buried in its ruins.

Pannónia was divided into Superior and Inferior. The former had the Danube on the east and north, the Ar'rabo (*Raab*) on the west, and the chain of Mons Cétius (*Kahlenberg*) on the south. It consequently comprehended Carniola, Croatia, Windesch, Mark, and part of Austria. Pannónia Inférior had the Ar'rabo on the north, the Danube on the east, and the Sávus (*Save*) on the south. The chief cities were Seges'ta or Sescia (*Siseck*) on the Save; Amóna (*Unterlaubach*), a Roman colony; Naupor'tum (*Oberlaubach*), upon the river Naupor'tur (*Laubach*); Vindoniána or Vindebóna (*Vienna*), obscure in ancient times, but now the capital of the Austrian empire, Scaraban'tia (*Scarbing*); Mur'sa (*Esseg*); Sir'mium (*Sirmich*), the ancient metropolis of Pannónia on the Save; and Taurúnum (*Belgrade*), an important frontier fortress both in ancient and modern times.

Mœ'sia was the name given to the country between the conflux of the Save and Danube and the Euxine sea. It was divided into two unequal portions, Supérior and Inférior. Mœ'sia Supérior was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the south by the Scordian mountains, on the west by Pannónia, and on the east by the river Cébrus (*Ischia*). Its chief cities were Singidúnum (*Semlin*) and Nais'sus (*Nissa*). This province comprehended the countries now called Bosnia and Servia.

Mœ'sia Inférior, nearly coinciding with the modern Bulgaria, was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by the Cébrus, on the south by Mount Hæmus (*the Balkan*), and on the east by the Euxine sea. Its chief cities were Odes'sus (*Varna*) and Tómi (*Temeswar*).

The part of lower Mœ'sia bordering on the Euxine was frequently named Pon'tus; and hence, Tómi, the place of the poet Ovid's exile, is called a city of Pon'tus, though it did not belong to the kingdom of that name. Tómi is said to have derived its name from Medea's having cut her brother Absyr'tus to pieces in that place,* in order that her father's pursuit of her might be delayed, while he gathered the scattered limbs of his child. To this Ovid alludes in a well-known distich:—

> "Tómi its name from horrid murder bore,
> For there a brother's limbs a sister tore."

* From τέμνω, *to cut*.

North of the Danube was the province of Dácia, annexed to the Roman empire in the reign of Trajan. Some geographers describe it loosely as including all the country between the Borys'thenes (*Dnieper*) and the Dan'ube; but its proper boundaries were Mon'tes Carp'atii (*the Krapack chain*) on the north, the Tibis'cus (*Theiss*) on the west, the Hier'asus (*Pruth*) on the east, and the Danube on the south. It consequently included Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The inhabitants were called Gétæ by the Greeks, and Dáci by the Romans: they possessed no city of importance.

Thrace was long permitted to retain its own sovereigns, on the condition of acknowledging the supremacy of the Romans; but in the reign of the Emperor Claudian it was reduced to the form of a province. It was nearly enclosed by the chain of Mount Hæ'mus and the sea. The principal cities of Thrace were the Greek colonies, which have already been noticed in a preceding chapter.

Il'lyricum is a name sometimes given to all the countries south of the Danube, but it is properly applied only to the strip of land on the north-east coast of the Adriatic, from the Rhætian Alps to the river Drínus (*Drino*), and easterly to the Savus (*Save*). Its inhabitants were remarkable for their skill in naval architecture; and infamous for their inveterate attachment to piracy. Their chief cities were Salóna, Epidaúrus (*Ragusa*), and Scódra (*Scutari*).

Section V.—*Asiatic and African Provinces.*

The Roman provinces in Anatolia were: 1, Asia, as the Romans with proud anticipations named the first cession of country made to them east of the Ægean: 2, Bithynia, together with Paphlagónia and part of Pon'tus: and 3, Cilicia, with Pisid'ia. These provinces were in general the most tranquil portion of the empire; and the most peaceful, if not the most happy period, in the history of Asia Minor, was that during which it remained subject to Rome. No greater proof can be given of the wealth to which individuals attained, than that the sepulchres of private persons, like that of Icesíus, discovered by Mr. Ainsworth, rivalled those of the ancient Pontic kings. The various divisions of Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Commagene, for the purpose of government, can not easily be enumerated. At first, several states were permitted to retain a qualified independence; but before the close of the first century of the Christian era, they were all absorbed in the empire. Arménia and Mesopotámia became provinces in the reign of Trajan, and part of Arabia paid nominal allegiance to that emperor; but these acquisitions were abandoned in the reign of his successor.

The African provinces were: 1, Egypt, which became a province after the battle of Actium: 2, Cyrenáica, which soon followed the fate of Egypt; Creté was annexed to this government: 3, Numid'ia and Africa Proper, which were finally subdued by Julius Cæsar: and, 4, Mauretánia, whose king was dethroned A. D. 41, and the country divided into two provinces, separated by the river Muluch'a (*Mahala*), called Cæsarien'sis and Tingitánia. The chief towns in Mauretánia Cæsarien'sis, were Igil'gilis (*Zezeli*), Sal'dæ (*Delluz*), Iom'nium (*Algiers*), Rususcúcum (*Koleah*), Cæsaréa (*Teunez*), and Síga (*Sigale*). The most

remarkable tribe was the Massæsy'li, on the river Muluch'a, near the seacoast.

Mauretánia Tingitánia derived its name from its chief city Tin'gis (*Tangiers*), on the Frétum Gaditánum (*Straits of Gibraltar*). It contained also the towns and ports of Busadir (*Melilla*), and Ab'yla (*Ceuta*), in the Mediterranean. There were besides, on the Atlantic ocean, Zílis, or Júlia Constantína (*Arzillo*); Ban'asa Valen'tia (*Mehedund*), and Sála (*Sallee*): but these were scarcely known to the Romans until a very late period of the empire. The Gætulians, first made known to the Romans during the Jugurthine war, never were subdued by their armies; but in later ages paid homage to the proconsul or præfect of Africa.

Though the Romans had thus succeeded in Asia to the great commercial marts of the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Egyptians, and had acquired in Africa the ancient stations of the Carthaginians, they made little or no effort to encourage traffic. They do not seem to have opened a single new route for trade; and under their government many of the ancient highways of commerce, particularly in Asia, fell into disuse. One principal cause of this was, the distance of Rome from the chief trading stations in the eastern seas, by which the attention of the ruling powers was withdrawn from the great abuses that prevailed in the provincial administration and colonial government. This appears evident from the vast improvement in the commerce between Europe and Asia, which took place immediately after the seat of government was transferred from Rome to Byzantium (*Constantinople*); and, however some politicians may be disposed to blame the division of the empire, a slight glance at the nations that pressed on the frontiers of the Roman dominions will show that the interests and dangers of the eastern and western empires were so very different, that the course of policy which suited the one would be injurious to the other.

Section VI.—*The Principal Nations on the Frontiers of the Empire.*

Germany was a name loosely given by the Romans to all the countries north of the Rhine and Danube. Sarmátia, in as uncertain a sense, was applied to the countries now called Poland and Lithuania; while the greater part of the vast dominions of Russia in Europe and Asia were included under the general name of Scythia, and were almost wholly unknown in ancient times. In the northwest of Europe the countries about the Línus Codánus (*Baltic sea*), though probably visited in very ancient times by the enterprising Phœnicians, remained unvisited, or at least unexplored, by the Romans, who were never remarkable for their zeal in maritime discovery. Indeed, they seem to have regarded Scandinávia, or Scan'dia (*Sweden*), Nerígon (*Norway*), and Erin'gia, or Furnin'gia (*Finland*), as isles of the German ocean. When Britain was circumnavigated, the Or'cades (*Orkney islands*) were discovered; but, previous to that time, some indistinct account had been received of a distant island, named Thúle, which some believe to have been one of the Zetland cluster, and others Iceland.

The Germans took their name from their own language, *Ghar-mans*, signifying warlike men, or warriors; for, like most savage tribes, they principally prided themselves on their military virtues. They were

called in the earliest ages Cim'bri and Teutónes by the Romans; but it is not easy to determine whether these may not have been very different races, accidentally united in a common migration. The Cim'bri gave their name to the Chersonésus Cim'brica (*Jutland*); from that of the Teutónes the modern names Teutschen and Dutch have manifestly been derived. A confederation of several tribes, formed in the third century, took the name of Alleman'ni, or All-mans, that is, complete men, from which the French of the present day call Germany *Allemagne*.

It would be impossible, within our limits, to enumerate all the tribes of ancient Germany, but a few of the principal may be noticed. On the east bank of the Al'bis (*Elbe*), between that river and the Vistula, were the Cim'bri and Saxónes, of whom the former were the most remarkable in ancient times, and the latter during the middle ages. West of the Al'bis were the upper and lower Chaúci, divided from each other by the Visurgis (*Weser*); and the Fris'ii, separated from the Chaúci by the river Amásia (*Erus*), whose territory still preserves the name of Friesland. The Marcoman'ni anciently possessed all the country between the sources of the Rhénus (*Rhine*) and the Is'ter, or Danúbius (*Danube*): they afterward fixed themselves in Bohemia and Moravia, and also in part of Gaul, driving the Boii before them.

On this side of the Rhine, between that river and the Mósa (*Maese*), were the U'bii, who were invited by Agrip'pa to this country during the reign of Augus'tus. To commemorate this migration they named their capital Colonia Agrip'pina (*Cologne*), in honor of their patron. Higher up the Rhine, and beyond the Mosella (*Moselle*) were the Tréviri, whose chief city was Augústa Trevirórum (*Triers*), and some minor tribes, possessing the city of Argentorátum, or Argentínæ (*Strasburgh*). The Hercynian forests and mountains, by which the Romans seem to have understood all the unexplored part of eastern Germany, appear to have been the original abode of the Quádi, the Suévi, and the Hermandúri, who became very formidable to the Romans in the age of Antonines. The original seat of the Longobar'di, celebrated in Italy under the name of Lombards, was the upper part of the Elbe: they are said to have derived their national appellation from their "long barts," or spears; but others think that they were so called from the length of their beards, or from having been formed by a coalition of the Lingónes and Bar'di. Near the mouth of the Vistula were the Gep'idæ; and it is supposed that the first seat of the warlike Burgundians was on the same river; but they, as well as the Semnónes, had pushed forward to the Elbe in the first century of the Christian era. The Æs'tui, celebrated for their trade in amber, resided on the coasts of the Baltic sea.

Beside the Hercynian forest already mentioned, Germany contained Sylva Melibœ'a (*the Hartz*), Sylva Barcénia (*the Black Forest*), Sylva Súdeta (*the Thuringian Forest*), and Sylva Cæ'sia (*Forest of Teutoberg*). Most of the rivers have been already mentioned; but we must notice the northern embouchure of the Rhine, called Flávum Os'tium (*Vlie*), in the territory of the Batavians; the I'sela (*Isel*), separating the Bructéri from the Fris'ii; the Lúpias (*Lippe*), in the territory of the Márs; and the Viádrus (*Oder*), near whose source many authors place the original habitation of the Burgundians.

In considering the state of ancient Germany, it must be borne in mind that the tribes frequently migrated from one quarter to another, especially after the second century of our era, and that the name of a principal tribe, such as that of the Suévi, was frequently given to a large confederation. This is particularly the case with the Franks (*free men*), who were not so much a tribe, as a union of several hordes determined to maintain their national independence.

The religion of the ancient Germans seems to have resembled that of the Gauls, except that it was rather more sanguinary, and that greater regard was paid to oracles and old prophetesses. Their chief deity was Odin, or Woden, their god of war, whose name is preserved in our Woden's day, or Wednesday. Their notion of future happiness was to sit for ever in Odin's presence, quaffing beer from the sculls of their enemies. This opinion is forcibly expressed in the death-song which Lodbrog sings for himself in the Edda:—

"With flashing swords our might we proved;
But this my hearty laughter moved,
That bliss eternal shall be mine
Where the halls of Odin shine;
To him, great sire, my deeds are known,
For me he has prepared a throne,
Where richest ale incessant flows
In the hollow sculls of foes.
The brave man never shrinks at death,
Gladly I resign my breath;
No regrets my soul appal
As I haste to Odin's hall."

This is manifestly the creed of a savage race of warriors, and such all the Germans were; they took no pleasure but in military weapons; they never attended any festival or public assembly without arms; and so sacred was the sword among them, that their most solemn oath was taken by kissing its naked blade.

In Asia, the Roman empire was bounded by the wild tribes of the Caucasus, and the kingdoms of Armenia and Parthia. On the south it was limited by the unconquered Arabs, who defied every effort made to reduce them to obedience.

India became known to the Romans after the conquest of Egypt; and some efforts were made to establish an extensive commerce with that empire by the route of the Red sea, in the reigns of the later emperors. It was divided into India Proper, or India at this side of the Ganges, whose western coast (*Malabar*) appears to have been pretty well known; and India beyond the Ganges, which included the Burman empire and the peninsula of Malacca. The extreme south of the Indian peninsula, called Régio Pandiónis (*the Carnatic*), was said to have been the seat of a powerful and enlightened dynasty, whose capital was Mádura. Malacca was known as the Chersonésus Aúrea (*golden peninsula*); the island of Ceylon was called Taprobáne or Sal'ice, and that of Sumatra, Labódii or Hor'dei.

The frontier races of the empire in Africa have been mentioned in the preceding section.

Section VII.—*Topography of the City of Rome.*

Rome was originally built in a square form, whence it is called Roma Quadráta, on the Palatine hill. When the city was founded, and when it was at any subsequent period enlarged, the first care was to mark out the Pomœ'rium, a consecrated space round the walls of the city on which it was unlawful to erect any edifice. This custom manifestly arose from the necessity of preventing besiegers from finding shelter near the fortifications; and in this, as in a thousand other instances, the early legislators gave utility the sanction of superstition. A set form was prescribed for marking the Pomœ'rium; a bullock and heifer were yoked to a bronze or copper ploughshare, and a furrow was drawn marking the course of the future wall. The plough was so guided that all the sods fell to the inside, and if any went in an opposite direction, care was taken that they should be turned into the proper way. As the plough was sacred, it would have been profanation if anything impure passed over the ground which it had once touched; but as things clean and unclean must necessarily pass into a city, when the plough came to a place where the builders designed to place a gate, it was taken up, and carried to the spot where the wall was resumed. Hence the Latins named a gate *porta*, from the verb *portare*, to carry. The comitium, or place of public assembly, was next consecrated: the most remarkable part of this ceremony was the preparation of a vault, named *mundus*, in which were deposited the first-fruits of all things used to support life, and a portion of each colonist's native earth. To this structure many superstitious notions were attached; it was supposed to be the entrance to the invisible world; and it was opened three days in the year, with many solemn forms, to admit the spirits of the deceased.

It is probable that the first extension of the Pomœ'rium was occasioned by enclosing the Quirinal hill for the Sabines, when, under Tátius, they united themselves to the people of Rom'ulus. The next addition was the Cœlian hill, on which the followers of Cœ'les Viben'na, whoever that Etruscan adventurer may have been, erected their habitation. Tul'lus Hos'tilius enclosed the Viminal hill after the destruction of Al'ba, to which An'cus Mar'tius added the Aventine, which was regarded as the peculiar habitation of the plebeians. In the reign of the first Tar'quin, Rome was increased by the Esquiline and Capitoline; these completed the number of the seven hills for which the city was celebrated. At a much later period the Pincian and Vatican mounts were added; and these, with the Janic'ulum on the north bank of the Tiber, made the number ten.

An'cus Mar'tius was the first who fortified the city with outworks, especially by raising a castle and garrison on the Janic'ulum, which was connected with Rome by a wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*). But the elder Tar'quin was the first who beautified his capital with splendid buildings, not only ornamental, but useful. To him the great sewer by which the city was drained, whose vast proportions still claim admiration, is generally attributed.

Though Rome began to be more regularly built when it was restored after the departure of the Gauls, and many splendid edifices,

both public and private, were erected, when wealth was so vastly increased as it must have been after the conquest of Carthage and western Asia; it could scarcely be called a splendid city before the reign of Augus'tus, who boasted that "he found it brick, and left it marble." When Corinth was subdued by Mum'mius, so little were the Romans acquainted with the fine arts, that many precious pieces of statuary were destroyed for the sake of their materials; but from that time taste was improved by a more constant intercourse with the Greeks, especially when Athens became the university of the empire. But the long civil wars between the aristocratic and democratic factions prevented the development of these improvements, until the battle of Ac'tium gave Rome tranquillity and a master. In the days of its greatest prosperity the circumference of Rome, enclosed by walls, was about twenty miles; but there were also very extensive suburbs. The city had thirty gates, some authors say more, of which the most remarkable were the Tergeminal, the Carmental, the Triumphal, and the Naval; to which we may add the Capena, near the great aqueduct.

The most remarkable buildings were the amphitheatres, the Capitol with its temples, the senate-house, and the forum.

The first amphitheatre was the Cir'cus Max'imus, erected by Tarquinius Priscus; but so enlarged by subsequent additions, that it was capable of containing two hundred thousand spectators. In the arena were exhibited the cruel fights of gladiators, in which the Romans took a pleasure equally infamous and extravagant, together with races, exhibitions of strange animals, and combats of wild beasts. A still larger edifice was erected for the same purpose in the reign of Vespásian, whose massive ruins are called the Colos'seum. Theatres, public baths, and buildings for the exhibition of naumachiæ, or naval combats, were erected by the emperors, who seemed anxious to compensate the people for the loss of their liberty by the magnificence of their public shows and entertainments.

The Capitol was commenced on the Saturnian hill, which received the name Capitoline from a human head being found by the laborers digging the foundation, in the reign of Tarquin'ius Pris'cus. It was erected on the northern summit of the hill; the rocky eminence to the south was called the Tarpeian cliff, to commemorate the treason of Tarpeía; and public criminals were frequently executed by being precipitated from its peak. The temple of Jupiter Capitolínus was usually regarded as the national sanctuary of the Romans: it was begun by Tarquin'ius Pris'cus, and finished by Tarquin'ius Super'bus, and it was almost yearly improved by the rich presents that successful generals and foreign princes, eager to conciliate the Romans, offered as votive gifts. Augus'tus alone presented gold and jewels exceeding five thousand pounds in value. During the civil wars between Marius and Sylla this temple was burnt to the ground; but it was rebuilt with greater splendor; and Cicero informs us, that the statue of Jupiter Capitolínus was erected on its pedestal at the very time that the conspiracy of Cat'iline was discovered. It was destroyed twice again during the reigns of Vespásian and Domitian, but was restored each time with additional splendor. The Sibylline books, and other oracles, supposed to contain important predictions respecting the fate of the city,

were preserved in the sanctuary, under the charge of fifteen persons of the highest rank, called the Quindecémviri. Here, also, were preserved the chronological archives of the city. A nail was annually driven into the temple by the chief magistrate; and this curious custom is supposed to have been the first rude mode of marking the lapse of time.

There were several other temples on this hill, the most remarkable of which was that of Jupiter Feret'rius, erected by Rom'ulus where the *spolia opíma* were deposited. The *spolia opíma* were the trophies presented by a Roman general who had slain the leader of the enemy with his own hand; they were only thrice offered, by Rom'ulus, Cossus, and Marcellus. From the *feret'rum*, or bier, on which these spoils were borne to the temple, the deity was called Feret'rius.

The Capitol was the citadel of Rome, except in the reign of Núma, when the Quir'inal was chosen as the chief place of strength. This circumstance tends greatly to confirm Niebuhr's theory, that an ancient Sabine town, named Quir'ium, stood on that hill, which modern writers confounded with Cures: perhaps the double-faced Janus, whose temple was closed during peace, was the symbol of the united cities, and the opening of the temple gates was to enable the inhabitants of the one in time of war to assist the other.

In the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was the forum, or place of public assembly and great market. It was surrounded with temples, halls for the administration of justice, called *basilicæ*, and public offices; it was also adorned with statues erected in honor of eminent warriors and statesmen, and with various trophies from conquered nations. Among these memorials of conquest were several *rostra*, or prows of ships taken at Antium, which were used to ornament the pulpits from which the magistrates and public orators harangued the general assemblies of the people: from this custom the phrase "to mount the rostrum" originated. In the middle of the forum was a drained marsh, called the Curtian lake, to which a singular legend was attached. Traditions recorded that an immense chasm had suddenly opened in this place, which the augurs declared could not be closed until the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it. Cur'tius, a Roman knight, armed and mounted, leaped into the yawning pit, declaring that nothing was more valuable than courage and patriotism; after which it is added that the fissure closed. A much more probable account is, that the place derived its name from a Sabine general named Cur'tius, smothered there while the place was as yet a swamp.

In the forum was the celebrated temple of Jánus, built entirely of bronze, supposed to have been erected during the reign of Núma. Its gates were only closed three times in eight centuries, so incessant were the wars in which the Romans were engaged. Not far from this was the temple of Concord, in which the senate frequently assembled: storks were encouraged to build in the roof of the edifice, on account of the social instincts attributed to those birds. In the same quarter of the city was the temple of Ves'ta, where a perpetual fire was maintained by the Vestal virgins: in it were said to be preserved the Palla-

dium, or sacred image of Pal'las Min'erva, on which the fate of Troy depended, and other relics consecrated by superstition.

The senate-house was above the pulpits belonging to the public orators: it was said to have been originally erected by Tul'lus Hostil'ius: but the senate had several other places of meeting, frequently assembling in the temples. Near it was the comitium, or court in which the patrician *curiæ* were convened: it was not roofed until the end of the second Punic war, soon after which the *comitia curiáta* fell gradually into disuse. This space, before it was covered, was called a temple; because *templum* properly signifies not merely an edifice, but an enclosure consecrated by the augurs. The principal theatres and public baths were erected in this vicinity.

The elections of magistrates, reviews of troops, and the census or registration of the citizens, were held in the Cam'pus Mar'tius, which was also the favorite exercise-ground of the young nobles. It was originally a large common, which had formed part of the estate of the younger Tar'quin, and being confiscated after the banishment of that monarch, was dedicated to the god of war, because the Romans believed Mars to be the father of their founder. It long remained unimproved; but in the reign of Augus'tus it began to be surrounded by several splendid edifices; ornamental trees and shrubs were planted in different parts, and porticoes erected, under which the citizens might continue their exercises in rainy weather. Most of these improvements were due to Mar'cus Agrip'pa, the best general and wisest statesman in the court of Augus'tus. He erected, near the Cam'pus Martius, the celebrated Panthéon, or temple of all the gods; the most perfect and splendid monument of ancient Rome that has survived the ravages of time.* At present it is used as a Christian church, and is universally admired for its circular form, and the beautiful dome that forms its roof. Near the Panthéon were the gardens and public baths, which Agrip'pa at his death bequeathed to the Roman people.

Perhaps no public edifices at Rome were more remarkable than the aqueducts for supplying the city with water. Pure streams were sought at a great distance, and conveyed in these artificial channels, supported by arches, many of which were more than a hundred feet high, over steep mountains, deep valleys, and, what was still more difficult, dangerous morasses, which less enterprising architects would have deemed insuperable. The first aqueduct was erected during the censorship of Ap'pius Cæ'cus, about four hundred years after the foundation of the city; but under the emperors not fewer than twenty of these stupendous and useful structures were raised, which brought such an abundant supply of water to the metropolis, that rivers seemed to flow through the streets and sewers. Even at the present day, when only three of the aqueducts remain, after the lapse of centuries, the neglect of rulers, and the ravages of barbarians, no city in Europe has a better supply of wholesome water than Rome.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the public buildings that decorated "the Eternal City;" we may therefore conclude by observing, that Rome, when in the zenith of its glory, contained four hundred and

* The Collosseum in the Regent's Park is built on the model of the Pantheon.

twenty temples, five regular theatres, two amphitheatres, and seven circuses of vast extent: there were sixteen public baths, built of marble, and furnished with every convenience that could be desired. From the aqueducts a prodigious number of fountains were supplied, many of which were remarkable for their architectural beauty. The palaces, public halls, columns, porticoes, and obelisks, were without number; and to these must be added the triumphal arches erected by the later emperors.

The public roads in the various parts of the empire, but more especially in Italy, though less ostentatious than the aqueducts, were not inferior to them in utility and costliness. Of these the most remarkable was the Appian road, from Rome to Brundusium, through the Pomptine marshes, which were kept well drained during the flourishing ages of the empire, but by subsequent neglect became a pestilential swamp. This road extended three hundred and fifty miles, and was paved through its entire length with enormous square blocks of hard stone. Nineteen centuries have elapsed since it was formed, and yet many parts of it still appear nearly as perfect as when it was first made.

Rome was inferior to Athens in architectural beauty, but it far surpassed it in works of public utility. Every succeeding emperor deemed it necessary to add something to the edifices that had been raised for the comfort and convenience of the citizens: even after the seat of government had been transferred to Constantinople, we find the son of Constantine evincing his gratitude for the reception he met with in the ancient capital, by sending thither two magnificent obelisks from Alexandria in Egypt.

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

SECTION I.—*The Reigns of the Family of the Cæsars.*

FROM B. C. 30 TO A. D. 96.

THOUGH the battle of Ac'tium made Octávius Cæsar sole sovereign of the empire, the forms of the republic were faithfully preserved; the senate sat as a council of state, and, though little weight was attached to its deliberations, the freedom of speech and comment preserved the government from sinking into absolute despotism. With supreme power, Octávius, or Augus'tus, as he was about this time named by the senate, assumed an entirely new character; the cruelty with which he may justly be reproached in the early part of his career disappeared; he became a mild and merciful ruler, truly anxious to insure the happiness of the people intrusted to his charge. Under such a benignant administration, the Romans ceased to regret their ancient freedom, if, indeed, such a term can be applied to the oppressive government established by the aristocracy during the preceding century; and before the close of the first emperor's reign, the last traces of the republican spirit had disappeared. It is said that Augus'tus at first wished to resign his power, after the example of Syl'la; but was dissuaded by his friends Agrip'pa and Mecæ'nas, who represented to him, with great truth, that the Roman state could no longer be governed by its old constitution, and that he would retire only to make room for another master. He went through the form, however, of an abdication in the senate; but, on the urgent request of that body, he resumed his sway; instead, however, of taking the supreme authority for life, he would only accept it for a term of ten years. This example was followed by the succeeding emperors, and gave rise to the *sácra decennália*, festivals celebrated at each renewal of the imperial authority.

Amid all the adulations of the senate and people, Augus'tus felt that it was to the army he was indebted for empire, and therefore exerted himself diligently to attach the soldiers to his interest. He dispersed his veterans over Italy in thirty-two colonies, dispossessing, in many places, the ancient inhabitants, to make room for these settlers. He maintained seventeen legions in Europe; eight on the Rhine, four on the Danube, three in Spain, and two in Dalmátia. Eight more were kept in Asia and Africa: so that the standing army of the empire exceeded one hundred and seventy thousand men. Twelve cohorts,

amounting to about ten thousand men, were quartered in Rome and its vicinity; nine of these, called the prætorian bands, were intended to protect the emperor's person, the others were destined for the guard of the city. These household troops became afterward the author of many changes and revolutions, until they were all dismissed by Constantine the Great (A. D. 312). Two powerful fleets were established in the Italian seas; one at Ravenna, to guard the Adriatic, the other at Misénum, to protect the western Mediterranean. It is calculated that the revenues of the empire at this time exceeded forty millions sterling; but this sum was not more than sufficient to defray the expenses of the civil, naval, and military establishments, and of the public works undertaken to adorn the metropolis.

Some disturbances in Spain and Gaul induced the emperor to cross the Alps and Pyrenees; he subdued the Cantabrians, who inhabited the province now called Biscay (a country whose mountains and defiles have always proved formidable obstacles to an invading army), and the Asturians. To restrain these tribes in future, he erected several new fortified cities, of which the most remarkable were Cæsaréa Augus'ta (*Saragossa*) and Augus'ta Emer'ita (*Merida*), so called because it was colonized by the veteran soldiers (*emeriti*). While resting at Tar'raco (*Tarragona*) from the fatigues of his campaign, Augus'tus received ambassadors from the most remote nations, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Indians, and even the Seres, who inhabited northern China.

On his recovery from a fit of illness which spread universal alarm throughout the empire, the senate conferred the tribuneship for life upon Augus'tus, which rendered his person sacrosanct. This dignity was henceforth annexed to the empire, and consequently all attempts against the life of the sovereign became high treason (*læsa majestas*). At the same time he declined the title of dictator, which had been rendered odious by the cruelties of Syl'la. Having made a tour in the east of the empire, he was overwhelmed with adulations by the degenerate Greeks (B. C. 20); but the honor most gratifying to him and the Roman people was the restoration of the standards that had been taken from Cras'sus. On his return to Italy, he drove back the Rhætians, who had invaded the peninsula, and intrusted their subjugation to Tibérius and Drúsus Néro, his step-sons, youths of great promise and valor. They succeeded in conquering Vindelícia and Nor'icum; but their efforts to subdue Germany were baffled by the undaunted valor of the native tribes, and the great difficulties of the country, whose forests and marshes rendered discipline unavailing.

When the second decennial period of the imperial authority terminated, Augus'tus, harassed by domestic calamities, as well as the cares of empire, seemed really anxious to resign, and enjoy the quiet of domestic life; but the character of Tibérius, now generally regarded as his successor, gave so much alarm to the senate and people, that they cordially joined in supplicating the emperor to continue his reign. The greatest calamity he had to endure was the disgraceful conduct of his daughter Júlia, whose scandalous debaucheries filled Rome with horror; she and the partners of her crimes were banished to various parts of the empire, and some of her paramours were put to death.

When peace was established in every part of the Roman dominions,

Augus'tus closed the temple of Jánus, and issued a decree for a general census, or enrolment, of all his subjects. It was at this period that Jesus Christ was born; and thus, literally, was his advent the signal of "on earth peace, and good will toward men."

The great prosperity of the reign of Augus'tus was first interrupted by the rebellion of the Germans, which the extortions of Quintil'ius Var'us provoked. Armin'ius, a young prince of the Cat'ti, united his countrymen in a secret confederacy; and then, pretending friendship to Var'us, conducted him into the depths of a forest, where his troops could neither fight nor retreat. In this situation Armin'ius attacked the Romans, from whose camp he stole by night, and so harassed them that most of the officers slew themselves in despair (A. D. 10). The legionaries, thus left without leaders, were cut to pieces; and thus the Romans received the greatest overthrow that they had suffered since the defeat of Cras'sus. When the news of this calamity was brought to Rome, everybody expected that the Germans would immediately cross the Rhine, and advance against the city. Augus'tus, though overwhelmed with sorrow, made every exertion to allay the general consternation: he sent his son-in-law and heir, Tibérius, to guard the Rhine; but he prohibited him from following the wild tribes to their fastnesses. For several months the emperor abandoned himself to transports of grief, during which he frequently exclaimed, "Var'us, restore me my legions!" and he observed the fatal day as a mournful solemnity until his death. This event probably tended to hasten his dissolution; he was seized with a dangerous attack of illness at Naples, and as he was returning home to the capital, the disease compelled him to stop at Nóla, in Campánia, where he expired (A. D. 14). It was currently reported that the empress Liv'ia accelerated his death by administering poisoned figs, in order to secure the succession for Tibérius.

Tibérius Claúdius Néro, or, as he was called after his adoption, Augus'tus Tibérius Cæ'sar, commenced his reign by procuring the murder of young Agrip'pa, grandson of the late emperor, whom he dreaded as a formidable rival. As soon as his accession was known at Rome, the consuls, senators, and knights, ran headlong into slavery, pretending to hail Tibérius with extravagant joy, while they professed equally extravagant sorrow for the loss of Augus'tus. Tibérius met them with duplicity equal to their own: he affected to decline the sovereign power; but, after long debates, allowed himself to be won over by the general supplications of the senators. Having bound himself by oath never to depart from the regulations of his predecessor, he exerted himself to win the affections, or rather disarm the suspicions, of the virtuous German'icus, whom Augus'tus had compelled him to declare his heir. But the jealousies of the emperor were greatly aggravated by a mutiny of the troops in Germany, who offered to raise German'icus to the throne; and though he firmly refused, and severely rebuked their disloyalty, yet Tibérius thenceforth was resolved upon his destruction. The glory which the young prince acquired in several successful campaigns against the Germans, at length induced the emperor to recall him to Rome, under the pretence of rewarding him with a triumph. But Tibérius soon became anxious to remove from Rome a person whose mildness and virtue were so powerfully contrasted with his own tyranny

and debauchery: he appointed him governor of the eastern provinces; but at the same time he sent Píso, with his infamous wife Plancína, into Syria, secretly instructing them to thwart German'icus in all his undertakings. The wicked pair obeyed these atrocious commands; and the brave prince, after undergoing many mortifications, at last sunk under them. Attacked by a severe disease, aggravated by suspicions of Píso's treachery, whom he believed to have compassed his death by magic or by poison, he sent for his wife Agrippína; and having besought her to humble her haughty spirit for the sake of their children, expired, to the general grief of the empire (A. D. 19). His ashes were brought to Rome by Agrippína; and though she arrived in the very middle of the Saturnália, the mirth usual at that festival was laid aside, and the whole city went into mourning.

In the early part of his reign Tibérius had affected to imitate the clemency of Augus'tus; but he soon began to indulge his natural cruelty, and many of the most eminent nobles were put to death under pretence of high treason. The emperor's depravity was exceeded by that of his minister, the infamous Sejánus, whose name has passed into a proverb. This ambitious favorite secretly aspired at the empire, and applied himself to win the favor of the prætorian guards: he is also accused of having procured the death of Drúsus, the emperor's son, and of having tried to destroy Agrippína and her children. But his most successful project was the removal of Tibérius from Rome, persuading him that he would have more freedom to indulge his depraved passions in Campánia than in the capital. The emperor chose for his retreat the little island of Cap'reæ, where he wallowed in the most disgusting and unnatural vices: while Sejánus, with an entire army of spies and informers, put to death the most eminent Romans after making them undergo the useless mockery of a trial. Tibérius, however, soon began to suspect his minister, and secret warnings were given him of the dangerous projects that Sejánus had formed. It was apparently necessary, however, to proceed with caution, and the emperor felt his way by withdrawing some of the honors he had conferred. Finding that the people gave no signs of discontent, Tibérius sent the commander of the prætorian guards privately to Rome with a letter to the senate, instructing him to inform Sejánus that it contained an earnest recommendation to have him invested with the tribunitian power. The minister, deceived by this hope, hastily convened the senate, and on presenting himself to that body, was surrounded by a horde of flatterers, congratulating him on his new dignity. But when the fatal epistle was read, in which he was accused of treason, and orders given for his arrest, he was immediately abandoned, and those who had been most servile in their flatteries became loudest in their invectives and execrations. A hurried decree was passed condemning him to death, and was put in execution the very same day; a general slaughter of his friends and relations followed; his innocent children, though of very tender years, were put to death with circumstances of great barbarity; and the numerous statues that had been erected to his honor were broken to pieces by the fickle multitude. This memorable example of the instability of human grandeur is powerfully described by Juvenal, in his satire on the Vanity of Human Wishes. The passage is thus translated by Dryden:—

"Some asked for envied power, which public hate
Pursues and hurries headlong to their fate;
Down go the titles, and the statue crowned
Is by base hands in the next river drowned.
The guiltless horses and the chariot-wheel
The same effects of vulgar fury feel:
The smith prepares his hammer for the stroke,
While the lunged bellows hissing fire provoke;
Sejánus, almost first of Roman names,
The great Sejánus crackles in the flames!
Formed in the forge the pliant brass is laid
On anvils: and of head and limbs are made
Pans, cans, and gridirons, a whole kitchen trade.
Adorn your doors with laurel; and a bull,
Milk-white and large, lead to the Capitol;
Sejánus, with a rope, is dragged along,
The sport and laughter of the giddy throng!
'Good Lord,' they cry, 'what Ethiop lips he bears!
See what a hang-dog face the scoundrel wears!
By Jove, I never could endure his sight;—
But, say, how came his monstrous crimes to light?
What is the charge, and who the evidence?
The savior of the nation and the prince?'—
'Nothing of this; but our old Cæsar sent
A tedious letter to his parliament.'—
'Nay, sirs, if Cæsar wrote, I ask no more;
He's guilty, and the question's out of door.'
How goes the mob! for that's a mighty thing—
When the king's trump, the mob are for the king:
They follow fortune, and the common cry
Is still against the rogue condemned to die.
But the same very mob, that rascal crowd,
Had cried Sejánus, with a shout as loud,
Had his designs by fortune's favor blest,
Succeeded, and the prince's age opprest."

The cruelty of Tibérius was increased tenfold after the removal of his favorite; the least circumstance rendered him suspicious; and when once a noble was suspected, his fate was sealed. In all his extravagancies he was supported by the servile senate; and this body, once so independent, never ventured even to remonstrate against his sanguinary decrees. At length, continued debauchery undermined the emperor's constitution: but with the usual weakness of licentious sovereigns, he endeavored to disguise the state of his health, not merely from his court, but his physicians. At length, finding death approach very rapidly, he bequeathed the empire to Caius Calig'ula, the only surviving son of his nephew and victim German'icus. It is said that he chose this prince, though well aware of his natural depravity, that his own reign might be regretted, when contrasted with the still more sanguinary rule of his successor. Soon after having signed his will, Tibérius was seized with a fainting fit, and the courtiers, believing him dead, hastened to offer their homage to Calig'ula; but the emperor rallied, and there was reason to fear his vengeance. Mac'ro, the commander of the guards, averted the danger by smothering the weak old man with a weight of coverings, under pretence of keeping him warm (A. D. 37). In this reign, though the forms of the constitution were retained, its spirit and substance were completely altered; the government became

a complete despotism; and the only use of the senate was to register the edicts of the sovereign. While Tibérius was emperor, Jesus Christ was crucified in Judea, under the proprætorship of Pontius Pilate (A. D. 33). It is said, but on very doubtful authority, that Tibérius, having received an account of his miracles, wished to have him enrolled among the gods, but that his designs were frustrated by the opposition of the senate.

Caíus, surnamed Calig'ula from the military boots (*caligæ*) which he was accustomed to wear, was received on his accession with the utmost enthusiasm by both the senate and the people, on account of the great merits of his father German'icus. He began his reign by liberating all the state prisoners, and dismissing the whole horde of spies and informers whom Tibérius had encouraged. By these and other similar acts of generosity, he became so popular, that when he was attacked by sickness, the whole empire was filled with sorrow, and innumerable sacrifices were offered in every temple for his recovery. This sickness probably disordered his brain, for in his altered conduct after his restoration to health there appears fully as much insanity as wickedness. Young Tibérius, whom he had adopted, was his first victim; he then ordered all the prisoners in Rome to be thrown to wild beasts without a trial. But Calig'ula was not satisfied with simple murder; it was his fiendish pleasure to witness the sufferings of his victims, and protract their tortures, in order that they might, as he said, feel themselves dying. Finding no one dare to oppose his sanguinary caprices, he began to regard himself as something more than a mere mortal, and to claim divine honors; and finally, he erected a temple to himself, and instituted a college of priests to superintend his own worship. A less guilty but more absurd proceeding was the reverence he claimed for his favorite horse Incitatus, whom he frequently invited to dine at the imperial table, where the animal fed on gilt oats, and drank the most costly wines from jewelled goblets. It is even said that nothing but his death prevented him from raising this favorite steed to the consulship. While the whole city was scandalized by his outrageous licentiousness, men were suddenly astounded to hear that the emperor had resolved to lead an army against the Germans in person, and the most extensive preparations were made for his expedition. As might have been expected, the campaign was a mere idle parade; and Calig'ula, notwithstanding, claimed the most extravagant honors; and finding the senate slower in adulation than he expected, seriously contemplated the massacre of the entire body. At length the Romans became weary of a monster equally wicked and ridiculous; a conspiracy was formed for his destruction; and he was slain in one of the passages of the Cir'cus by Chæréa, the captain of the prætorian guards (A. D. 40). His body lay a long time exposed, but was finally interred like that of a slave: his wife and infant child were murdered by the conspirators, who dreaded future vengeance.

Claúdius, the brother of German'icus and uncle of the late emperor, a prince of weak intellect, was raised to the throne by the conspirators, whose choice was sanctioned by the senate. The unfortunate idiot, thus placed at the head of the empire, was during his entire reign the puppet of worthless and wicked favorites, among whom the most infamous

were the empress Messalína and Agrippína, the eunuch Posídes, and the freedmen Pal'las and Narcis'sus. His reign commenced with the punishment of those who had conspired against Calig'ula: they were slain, not for the crime they had committed, but because they were suspected of a design to restore the ancient constitution. Notwithstanding his weakness, Claúdius undertook an expedition into Britain, where the native tribes were wasting their strength in mutual wars, and he commenced a series of campaigns which eventually led to the complete subjugation of the southern part of the island. The senate granted him a magnificent triumphal procession on his return; and Messalína, whose infidelities were now notorious, accompanied the emperor in a stately chariot during the solemnity. The cruelty of the empress was as great as her infamy: at her instigation Claúdius put to death some of the most eminent nobles, and the confiscation of their fortunes supplied her with money to lavish on her paramours. At length she proceeded to such an extravagant length, that she openly married Sil'ius, one of her adulterers; and Narcis'sus, whom she had displeased, gave the emperor private information of her guilt, and she was slain in the gardens which had been the chief theatre of her crimes.

Soon after the death of Messalína, Claúdius married his niece Agrippína, the widow of Domítius Ahenobar'bus, by whom she had one son, originally called after his father, but better known in history by the name of Néro. The new empress did not, like her predecessor, render the state subservient to her amours, but she grasped at power to indulge her insatiable avarice, boundless ambition, and unparalleled cruelty. She ruled the emperor and the empire, appeared with him in the senate, sat on the same throne during all public ceremonies, gave audience to foreign princes and ambassadors, and even took a share in the administration of justice. She at length prevailed upon Claúdius to adopt her child Domítius (Néro), and constitute him heir of the sovereignty, in preference to his own son Britan'nicus. But Claúdius showing some signs of an intention to change the succession again, Agrippína procured him to be poisoned by his favorite eunuch and the state physician (A. D. 54). Having previously gained over Bur'rhus, the captain of the prætorian guards, to her interest, the empress concealed her husband's death until she had secured the army in favor of her son, rightly judging that the senate would confirm the choice of the soldiers.

Néro Claúdius Cæ'sar had been nurtured in the midst of crimes, and educated for the stage rather than the state; he was still a youth of seventeen, and he looked on the empire as only an extensive field for the indulgence of his passions. He soon became weary of his mother's imperious rule; and Agrippína, finding herself neglected, threatened to restore the crown to Britan'nicus. This was the signal for the destruction of that young prince: poison was administered to him by one of the emperor's emissaries, and a few hours after his death, his body was borne to the pile; for so little care had the emperor of concealing his share in the murder, that the preparations for the prince's funeral were made before the poison was administered. An infamous woman, Poppæ'a Sabína, who had abandoned her husband to live in adultery with the emperor, stimulated Néro to still greater crimes. Persuaded that during the lifetime of Agrippína she could not hope to remove Octávia,

Néro's wife, and become herself a partner in the empire, she urged her paramour, by every means in her power, to the murder of his mother. Néro himself was anxious to remove one whom he so greatly feared; but he dreaded the resentment of the Romans, who, in spite of her crimes, reverenced the last representative of the family of German'icus. After various attempts to destroy her secretly had failed, a body of armed men were sent to her house, and she was murdered in her bed. A labored apology for this matricide was soon after published, which, it is painful to learn, was composed by the philosopher Sen'eca.

The death of Bur'rhus, whether by poison or disease is uncertain, led to a great deterioration of Nero's character; for the influence of that able statesman had restrained the emperor from many extravagances in which he was anxious to indulge. Tigellínus, a wretch infamous for all the crimes that are engendered by cruelty and lust, became the new minister; and Néro no longer kept within the bounds of ordinary decency. Sen'eca was banished from the court; the empress Octávia was divorced, and afterward murdered; finally, Poppæ'a was publicly married to the emperor. A tour through Italy gave Néro an opportunity of appearing as a singer on the stage at Naples, and he was excessively gratified by the applause with which the Neapolitans and some Alexandrians fed his vanity. Soon after his return to Rome, a dreadful conflagration, which lasted nine days, destroyed the greater part of the city; and it was generally believed that the fire had been kindled by the emperor's orders. Upon the ruins of the demolished city Néro erected his celebrated golden palace, which seems to have been more remarkable for its vast extent, and the richness of the materials used in its construction, than for the taste or beauty of the architectural design. To silence the report of his having caused the late calamity, Néro transferred the guilt of the fire to the new sect of the Christians, whose numbers were rapidly increasing in every part of the empire. A cruel persecution commenced; first, all who openly acknowledged their connexion with the sect were arrested and tortured: then from their extorted confessions, thousands of others were seized and condemned, not for the burning of the city, but on the still more ludicrous charge of hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and torture were aggravated with cruel derision and sport; for they were either covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by devouring dogs, or fastened to crosses, or wrapped up in combustible garments, that when the daylight failed, they might serve, like torches, to illuminate the darkness of the night. For this tragical spectacle Néro lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the same time the public diversions of the circus; sometimes driving a chariot in person, and sometimes standing among the people as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer.

The extravagant expenses of the golden palace, the restoration of the city, the emperor's luxuries, and the entertainments given to the people, exhausted the exchequer, and led to a system of plunder and extortion which nearly caused the dissolution of the empire. Not only Italy, but all the provinces, the several confederate nations, and all the cities that had the title of free, were pillaged and laid waste. The temples of the gods and the houses of individuals were equally stripped of their treasures; but still enough could not be obtained to support the

emperor's boundless prodigality. At length a conspiracy was formed for his destruction by Cneíus Píso, in which the greater part of the Roman nobility engaged. It was accidentally discovered; and Néro eagerly seized such a pretence for giving loose to his sanguinary dispositions. Among the victims were the philosopher Sen'eca, the poet Lúcan, Píso, and most of the leading nobles. In the midst of the massacres, Néro appeared on the stage as a candidate for the prize of music which of course he obtained. About the same time he killed the empress Poppæ'a by kicking her while pregnant.

It may appear strange that such repeated atrocities should not have driven the Roman people to revolt; but the lower classes felt nothing of the imperial despotism, and did not sympathize with the calamities of the nobles, because the ancient oppressions of the aristocracy were still remembered. They were, besides, gratified by a monthly distribution of corn, by occasional supplies of wine and meat (*conjiaria et eviscerationes*), and by the magnificent shows of the circus (*munera*). In fact, the periods of tyranny were the golden days of the poor; and Néro was far more popular with the rabble than any statesman or general of the republic had ever been.

Not satisfied with his Italian fame, Néro resolved to display his musical skill at the Olympic games, and for this purpose passed over into Greece. The applauses he received in his tour from the spectators so gratified him, that he declared "the Greeks alone perfectly understand music." He transmitted a particular account of his victories to the senate, and ordered thanksgivings and sacrifices to be offered for them in every temple throughout the empire. That no monuments of other victors might remain, he commanded all their statues to be pulled down, dragged through the streets, and either dashed to pieces, or thrown into the common sewers. While he was thus engaged, the dreadful rebellion, which destroyed the Jewish nation, commenced in Palestine: Ces'tius Gal'lus, the governor of Syria, having been defeated in an attempt to besiege Jerusalem, the conduct of the war was intrusted to the celebrated Vespásian. Though Néro had been greatly delighted by the excessive adulations of the Achæans, he did not abstain from plundering their country; and A'chaia suffered more from his peaceful visit than from the open war of Mum'mius or Syl'la.

Soon after the emperor's return to Rome, formidable insurrections burst forth in the western provinces, occasioned by the excessive taxation to which they were subjected. Július Vin'dex, descended from the ancient kings of Aquitain, was the first to raise the standard of revolt in Celtic Gaul, of which he was governor. Gal'ba soon after was proclaimed emperor in Spain by his soldiers, and was supported by O'tho, the governor of Lusitánia. Nero was not much disturbed by the rebellion of Vin'dex; but the hostility of Gal'ba filled him with consternation. He was, however, consoled for a time by the intelligence of the defeat of the Gauls, who were so completely overthrown by Virginius, the imperial lieutenant, that Vin'dex slew himself in despair. Gal'ba would now have been ruined, had not Nymphid'ius, whom Nero had appointed the colleague of Tigellínus, seduced the prætorian guards to renounce their allegiance. The emperor was immediately abandoned by all his ministers and servants; he fled from Rome, and sought refuge

in the house of Pháon, one of his freedmen. Here he soon learned that he had been declared an enemy to the state, and sentenced to be executed according to ancient custom (*móre majórum*). Inquiring the nature of this punishment he was informed that he was to be placed in a pillory, and beaten to death with rods (A. D. 68). At the prospect of such a cruel fate he was filled with horror, and declared that he would commit suicide; but his courage failed when he was about to use the dagger. At length, hearing the galloping of the horse sent to arrest him, he requested the aid of his freedman Epaphrodítus, and received a mortal wound. He was not quite dead when the centurion, sent by the senate, arrived, and endeavored to stop the blood. Néro, looking at him sternly, said, "It is too late. Is this your fidelity?" and soon after expired. His body was interred privately, but honorably; and many of the lower ranks, whose favor he had won by his extravagant liberalities, lamented his loss, honored his memory, and brought flowers to decorate his tomb.

During this reign the provinces were harassed by frequent revolts: in addition to those we have already noticed, it may be necessary to mention the revolt of the Icéni in Britain, under the command of their heroic queen Boadicéa. She took up arms to revenge the gross insults and injuries she had received; falling unexpectedly on the Roman colonies and garrisons, she destroyed a great number both of them and their allies; and could she have secured the co-operation of all the native tribes, might have liberated her country. This dangerous insurrection was quelled by Suetónius Paulínus, who added the island of Anglesey to the Roman dominions; thus taking from the Druids, the secret instigators of resistance to all foreign power, the great centre both of their religion and their influence.

The family of the Cæsars, properly speaking, ended with Calig'ula; but as both Néro and Claudius were maternally descended from Augus'tus, they are usually reckoned among the members of the Julian, or first imperial house. Its extinction, notwithstanding the vices of its later members, was a serious calamity to the empire; it led to a series of sanguinary wars, arising from disputed successions, during which the supreme authority of the state was wrested equally from the emperors and senate by a licentious soldiery.

SECTION II.—*From the Extinction of the Julian to that of the first Flavian Family.*

FROM A. D. 68 TO A. D. 96.

SER'VIUS SUL'PITIUS GAL'BA, universally acknowledged seventh emperor after the death of Néro, was descended from an illustrious family that had been eminently distinguished for warlike achievements during the later ages of the republic. He was now in the seventy-third year of his age, and, on account of his infirmities, travelled very slowly toward Rome. Nymphid'ius took advantage of this delay, to make a struggle for empire by bribing the prætorian guards; but his conduct during the reign of Néro had rendered him so deservedly unpopular, that he was murdered by the very soldiers who had taken his money. This rash conspiracy induced Gal'ba to sully the commencement of his

reign by unseasonable severities, which gave the more offence to his subjects, as they had not been anticipated. It was soon discovered that the new emperor, however virtuous himself, was the tool of unworthy favorites, who, under the sanction of his name, plundered the people, and deprived the soldiers of their usual donative. A revolt of the legions in Upper Germany induced Gal'ba to nominate a successor; he chose Cneíus Píso, descended from the old triumvirs Cras'sus and Pom'pey, who was greatly esteemed for his talents, virtues, and engaging manners. But this appointment gave great offence to O'tho, who had been foremost to espouse the cause of Gal'ba: taking advantage of the discontent of the prætorian guards, he went to their camp, and easily induced these turbulent warriors to proclaim him emperor. Gal'ba prepared to make a vigorous struggle for his crown, but his soldiers refused to obey the orders of their commander; and when he was borne in a litter to enforce obedience, those who carried him, terrified by the tumult, threw down the chair, and the aged emperor, thus lying helpless, was slain by one of the veterans (A. D. 69). His body was treated with the greatest indignity by the factious troops; Píso, his appointed successor, was murdered; and the prætorian guards threatened destruction to all who did not acquiesce in their decision.

O'tho, thus raised to the empire, was, during his brief reign, a passive instrument in the hands of the licentious soldiers. Scarcely had he been fixed upon the throne, when he found that he would have to struggle for empire with a formidable rival, Vitel'lius, the commander of the legions in lower Germany. Válens and Cæcína joined the usurper with numerous forces, and intelligence soon arrived of their advance toward Italy through Gaul. Their arrival in Italy filled Rome with consternation, which the licentious indolence in which O'tho indulged by no means tempted to abate. But on the near approach of danger, the emperor laid aside his pleasures and debaucheries, making the most vigorous measures for resistance. Most of the provinces declared in his favor, and could he have protracted the war, he would probably have preserved his crown. But the prætorian guards, wearied of the unusual hardships of a campaign, and eager to return to the pleasures of the capital, demanded to be led instantly against the enemy. O'tho withdrew to a place of safety, but ordered his generals to give battle without delay. The decisive engagement was fought at Bedríacum, near the banks of the Po: early in the day, the prætorian guards, attacked in flank by a Batavian column, fled in disorder, and threw the rest of the army into confusion. This unexpected disaster gave Vitel'lius an easy victory; and following up his success, he took possession of the imperial camp. O'tho, having learned the news of the battle, convened the rest of his soldiers, thanked them for their fidelity, and intimated his resolution not to permit his life to be the cause of further bloodshed. That night he committed suicide, having only reigned three months. He was honorably interred by his soldiers, who showed sincere sorrow for his loss.

Vitel'lius was a slave to gluttony and debauchery: he received very coldly the congratulations of the senate on his victory and accession, and he was reluctant to expose himself to the dangers of the turbulences that the soldiers, both of his and O'tho's army, excited in Italy.

At length he made his public entrance into Rome, and endeavored to win the favor of the populace by large donatives and expensive entertainments in the circus. Intrusting all the power of the state to unworthy favorites, he devoted himself wholly to the pleasures of the table, on which he squandered nearly seven millions of money in less than four months. Nothing, however, gave greater scandal to the higher ranks of the senators, than his solemnizing, with great pomp, the obsequies of Néro, and compelling the Augustal priests, an order consecrated by Tibérius for superintending the religious rites of the Julian family, to attend at that ceremony. While he was thus insulting his subjects, and wasting the wealth of the empire, fortune, or rather Providence, was raising him up a competitor in a distant province. Vespásian was carrying on the war against the Jews with great success, when he heard of the death of Néro, and the election of Gal'ba: he sent his son Títus to present his allegiance to the new emperor: but ere he could reach Italy, Gal'ba was no more, and O'tho and Vitel'lius were contending for the empire. Títus returned to his father, whom he found ready to swear allegiance to Vitel'lius, though the army wished him to declare himself emperor. Vespásian's reluctance, whether real or affected, was overcome by the exhortations of Muciánus, governor of Syria, and the tributary monarchs of the east, whose friendship he had won by his justice and moderation. No sooner did he commence his march toward Europe, than the legions quartered in Illyr'icum and Pannónia declared in his favor; nor was there any province on which Vitel'lius could rely for support except Africa. Prímus and Várus, at the head of the Illyrian armies, crossed the Alps, and made themselves masters of Verona, and at the same time the fleet at Ravenna declared in favor of Vespásian. Cæcína, who had the principal share in raising Vitel'lius to the throne, followed the same course, but his soldiers disapproved his conduct, and put him in irons. Prímus, advancing southward, encountered the forces of Vitel'lius near Cremóna, and totally routed them, after a battle which lasted the entire day and a great part of the following night. The city of Cremóna, after a desperate resistance, was taken by storm, and the greater part of the inhabitants put to the sword. Válens, who went to raise an army in the western provinces to support the emperor, was taken prisoner, upon which Gaul, Spain, and Britain, declared in favor of Vespásian.

Vitel'lius at first refused to believe the evil tidings that reached him om every quarter; but at length on the near approach of danger, he hasted to secure the passes of the Apennines. Prímus, however, by a hazardous march through the snow, forced his way over the mountains, and sent the head of Válens to be displayed to the imperial army, as a proof of his success in other quarters. Immediately Vitel'lius was abandoned by his troops: he fled hastily to Rome, and receiving no encouragement from senate or people, abdicated his authority. Some of the prætorian guards, however, dreading the strict discipline of Vespásian, compelled the wretched monarch to resume the purple. The city was distracted by a horrid civil tumult, in which many of the principal nobles perished, and the Capitol was burned to the ground. Prímus, hearing of these disorders, advanced with all speed to Rome, forced an entrance into the city, and took the camp of the prætorian guards by

storm. Vitel'lius hid himself in the palace, but was discovered in his retreat by the licentious populace, ready to rise under any pretext through hopes of plunder, dragged ignominiously through the streets to the place of common execution, and put to death with a thousand wounds (A. D. 69). His brother, Lucius Vitel'lius, who was advancing to his aid with an army from the south of Italy, surrendered at discretion, and was put to death. The factions that had been formed during this disgraceful reign of eight months, took advantage of the confusion to wreak mutual vengeance. Prímus, and Vespásian's second son, Domit'ian, abandoned themselves to debauchery and plunder: Rome appeared on the very brink of ruin from the madness of its own citizens.

At length tranquillity was restored by the arrival of Vespásian, whose accession diffused universal joy. His first care was to restore the discipline of the army, which he found in a shocking state of demoralization: he next revived the authority of the senate, supplying its diminished ranks with eminent men from the provinces and colonies; finally, he reformed the courts of law, which had long ceased to be courts of justice. The virtues of Vespásian, supported by a firm temper, led to a great improvement in the social condition of Rome. His only fault was an extravagant love of money, which, however, was probably exaggerated by those who compared his parsimonious expenditure with the lavish extravagance of former emperors.

The early part of his reign was signalized by the final termination of the Jewish war, and the destruction of Jerusalem and its holy temple. It would be impossible to give even a faint outline of this memorable war here; suffice it to say, that the Jews, deceived by false prophets, who promised them a temporal deliverer, persevered in their rebellion long after every reasonable chance of success had disappeared; that they were divided into hostile factions, who fought against each other in the streets of Jerusalem, while the walls of the city quivered under the battering engines of the common enemy; and that they refused proffered mercy when the Roman ensigns were waving above their battlements. Dreadful was the punishment of this fated nation: their city and temple were reduced to heaps of shapeless ruins; their best and bravest fell by the swords of the Romans or each other; most of the wretched survivors were sold into slavery, and the Jews, since that period, dispersed over the face of the earth, have become a mockery, a by-word, and a reproach among nations. Títus and his father triumphed together on account of this success, and the rich ornaments of the temple were displayed in the procession. A triumphal arch was also erected for Títus, on which his noble deeds were sculptured: it continues nearly perfect to the present day, a lasting monument of his victories over the Jewish nation. The Batavian war, which threatened great dangers to the Roman dominions in Gaul and Germany, was concluded about the same time by the prudence and valor of Cereális; and Comagéne, which had been permitted to retain its own sovereigns, was reduced to a province.

Britain had yet been very imperfectly subdued, and the completion of its conquest was intrusted to Cneíus Július Agric'ola, a native of Gaul, justly celebrated for his great merits as a general and a statesman. His first enterprise was to recover the island of Anglesey from

the Ordovices. His success was owing to his promptitude as much as to his valor: he appeared in the midst of the hostile country before the enemy knew of his having passed the frontiers; and the Britons, disconcerted by a sudden attack, agreed to purchase safety by submission. The advantages thus won by military prowess, he resolved to confirm and secure by enlightened policy. He induced the Britons to lay aside their own barbarous customs, and adopt the Roman manners; but unfortunately, in giving them a knowledge of the arts of civilization, he also inspired them with a taste for luxury. He next proceeded to attack the Caledonians; a fleet was ordered to examine the coast; and by this expedition Britain was first discovered to be an island. The Caledonians drew together under the command of Gal'gacus, and hazarded a pitched battle with the army of Agric'ola, in which they were utterly routed, and pursued with great slaughter; but the fastnesses of the Scottish highlands were too formidable to be overcome; and the northern part of Britain was never subdued by the Romans.

Several conspiracies were formed against Vespásian, whose rigid rule was found a severe check on the licentiousness of the nobles; but they were all detected and punished. At length, his close attention to the affairs of state brought on a mortal disease. He retired to his country-seat for change of air; but the sickness was aggravated by the alteration, and he died in the seventieth year of his age (A. D. 78). He was the second of the Roman emperors that died a natural death, though some suspicion is attached to the fate of Augus'tus, and he was the first who was succeeded by his son. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by Títus; but the solemnity was disturbed by a ludicrous circumstance, too characteristic of the age to be omitted. The Romans were so preposterously fond of mimics and farces, that they were even exhibited at funerals, where actors personated the deceased, imitated his actions, mimicked his voice, and satirized his peculiarities. At Vespásian's obsequies, a pantomime named Fávor personated that emperor, and took an opportunity of attacking his parsimony. Imitating the voice of the deceased emperor, he loudly demanded the price of the ceremony; a large sum was named in reply. "Give me the money," he continued, holding out his hand, "and throw my body into the Tiber."

Vespásian was succeeded by his son Títus, whose first action after his accession was a sacrifice of his dearest affections to the popular will. He dismissed the beautiful Berenice, daughter to Agrip'pa, the last king of Judea, because that his connexion with a foreigner was displeasing to the senate and people. Nor was this the only instance of his complaisance; he allowed the spectators to choose their own entertainments in the circus; and he never refused audience to a petitioner. His clemency was equally remarkable; he abolished the law of treason; and severely punished spies and informers.

In the first year of his reign, Campánia was alarmed and devastated by the most dreadful eruption of Vesúvius on record; it laid waste the country for many miles round, overwhelming several cities with their inhabitants, among which Herculáneum and Pompeii were the most remarkable. This was followed by a dreadful conflagration at Rome, which lasted three days, and destroyed a vast number of edifices, both

public and private. The exertions of Títus to remedy both these calamities procured him, from his grateful subjects, the honorable title of "benefactor of the human race." A plague afforded him fresh opportunities of displaying his native goodness of heart; but these exertions proved too much for his constitution; he was seized with a fever, which terminated fatally in a few days (A. D. 81). His death diffused universal sorrow throughout the empire; every family lamented as if it had been deprived of its natural protector; and his name has become a proverbial designation for wise and virtuous princes.

Flávius Domit'ian succeeded his brother without any opposition, though his character for debauchery and cruelty was sufficiently notorious. He was naturally timorous, and fear, of course, aggravated his sanguinary disposition; yet he professed a passionate attachment to military sports, and possessed so much skill in archery, that he could shoot arrows through the expanded fingers of a domestic placed at a considerable distance without ever inflicting a wound. In the beginning of his reign, he studied to gain the favor of the people by a line of conduct worthy of an upright sovereign—disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. He presented large sums to his ministers and officers of state, that they might be raised above the temptation of receiving bribes; he refused the inheritances bequeathed to him, distributing the legacies among the nearest relations of the deceased; and he pretended to have such a horror of shedding blood, that he issued an edict forbidding the sacrifice of oxen or any other living animals. He confirmed all the grants made by the preceding emperors, increased the pay of the soldiers, and finished, at an immense charge, all the public buildings which had been begun by Títus.

In the second year of his reign he attacked the Cat'ti, the most warlike of the German tribes; and, as the invasion was unexpected, made several of the peasants prisoners. Hearing, however, that the enemies were preparing an army, he retreated with great speed; yet the servile senate voted him a triumph for this pretended success. But flattery could not hide from the emperor his vast inferiority to Agric'ola, whose conquests in Britain were the theme of universal praise: he recalled this victorious general, who deemed it prudent to decline a triumph, and retire into the seclusion of private life. From this time forward the emperor indulged in the most sanguinary excesses, putting to death, without the form of trial, the most eminent senators and knights. The herd of informers, discouraged and punished during the preceding reign, once more came into favor; and such was their activity, that the most innocent conversation was frequently made the ground of a capital charge. The infamous vices of the palace were so far from being hidden, that they were ostentatiously displayed to the public; and when Domit'ian had thus degraded himself in the eyes of his subjects to the condition of a beast, he required to be worshipped as a god, and all the streets leading to the Capitol were daily crowded with victims to be offered in sacrifices before his altars and statues.

The Dáci and Gétæ, under their gallant king Deceb'alus, invaded the Roman frontiers, and defeated the generals sent to oppose them in two great battles. Domit'ian, encouraged by the news of a subsequent victory, resolved to take the field in person; but instead of marching

against the Dáci, he attacked the Quádi and Marcomanni, and was shamefully beaten. Discouraged by this overthrow, he concluded a dishonorable peace with the Dacians, engaging to pay Deceb'alus a yearly tribute: but he wrote to the senate, boasting of extraordinary victories; and that degraded body, though well aware of the truth, immediately decreed him the honors of a triumph.

Wearied by the tyranny of Domit'ian, Lúcius Antónius, the governor of upper Germany, raised the standard of revolt in his province, but was easily defeated and slain. This abortive insurrection stimulated the cruelty of the emperor: vast numbers were tortured and executed, under pretence of having been accomplices of Antónius. An edict was published, banishing all philosophers from Rome, and prohibiting instruction in the liberal sciences; for Domit'ian felt that all learning was a satire on his own ignorance, and all virtue a reproof of his infamy. But though thus tyrannical, Domit'ian had little fear of rebellion; he had secured the support of the troops by increasing their pay, and his splendid entertainments rendered him a favorite with the degraded populace. The adherents to the national religion were also gratified by a second general persecution of the Christians, who were odious to the emperor because they refused to worship his statues (A. D. 95). Among the most illustrious martyrs in the cause of truth on this occasion was Flávius Clem'ens, cousin-german of the emperor, whose example proves that the new religion was now beginning to spread among the higher ranks of society.

It was the custom of Domit'ian to inscribe on a roll the names of the persons he designed to slaughter. One day a young child with whom he used to divert himself took this paper from under the pillow on which the emperor was sleeping, and unaware of its important contents, gave it to the empress Domit'ia. She saw with surprise and consternation her own name on the fatal list, as well as those of the imperial chamberlain and the captain of the prætorian guards, to whom she immediately communicated their danger. They at once conspired for his destruction, and he was murdered in his bed (A. D. 96). The Roman populace heard his fate with indifference; but the soldiers, whose pay he had increased, and with whom he had often shared his plunder, lamented him more than they had Vespásian Títus; it is even said that they would have avenged his fate by a general massacre, had they not been restrained by their officers.

During this reign flourished a philosopher, Apollónius Tyanéus, whose austere life and extensive knowledge procured him so much fame, that he pretended to have the power of working miracles, and aspired to become the founder of a new religion. Like Pythag'oras, he travelled into the remote east, and incorporated in his system many of the tenets that are now held by the Buddhists. During his life, this impostor enjoyed the highest reputation; but, in spite of all the efforts of his disciples, his system, after his death, sank rapidly, into merited oblivion.

Section III.—*From the Extinction of the first Flavian Family to the last of the Antonines.*

from A. D. 96 to A. D. 193.

Domit'ian was the last of the emperors commonly called the twelve Cæsars: he was succeeded by Mar'cus Cocceius Ner'va, who was chosen to the sovereignty by a unanimous vote of the senate. He was a native of Narn'ia in Umbria, but his family came originally from Creté; and we may therefore regard him as the first foreigner placed at the head of the empire. Though past the age of seventy, he applied himself to the reformation of abuses with all the zeal of youth, punishing informers, redressing grievances, and establishing a milder and more equitable system of taxation. His greatest fault was excessive lenity, which encouraged the profligate courtiers to persevere in their accustomed peculations. The turbulent prætorian guards raised an insurrection, under pretence of avenging the death of Domit'ian, and not only compelled the emperor to abandon such victims to their fury as they demanded, but actually forced him to return them public thanks for their proper and patriotic conduct. This outrageous indignity, however, produced a highly beneficial result. Ner'va, finding himself despised on account of his old age and infirmities, resolved to adopt Mar'cus Ul'pius Trájan, the greatest and most deserving person of his age, as his colleague and successor, though he had many relations of his own, who might, without incurring the imputation of presumption, aspire to that dignity. The news of this appointment was received with great joy by the senate and people, and the soldiers immediately returned to their duty. Soon after, Ner'va, while chiding severely an infamous informer, so heated himself, that he was seized with a fever, which proved mortal, in the sixteenth month of his reign (A. D. 98). He was ranked among the gods by his subjects; and Trájan, out of gratitude, caused several temples to be erected to his memory, both at Rome and in the provinces.

Trájan was by birth a Spaniard, descended from a family that had some claim to royal honors. He was equally great as a ruler, a general, and a man; free from every vice, except an occasional indulgence in wine. After completely abolishing the trials for high treason (*judicia majestátis*), he restored as much of the old constitution as was consistent with a monarchy; binding himself by oath to observe the laws, reviving the *comitia* for the election of civic officers, restoring freedom of speech to the senate, and their former authority to the magistrates. Deceb'alus having sent to claim the tribute granted to him by Domit'ian, Trájan peremptorily refused to be bound by such a disgraceful treaty, and hastily levying an army, marched against the Dacians, who had already crossed the Danube. A dreadful battle was fought, in which the Romans gained a complete victory; but so great was the carnage on both sides, that linen could not be found to dress the wounds of the soldiers, and Trájan tore up his imperial robes to supply that want. Pursuing his advantages, the emperor soon reduced Deceb'alus to such distress, that he was forced to purchase peace by giving up all his engines of war, and acknowledging himself a vassal of the Romans. After sometime, however, the Dacian monarch, unused to servitude,

again had recourse to arms, and was proclaimed a public enemy by the senate. Trájan once more took the field in person. To facilitate the advance of his army, he constructed a stupendous stone bridge over the Danube, fortified with stong castles at both ends; and having thus secured his communications, he marched into the very heart of the country, and made himself master of the capital (A. D. 106). Deceb'alus, despairing of success, committed suicide; and after his death, the country was easily formed into a province, and several Roman colonies and garrisons for the first time planted north of the Danube. In the same year Arabia Petræa was subdued, and annexed to the empire by the governor of Syria.

These successes rendered Trájan ambitious of further conquest, and he resolved to contend with the Parthians for the sovereignty of central Asia. He commenced by subduing Armenia, which he made a new province, and thence he advanced into Mesopotámia. A bridge not less remarkable than that over the Danube was constructed across the Tígris; and the Romans passing this river to a country where their eagles had never before been seen, conquered the greater part of ancient Assyria. Seleúcia and Ctes'iphon (*El Modaïn*), the capital of the Parthian kingdom, were besieged and taken; after which, the emperor, descending the Tígris, displayed the Roman standards for the first time in the Persian gulf. Thence he sailed to the southern part of the Arabian peninsula (*Arabia Felix*), a great part of which he annexed to the empire. He is said to have meditated the invasion of India; but was probably deterred by considering the great difficulties with which he would have to contend in the deserts of eastern Persia.

No permanent advantages resulted from these conquests. No sooner had the emperor returned, than most of the nations which he had conquered revolted, and massacred the Roman garrisons. The Jews, prompted by false prophets, raised a dangerous insurrection in the provinces through which they had been dispersed: after having committed the most shocking excesses, they were subdued, and their treason punished with remorseless severity. Trájan was making vigorous preparations to regain his conquests, when he was attacked by dropsy and palsy, which induced him to return to Italy. He, however, only proceeded so far as Selínus in Cilicia, when the disease assumed a mortal character; and in this little town the best of the Roman monarchs died, in the twentieth year of his reign (A. D. 117). His ashes were carried to Rome, and deposited under the stately column he had erected to commemorate his Dacian victories, though it stood within the city, where no one had ever been buried before. One stain on Trájan's character must not be omitted; he sanctioned the persecution of the Christians, and even when convinced that they were innocent of the atrocious charges brought against them by the pagans, he only forbade inquisitions to be made, but continued the punishment of all who were accused.

Adrian, the cousin-german and pupil of Trájan, succeeded to the empire, it is said, by adoption; but there is some reason to doubt the truth of the assertion. A much stronger claim was the unanimous declaration of the Asiatic armies in his favor, whose potent choice was ratified by the senate. Anxious to preserve peace, he at once abandoned all the con-

quests made by his predecessors, but in Asia and Europe, destroying the bridges over the Tigris and Danube. On his return to Rome the senate offered him a triumph, which he had the good sense to refuse; at the same time, to show his moderation and love of tranquillity, he diminished the military establishments, and lowered the taxes throughout the empire. But the virtues of Adrian were not unalloyed; he was a cruel persecutor of the Jews and Christians; he allowed himself to be influenced by unworthy favorites, and too often lent an ear to the tales of slanderers and informers. Deeming that all parts of the empire had a claim to the protection of the sovereign, he resolved to make a tour through the provinces, and began his course by visiting Gaul, Germany, and Britain. He found the Britons far advanced in civilization; but no longer able to contend with the barbarous Caledonians. In order to check the incursions of these savages, he erected the first Roman wall from the Eden to the Tyne, as has been mentioned in a preceding chapter.

He twice visited Asia, and ordered that a Roman colony should be established at Jerusalem, whose name he changed to Ælia Capitolina (A. D. 131). The introduction of idolatry into the holy city provoked a fierce insurrection of the Jews, headed by an impostor calling himself Bar-Cóchab (*the son of a star*), who pretended to be the expected Messiah. After a sanguinary war, which lasted three years, the infatuated insurgents were subdued, but their revolt was punished by the most horrible cruelties, and their name and nation were all but exterminated.

While Adrian continued in the East, Sal'vius Juliánus, the most eminent lawyer in the empire, was employed in compiling the *edictum perpetuum*, a code containing all the laws which had been published by the prætors in their annual edicts. This celebrated statute gave permanence and uniformity, to the system of Roman jurisprudence, and in some degree raised law to the dignity of a science. Athens, which had long been neglected, naturally engaged the attention of a sovereign so enthusiastically attached to literature and the arts as Adrian. He completed many of its buildings, which had remained incomplete since the fall of the republic, and added so many new edifices, that a whole quarter of the city was called after his name. In commemoration of the great benefits he had conferred on the empire a medal was struck in his honor, bearing the inscription *Restitutóri orbis terrárum*—"to the Restorer of the World."

On his return to Rome he fell into a lingering disease, and adopted Com'modus Vérus as his successor; but he soon repented his choice of a weak, debauched young man, whose constitution was greatly impaired by his guilty excesses. When he was sufficiently recovered, he retired to his magnificent villa at Túsculum (*Tivoli*), where he sank into the same filthy debauchery as Tibérius at Capréæ. These excesses brought on a relapse; sickness rendered him cruel and jealous, and some of the most eminent men of Rome were sacrificed to his diseased suspicions. On the death of Vérus, Adrian adopted Títus Antonínus, on condition of his adopting Mar'cus Aurélius and Vérus, the son of his former choice. Scarcely had this arrangement been completed when the emperor's ailments were aggravated to such a degree, that no medi-

cines could give him relief; and, through impatience of pain, he made several attempts to commit suicide. Hoping for some relief from bathing, he removed to Baiæ, where he soon died (A. D. 139).

Adrian, by his cruelties toward the close of his reign, provoked public hatred to such a degree, that the senate was disposed to annul all his acts; but the entreaties of Antonínus, and the fear of the soldiers, with whom Adrian had been a great favorite, induced them not only to abandon their intention, but to enrol him in the number of gods, and order temples to be erected to his honor.

Antonínus, immediately after his accession, gave his daughter Faustína in marriage to Mar'cus Aurélius, procured for him the tribunitian and proconsular power from the senate, and associated him in all the labors of government; but he showed no regard for the profligate young Vérus, whose misconduct he tolerated solely from respect for the memory of Adrian. The mild and merciful reign of this emperor, deservedly surnamed Pius, was undoubtedly the most tranquil and happy to be found in the Roman annals. He suspended the persecution of the Christians throughout the empire, and ordered that their accusers should be punished as calumniators. Peace prevailed through the wide dominions of Rome; the virtues of the sovereign conciliated the affection of foreigners, and distant nations chose him to arbitrate their differences. For the first time the government of the provinces engaged the earnest attention of the sovereign: the lieutenants of the emperor, perceiving that their conduct was closely watched, ceased to oppress those intrusted to their charge; and instead of seeing their revenues wasted to support a profligate court, or gratify a degraded populace, the provincials beheld public schools erected for the instruction of youth, harbors cleaned out and repaired, new marts of trade opened, and every exertion made to realize the magnificent project formed by Alexander the Great, of constituting an empire whose parts should be held together by the bonds of commerce and mutual interest. After a useful reign of twenty-two years, the prosperity of which is best proved by its affording no materials for history, he died of a fever at one of his villas, bequeathing nothing beyond his own private fortune to his family (A. D. 163). The Romans venerated so highly the memory of this excellent monarch, that during the greater part of the ensuing century, every emperor deemed it essential to his popularity to assume the surname of Antonínus.

Mar'cus Aurélius, surnamed the Philosopher, on account of his attachment to the doctrines and austerities of the Stoics, succeeded to the empire; but his power was shared by Lúcius Vérus, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. He took, however, an early opportunity of sending his unworthy colleague from Rome, intrusting him with the command of the army sent against the Parthians, who had overrun Syria. Vérus took up his residence at Antioch, where he abandoned himself to every species of infamy and debauchery, while the conduct of the war was intrusted to his lieutenants. Fortunately, these officers were worthy of the high trust confided to them: they upheld the reputation of the Roman arms in four brilliant campaigns, and conquered some of the principal cities of Parthia.

While Vérus was disgracing himself in Asia, Rome enjoyed happi-

ness and tranquillity under the merciful but firm administration of Aurélius. But this prosperity was interrupted by the return of Vérus, who came to claim a triumph for the victories obtained by his officers. The eastern army unfortunately brought the plague with it into Europe: infection was communicated to every province through which they passed: the violence of the pestilence did not abate for several years, and among its victims were some of the most illustrious men in Rome and the principal cities of Italy.

Scarcely had the affairs of the east been arranged, when a dangerous war was commenced by the Marcoman'ni on the German frontiers: both emperors took the field; but at the very opening of the campaign, Vérus fell a victim to his intemperance (A. D. 171). Aurélius honored his remains with a magnificent funeral, and even persuaded the senate to enrol this miserable debauchee in the number of the gods. The emperor now devoted his entire attention to the conduct of the German war; but in the first engagement the Romans were routed with great slaughter; and it was only by the sale of the imperial plate, furniture, and crown jewels, that a sum could be raised sufficient to repair their great losses. Aurélius having by this sacrifice assembled a fresh army, soon restored the fortune of the empire. He took up his residence at Sir'mium (*Sirmich*), and from this central position directed the movements of his officers, whom he had directed to harass and wear out the barbarians, by marches, counter-marches, and skirmishes, rather than peril their armies in pitched battles. Once only he abandoned this prudent policy, advancing beyond the Danube into the territory of the Quádi. This temerity had nearly proved his ruin: the barbarians, craftily pretending flight, drew the Romans into a barren defile, where the army was on the point of perishing by thirst. In this distress the Romans were relieved by a great thunder-storm; the lightning fired the tents of their enemies, and the rain relieved their pressing wants. The barbarians, believing this event miraculous, at once submitted; and Aurélius was, for the seventh time, proclaimed imperátor by the senate. Many ancient fathers ascribe this seasonable shower to the prayers of a Christian legion in the imperial army; but the evidence by which the miracle is supported has been more than once shown to be a fraudulent falsification.

In consequence of this success, the German nations besought terms of peace, which Aurélius readily granted, as he was anxious to suppress a dangerous rebellion in the east, where his lieutenant, Avid'ius Cas'sius, had proclaimed himself emperor. But Cas'sius, though a formidable rival, had not the prudence necessary for success in a civil war; he disgusted his soldiers by the excessive severity of his discipline, and was murdered by one of his own centurions. Aurélius showed great regret for the destruction of his rival, lamenting that he had been deprived of an opportunity of showing mercy. He forbade the prosecution of those who had joined in the revolt, and took the young family of Cas'sius under his own protection. Having restored tranquillity, the emperor returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph with his son Com'modus, whom he had recently declared his successor, and invested with the tribunitian power.

The persecution of the Christians had been renewed in this reign,

probably at the instigation of the Stoic philosophers, to whom the superior purity of the Christian doctrines gave great offence; and among the most illustrious victims of imperial bigotry was the celebrated Jus'tin Mar'tyr, whose apologies for Christianity, addressed to the emperors Antonínus and Aurélius, are among the best, as well as the earliest works, written to refute the calumnies with which in every age the true faith has been assailed. Toward the close of his reign the emperor became more tolerant; some say in consequence of the miraculous shower: others, with more probability, ascribe the change to his having learned the falsehood of the charges brought against the Christians.

Aurélius had not been long in Rome when war was unexpectedly renewed along the Rhine and Danube. The great migration of nations, which was ere long to change the entire face of the civilized world, had now commenced, and the German tribes along the frontiers, pressed forward by hordes in their rear, were necessarily forced to encroach on the limits of the empire. So formidable was the invasion, whose cause was as yet unknown, that the emperor found it necessary to take the field in person. He gained several important victories, and was preparing to reduce Germany into a province, when he was seized with a violent fever at Vindobóna (*Vienna*), to which he fell a victim in a few days (A. D. 180). The glory of the empire may be said to have expired with Aurélius: he was the last emperor who made the good of his subjects the chief object of his government; and he was one of the few princes who attained a high rank in literature. His Meditations, which have come down to our time, contain a summary of the best rules for a virtuous life that have ever been devised by unassisted reason or simple philosophy.

Com'modus was the first emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the second that received the empire as a paternal inheritance. He had been spoiled in youth by his mother Faustína, a woman of very violent passions and sanguinary temper, who corrupted her son's mind both by precept and example. His debaucheries exceeded those of all his predecessors in extravagance and iniquity: even his own sisters became the victims of his lust, and one of them, having reproached him, was murdered by his hand. All his sports were cruel: he loved to roam through the streets wounding and slaying the unsuspicious passengers; he frequently contended with the gladiators on the public stage, and delighted to display feats of strength, for his muscular powers were unrivalled. But he showed no disposition for foreign war; on the contrary, he concluded a peace with the Quádi and Marcoman'ni, abandoning the territories that had been conquered by his father. An attempt made to asassinate this monster, in the third year of his reign, stimulated his natural cruelty to the most savage excess: his assailant, aiming a blow at him with a dagger, exclaimed, "The senate sends thee this!" and though the murder was prevented by the prompt interference of the guards, the words sank deep into the emperor's breast, and thenceforward he showed inveterate suspicion and hatred to the whole body of senators. Scarcely had he escaped this danger, when he was exposed to one more formidable, arising from the war of the deserters. A common soldier, named Mater'nus, guilty of the unusual crime of abandoning his colors, assembled a band of robbers in

Gaul, and being joined by profligates from every part of the empire, pillaged and laid waste that province. Being reduced to great straits by the exertions of Pescen'nius Niger, Mater'nus divided his men into several small bands, and marched privately with them by different ways into Italy, designing to murder Com'modus at a public festival, and in the confusion seize the empire. The conspirators reached Rome in safety, but just as the plot was on the point of exploding, they were betrayed by their accomplices, arrested, and put to death.

An alarming insurrection of the Roman populace, directed not so much against the emperor as his minister Clean'der was produced by the exhortations of an unknown woman. The prætorian horse charged the multitude, but were defeated with loss, as cavalry generally are when acting against a mob in narrow streets. Com'modus, alarmed by the tumult, sacrificed his minister, and the fury of the Romans was appeased.

Having formed the wild project of entering on the consular dignity armed as a gladiator, and marching in procession from the gladiatorial school instead of the palace, he was so enraged by the remonstrances of his concubine Mar'cia, that he resolved to put her to death. Having accidentally discovered her danger, she determined to murder Com'modus, and being aided by some officers of the household, strangled him in his bed (A. D. 192). No sooner was his death known, than the senate, without waiting for the return of day, assembled hastily, annulled his acts, ordered all his statues to be thrown down, and demanded that his body should be dragged through the streets and cast into the Tiber. The latter indignity was prevented by a private and hurried funeral.

SECTION IV.—*Foreign Commerce of the Romans in the age of the Antonines.*

IF the reign of Augustus be justly celebrated for the perfection of Roman literature, those of the Antonines, including even that of the wicked Com'modus, deserve to be honored for the great improvements made in trade and commerce especially by the opening of new communications with India. Tad'mor, or Palmyra, the wondrous city of the desert, distant only eighty-five miles from the Euphrates, and about one hundred and seventeen from the nearest coast of the Mediterranean, was the centre of the trade between Europe and southern Persia, including the countries bordering on the Indus, and the districts now attached to the Bombay presidency. In consequence of the great exports that this trade naturally caused from the harbors of the Levant, great numbers of Syrian merchants settled in Rome, some of whom attained the highest honors of the state. It would appear that some merchants used a more northern route by the Caspian and Oxus; for we find the Roman geographers tolerably well acquainted with the countries that now form the kingdoms of Khiva and Bokhara. The great caravan route across Asia, however commenced at Byzantium (*Constantinople*), which was long the seat of flourishing commerce before it became the metropolis of an empire. Having passed the Bos'phorus, the merchant adventurers proceeded through Anatolia, and crossed the Euphrátes near Hierap'olis (*Bambúch*); thence they proceeded to Ecbatána (*Hamadan*), the ancient capital of the Medes, and Hecatompy'los (*Damaghan*), the me-

tropolis of the Parthians. Thence they proceeded circuitously to Hyrcánia (*Jorjan*) and A'ria (*Herat*). Finally they came to Báctra (*Balkh*), long the principal mart of central Asia. From Báctra there were two caravan routes, one to north India, over the western part of the Himalaya, called the Indian Caucasus (*Hindu Kúsh*), the other toward the frontiers of Ser'ica (*China*), over the lofty mountain-chain of Imäus (*Belúr Tag*), through a winding ravine which was marked by a celebrated station called the Stone Tower, whose ruins are said still to exist, under the name of *Chihel Sútun*, or the Forty Columns. Little was known of the countries between the Imaus and Ser'ica, which were probably traversed by Bactrian rather than European merchants; but the road was described as wonderfully difficult and tedious.

As the progress of the caravans was liable to frequent interruptions from the Parthians, and the conveyance of manufactured silks through the deserts very toilsome, the emperor Antonínus attempted to open a communication with the Chinese by sea. Of this singular transaction no record has yet been found in any of the Greek or Latin authors; but M. de Guignes discovered it stated in a very old Chinese historical work, that an embassy had come by sea from Antún, the king of the people of the western ocean, to Yan-ti, or rather Han-húán-ti, who ruled over China in the hundred and sixty-sixth year of the Christian era. The name and date sufficiently identify Antún with Antonínus, and the projected intercourse was well worthy the attention of that enlightened emperor; but nothing is known respecting the results of this embassy.

We have already mentioned the great increase of intercourse between Egypt and India, when the former country was governed by the Ptolemies. The navigation was long confined to circuitous voyages round the peninsula of Arabia and the coasts of the Persian gulf; but about a century after the establishment of the Roman dominion, Har'palus, the commander of a ship long engaged in the Indian trade, observing the regular changes of the periodical winds, ventured to steer from the Angus'tiæ Dúræ (*straits of Bab-el-Mandeb or "the Gate of Tears"*) right across the Erythræan sea (*Indian ocean*), and was wafted by the western monsoon to Musíris (*Marjan*), on the Malabar coast. This great improvement was deservedly regarded as of the highest importance; and the western monsoon received the name of Har'palus, in memory of the courageous navigator, who had turned it to such a good account.

The route of the Egyptian trade under the Romans has been described with considerable accuracy by Pliny. Cargoes destined for India were carried up the Nile in boats to Cop'tos (*Ghouft*), thence they were transferred by caravans to My'os Hor'mus (*Cosseir*), or Berenice (*Hubbesh*). The latter, though the longer, was the more frequented road, because the Ptolemies had raised excellent stations and watering-places at convenient distances along the road. From Berenice the fleet sailed in June or July for O'celis (*Gella*), at the mouth of the Arabian gulf, and Cané (*Fartash*), a promontory and emporium on the south-east coast of Arabia Felix. Thence they steered right across the ocean for the Malabar coast, and usually made Musíris in forty days. They began their voyage homeward early in December, and generally

encountered more difficulty on their return on account of the unsteadiness of the winds.

The chief imports from India were spices, precious stones, and muslins. There is a singular confusion in the Latin authors between the finer cotton goods and manufactured silks, which has led to their mixing up the Chinese and Indian trade together. The principal exports were light woollens, chequered linens, glass, wine, and bullion.

Com'modus, with a providence which could scarcely have been expected from him, made some efforts to open the old Carthaginian trade with the interior of Africa; but the result of his labors is unknown. He also paid some attention to the corn-trade, so essential to the prosperity of his central dominions, when Italy had long ceased to produce sufficient grain for the support of its inhabitants; and he established a company to supply corn from northern Africa whenever the crops failed in Egypt.

The trade of the Black sea, so flourishing in the age of the Greek republics, appears to have been greatly diminished after the Romans became masters of the countries at both sides of the Ægean; and it seems probable that little or no commerce passed through the straits of Hercules (*straits of Gibraltar*) into the Atlantic ocean. In consequence of this change, the amber-trade was transferred from the coasts of the northern sea to the banks of the Danube, and the barbarous tribes who brought it from the shores of the Baltic are said to have been astonished at the prices they received for what seemed to them so useless a commodity. Furs were purchased from the Scythian tribes; but this branch of trade appears never to have been of any great amount. The British tin-trade was rather neglected by the Romans; indeed, it appears to have been monopolized by the Gauls, and consequently was confined to the British channel. From this slight sketch it will be seen that the Romans were not naturally a mercantile people. We must now return to the history of the civil wars and revolutions which frustrated the plans of the Antonines for making commercial pursuits the source of unity and happiness to the empire.

Section V.—*From the Extinction of the Flavian Family to the Establishment of Military Despotism, after the murder of Alexander Severus.*

from b. c. 183 to a. d. 235.

After the conspirators had murdered Com'modus, they proceeded to the house of Pub'lius Hel'vius Per'tinax, and declared that they had come to offer him the empire, as being the person who best deserved sovereignty. Per'tinax at first believed that this was some plot for his destruction; but on further inquiry, having learned that Com'modus was really dead, he proceeded to the prætorian camp, and was saluted emperor rather reluctantly by the guards. He met a much warmer reception from the senators, who expected that his firmness and virtue would be displayed in checking the turbulence of the soldiers, now the real masters of the empire. Nor did his conduct disappoint their expectations: he diminished the lavish expenditure of the palace, restored the property that his predecessor had unjustly confiscated to the rightful

owners, and punished those who, by false informations, had stimulated Com'modus to cruelty. These reforms endeared him to the senate and people, but provoked the anger of the turbulent prætorians: three days after his accession, they attempted to make Laciv'ius emperor, but that senator fled from their violence and sought shelter with Per'tinax himself. Their next choice was the consul Fal'co, who showed equal reluctance to accept the precarious station. The emperor, to prevent the recurrence of similar outrages, prepared to restore the ancient military discipline; but this exasperated the mutineers still more, and a party of them, breaking suddenly into the palace, slew Per'tinax, after a brief reign of less than three months. The Romans lamented, but did not venture to revenge his death; most of the citizens shut themselves up in their houses, leaving the soldiers to choose a master for the empire at their discretion.

When the prætorians heard that Per'tinax was dead, they issued a proclamation, declaring that the empire was for sale, and would be given to the highest bidder. Did'ius Juliánus, the wealthiest man in Rome, offered to become a purchaser; his money, and his promise that he would restore all things to the condition in which they were under Com'modus, so pleased the dissolute soldiers, that they proclaimed him emperor, and compelled the senate to recognise their choice. But the Roman populace showed their indignation at this scandalous traffic by showering curses and reproaches on Did'ius whenever he appeared in public, and even assailing him with stones and other missiles. The weak emperor bore these attacks with great equanimity, relying for security on the prætorians, whose favor he secured by fresh largesses.

But though Did'ius, by the favor of the household troops, was able to secure himself in Rome, he could not secure the respect or allegiance of the provinces; and the distant armies, deeming that they had as good a right to confer empire as the prætorian cohorts, offered sovereignty to their commanders. Three competitors together appeared to contest the throne with the ambitious merchant; Clódius Al'binus in Britain, Pescen'nius Níger in Syria, and Septim'ius Sevérus in Illyria. Did'ius prepared to meet the storm with more fortitude than could have been expected; he convoked the senate, and had Sevérus, the nearest of his rivals, declared a public enemy: he also sent deputies to exhort the Illyrian soldiers to return to their allegiance. But the unfortunate emperor was betrayed by his own officers; the deputies tendered their homage to Sevérus, and exhorted him to expedite his march toward Rome. The rapid advance of the Illyrians, the capture of Ravenna and the Roman fleet, and the desertion of the troops sent to guard the passes of the Apennines, so alarmed the prætorians, that they resolved to abandon Did'ius, and make terms with Sevérus. They communicated their resolutions to the consul, who forthwith convoked the senate. A decree was passed for the deposition and death of Did'ius, and ere it was enrolled, the band of executioners was on its march to the palace. Did'ius was found trembling and in tears, ready to resign empire, provided his life might be spared. At sight of the armed band, he exclaimed "What crime have I committed? whose life have I taken away?" But his remonstrances were cut short, by one of the soldiers, who struck off his head. The body was exposed to insult and mockery

in the public streets, and thus ended the two months' reign of "the imperial merchant."

Sevérus, as he approached Rome, issued orders for the execution of all who had shared in the murder of Per'tinax, and for disbanding the prætorian cohorts; but he chose new guards, four times as numerous, in the place of those he had dismissed, which filled Rome with soldiers, and proved the fruitful source of many future disorders. Having conciliated Al'binus by procuring for him the titles of Cæsar and emperor from the senate, he marched to contend against Pescen'nius Níger in the east, previously inducing the senate to declare him a public enemy. His progress appears to have been uninterrupted until he reached Cyz'icus, where he routed the lieutenant of his rival, and by this victory gained possession of lower Asia. Níger did not despair, but collecting a numerous army, occupied the mountain-passes between Cilícia and Syria, posting his main body along the Is'sus, where Alexander and Daríus had long before contended for the sovereignty of Asia. After several engagements, Níger was completely defeated: he attempted to seek safety among the Parthians, but was overtaken near Antioch, and put to death (A. D. 194). Sevérus made a cruel use of his victory, slaughtering without mercy all who had favored the cause of his competitor. Byzantium remained faithful to the defeated general even after his death: it sustained a siege of three years' duration; but was finally taken by storm, its inhabitants sold as slaves, and its walls levelled to the ground.

Thus successful, Sevérus resolved to destroy Al'binus, whose suspicions he had calmed while he was engaged in war with Níger. He first attempted to remove him by assassination; but Al'binus discovered the plot, and made vigorous preparations for open war. This second contest for empire was decided in Gaul; Al'binus, having been completely routed near Lugdúnum (*Lyons*), committed suicide; and Sevérus could only vent his brutal spite on a senseless carcass. The friends of Al'binus met the same fate as the partisans of Níger. Sevérus returned to Rome, where he insulted the senate by pronouncing a labored eulogy on Com'modus; and imitated that wicked monarch's example, by sentencing to a cruel death the most eminent of the nobility.

A war with Parthia recalled the emperor to Asia. He was accompanied by his sons Caracal'la and Géta, who were, like their father, learned in camps from infancy. Sevérus obtained distinguished success; he captured Seleúcia, Ctes'iphon, and Bab'ylon; but he was compelled to raise the siege of Hat'ra (*Hadhr*), which had previously baffled the exertions of Trájan. These exploits might have procured the empire all the advantages to be derived from the rule of a gallant soldier, had not Sevérus chosen for his prime minister Plautiánus, the captain of the prætorian guards: a man of insatiable avarice, whom he intrusted with almost absolute power. The ruin of the premier, however, was occasioned by the very means he took to confirm his security: he procured the marriage of his daughter with Caracal'la; but the young prince, disgusted by her imperious temper, became the bitter enemy of her and Plautiánus. He soon inspired his father with a suspicion that the minister secretly aimed at empire; a charge to which the conduct of Plautiánus gave some color of probability; and when

Sevérus called his servant to account, the prince rushed upon him, and slew him in the imperial presence.

A revolt in Britain once more called the emperor into the field. He proceeded to that island, easily quelled the disturbances, and marching northward, gained several victories over the Caledonians. He extended the frontiers beyond Adrian's wall, and erected a new line of fortifications between the friths of Clyde and Forth; but the additional territory was abandoned in the reign of his successor. The fatigues of these campaigns, and the grief caused by the misconduct of his son Caracal'la, brought the emperor's gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. He died at Eborácum (*York*), in the eighteenth year of his reign (A. D. 211). Sevérus deserves to be ranked among great rather than good princes; he was cruel on system, attributing the misfortunes of Pompey and the murder of Cæsar to their excessive clemency: indeed, he wrote a vindication of his excessive severity, which, unfortunately, has not come down to our times.

Caracal'la and Géta succeeded their father; but the former was the bitter enemy of his more virtuous brother, and soon after his return to Rome, he slew him in his mother's arms. To prevent the consequences of this atrocious murder, he gained the support of the prætorian cohorts by large donatives, and then, with strange inconsistency, prevailed upon the senate to rank his brother in the number of the gods. His sole dependance being on the army, he used the most iniquitous means to procure money for purchasing their venal support. The richest men in Rome were massacred under false accusations of treason, their properties confiscated, and their families insulted. He impoverished his subjects in all the provinces of the empire by excessive taxes; yet he gave away such immense sums to his guards, and paid such heavy annuities to the barbarous tribes on the frontiers, that he was forced to debase the coinage. To lower the pride of the Romans, he granted the name and privileges of free citizens to all the subjects of the empire, and soon after commenced a tour through the provinces, to escape from his unpopularity at home. He undertook an expedition against the Cat'ti and Alleman'ni, but was defeated with great loss, and forced to buy a peace. From Germany he passed into Asia, where he gained some advantages over the Armenians; and then visiting Egypt, he almost depopulated Alexandria, massacring the greater part of its citizens, on account of some lampoons that had been published against him. He was at length assassinated near Edes'sa by Macrínus, the prefect of the prætorian guard, an officer who since the time of Sevérus, ranked next to the emperor (A. D. 217).

The soldiers were greatly enraged at the murder of Caracal'la; but Macrínus, by concealing his share in it, procured his election to the empire. Immediately after his accession, he proclaimed his son Diaduménus his successor, giving him the names of Cæsar and Antonínus: when the troops were assembled to witness this ceremony, they demanded, with one accord, the deification of Caracal'la; and this disgrace to humanity was actually ranked among the gods. While he was thus engaged, the Parthians passed the Roman frontiers, defeated the imperial armies, and compelled Macrínus to purchase a disgraceful peace by a vast sacrifice of wealth and territory. His extreme severity

at length provoked the resentment of the licentious soldiery; they were persuaded by Mœ'sa, maternal aunt of the late emperor, that her grandson Heliogabálus, a youth of fourteen, was the son of their favorite Caracal'la; and a conspiracy was formed to place this young Syrian priest upon the throne. Macrínus, deserted by most of the legions, marched against his competitor with the prætorian cohorts; but he fled from his men the moment that a battle commenced; and the guards, enraged by his cowardice, pursued and slew him (A. D. 218). His son was at the same time taken prisoner, and executed as a common malefactor.

Heliogabálus being thus victorious, sent intelligence of his success from Antioch to the senate, and was immediately acknowledged emperor. Though a mere boy, he was the most infamous monster that ever disgraced a throne. He exceeded Néro in cruelty, Calig'ula in prodigality, and Com'modus in lewdness and debauchery. Soon after his arrival in Rome, he brought his grandmother to the senate, and ordered that she should for the future rank among the members; he also instituted a a senate of women, under the presidency of his mother, the subjects of whose debates, consultations, and decrees, were the dresses of the Roman ladies, and the ceremony and etiquette to be observed in visits and entertainments. The Roman ladies scarcely wanted such an incentive, they were at this time remarkable for the great attention they paid to decorating their persons, and especially ornamenting the head; false hair was very commonly worn, and imported from Gaul, Germany, and the northern parts of Europe.

The lascivious and superstitious idolatry of Syria was established in Rome, and the old forms of the national worship neglected—a change which gave great offence even to the demoralized guards. Mœ'sa, foreseeing that the Romans would not long endure the yoke of so contemptible a profligate, persuaded him to nominate his cousin, the virtuous Alexander Sevérus, heir to the empire; but scarcely had the appointment been made, when Heliogabálus attempted to assassinate the worthy prince. This crime provoked a mutiny of the prætorian cohorts. Heliogabálus, and his mother Sœ'mis, were murdered by the enraged soldiers, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber (A. D. 222). The senate immediately passed a decree excluding women from their body for ever.

Alexander Sevérus commenced his reign by revoking all the edicts that had been issued by former emperors against the Christians. It is probable that his mother was a convert to the faith; for he was well acquainted with its principles, and constantly repeated the golden rule, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," which he caused to be inscribed on his palace and several other edifices. Supported by the favor of the guards, he introduced many beneficial reforms, restoring the authority of the senate, and purifying the administion of justice.

In the fourth year of his reign (A. D. 226), an important revolution in the east produced a total change in the political condition of central Asia. Ardeshír Babegan, called Artaxerxes by the western writers, restored the ancient dynasty and religion of Persia, or, as it was called by the natives, Irán. His standard was the apron of a blacksmith

named Gaváh, who, at an unknown age, had headed an insurrection against the oppressors of his country, similar to that of Wat Tyler in England. Multitudes flocked to the popular flag, and the Parthian, or Arsacid dynasty, was speedily subverted. One great effect of this revolution was to give a sudden and complete check to the progress of Christianity eastward; it was thrown back upon the west; but it long retained the marks of its contact, with the mystic and gloomy doctrines that have from unknown ages prevailed in central Asia. The Magian religion was restored to its pristine splendor: the sacred fire, that had been concealed in the mountains, once more burned on the ancient altars; and the Sassanides, as Ardeshír's dynasty was named from Sassan, the most celebrated of his ancestors, refused to tolerate any faith but that of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster.

The great aim of the Sassanid dynasty was to restore the nationality of Persia; many of the edifices of the Hystaspid times were repaired, and all new buildings erected by the successors of Ardeshír were, as much as possible, constructed on ancient models. Hence many of their buildings are attributed to the earlier races of kings; and it is not often easy to determine from external evidence to which age of Persian history their splendid halls and palaces should be assigned. The remains of the magnificent palace of the Persian kings in Ctesiphon, which bears the name of Cyrus, may be unquestionably regarded as a Sassanid monument; and as such the building affords proof of the great power and wealth of the house of Sassan.

Ardeshír, placed upon the throne of Cyrus, claimed that monarch's empire as his inheritance, and prepared to drive the Romans from Asia. Alexander hastened to Antioch, and marched against the Persians, over whom he gained a great victory; but a pestilence breaking out in his army prevented him from improving his advantages. He returned to Rome, and entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not, as was usual, by four white horses, but by four of the elephants he had captured. Soon after his return, intelligence arrived that the Germans had passed the Rhine, and were devastating Gaul; upon which the emperor, to the great grief of the senate and people, led his victorious armies to protect that province. He found the legions quartered in Gaul demoralized by a long course of indulgence, and immediately exerted himself to restore the ancient discipline. The licentious soldiers could not endure the change, and their discontents were fomented by Maximin, a Thracian peasant, who had risen from the ranks to high command by his uncommon strength and valor. The prince's guards were bribed to quit their posts; and a band of assassins entering the imperial tent slew him without resistance (A. D. 235). Thus fell this excellent prince in the very bloom of youth, just as his plans for restoring the ancient glory of the empire were beginning to be matured.

SECTION VI.—*From the Murder of Alexander to the Captivity of Valerian and the Usurpation of the Thirty Tyrants.*

FROM A. D. 235 TO A. D. 259.

THE murder of Alexander occasioned a great tumult, and confusion in the camp, during which the Pannonians proclaimed Maximin em-

peror; and the rest of the army seeing no other candidate come forward, acquiesced in their choice. Great personal strength was the first cause of the new emperor's elevation: it is said he could draw a wagon which two oxen could not move, tear trees up by the roots, and crush pebbles to dust in his hands. But he was a brutal, ignorant barbarian, uniting the cunning to the ferocity of a savage. He commenced his reign by massacring all who had been intimate with the late emperor, or who had shown sorrow for his death; and he sent orders to the senate to register his sanguinary decrees, without asking that body to confirm his election. The war against the Germans was continued with great success; one hundred and fifty of their villages were burned to the ground; their country, to an extent of four hundred square miles, laid desolate; and an incredible number of prisoners sent to be sold as slaves in Italy. Maximin marched next against the Dacians and Sarmatians, over whom he gained several victories; and it is believed that he would have extended the frontiers of the empire to the northern ocean, had not his avarice and cruelty provoked a civil war. The revolt commenced in Africa, where two young men of high rank being condemned by the emperor's receiver-general to pay a fine that would have reduced them to beggary, conspired to save their fortunes by destroying him; they were joined by several of the legionaries, and so rapid was their success, that they ventured to proclaim Gordian, proconsul of Africa, then in the eightieth year of his age, sovereign of the empire. When news of this event reached Rome, the senators with one accord revolted from Maximin, and ordered all his friends in the city to be murdered. Intelligence of these events being conveyed to Maximin, he made peace with the northern barbarians, and led his army toward Italy, promising his soldiers that they should be enriched by the forfeited estates of his enemies. On his march he learned that Gordian and his son had been defeated and slain by Capeliánus in Africa, but that the senate, undaunted by this calamity, had conferred the empire on Pupiénus and Balbínus. This choice did not satisfy the people; a vast multitude assembled while the new emperors were offering the usual sacrifice, and demanded with loud clamor a prince of the Gordian family. After vainly attempting to disperse the mob, Balbínus and Pupiénus sent for young Gordian, then only twelve years old, and proclaimed him Cæsar. In the meantime, Maximin entered Italy, and laid siege to Aquiléia. The garrison made a very brave defence; and the besiegers, hated by the entire empire, suffered more than the besieged, their stragglers being cut off, and their convoys intercepted. Exasperated by their sufferings, the imperialists resolved to remove the cause; a large body marched in the noonday to the tent of Maximin, and slew him, his son, and all his principal favorites (A. D. 238). Though several legions of Pannonians and Thracians were in the camp, they did not attempt to revenge the death of an emperor who had always shown more favor to the barbarian than the Roman legions.

Scarcely had domestic tranquillity been restored, when the empire was involved in foreign wars. The Car'pi and Goths, passing the Danube, ravaged the province of Mœ'sia; while the Persians renewed their hostilities on the eastern frontiers. It was agreed among the princes, that Pupiénus should undertake the defence of Syria, Balbínus

march against the Goths, and Gordian remain at the head of the administration in Rome. But while the necessary armaments were in preparation, a dangerous mutiny broke out among the prætorians: Pupiénus and Balbínus, divided by mutual jealousies, could not unite for its suppression: they were both murdered, and young Gordian remained sole emperor.

Misithéus, captain of the prætorian guards, and father-in-law of the emperor, acted as minister and guardian of young Gordian. He was admirably qualified for such an important office, uniting the valor of a soldier to the wisdom of a statesman. The rapid successes of Shahpúr, or, as he was called by the Romans, Sápor, the second prince of the Sassanid dynasty, directed the attention of the emperor to the Persian war, and he went in person to protect the province of Syria. On his march toward the Hellespont, Gordian was defeated in a tumultuous engagement by the Alans; but the barbarians did not know how to improve their success, and, after a short delay, he arrived safely in Asia. The Persians were defeated in every engagement; and Sápor, forced to abandon Mesopotámia, was pursued to the very gates of Ctes'iphon. But these victories were more than counterbalanced by the death of Misithéus, who showed his patriotism, even in his last moments, by bequeathing all his estates to the Roman people. Gordian, having appointed Philip, the Arabian, his prime minister, continued the war against Sápor, and gave the Persians a decisive overthrow on the banks of the Chab'oras (*Khabúr*), a tributary to the Euphrátes, in Mesopotamia. But while the young conqueror was pursuing the advantages of his victory, a mutiny was excited in his army by the traitor Philip, whom he was compelled to make a partner of his empire. Not content with this elevation, Philip procured the assassination of his youthful benefactor (A. D. 244); but the soldiers soon repented of their crime, and raised a splendid mausoleum to the memory of the youthful hero.

Philip, being elevated to the empire by the army, wrote to the senate, ascribing the death of Gordian to a natural disease: he then concluded a hasty peace with the Persians, and, returning to Syria, made all speed to Rome. Though the senate and people, warmly attached to the Gordian family, at first regarded him with aversion, he soon won their affections by his mild administration and obliging behavior. He is said to have been secretly a Christian, but many of his actions show that he had little regard for any religion; however, he was a decided enemy to persecution. His reign was rendered remarkable by the celebration of secular games for the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the city: it was also disturbed by several insurrections, especially in Pannónia, the suppression of which he intrusted to Trajánus Décius. Scarcely had this general reached Illyr'icum, when his soldiers compelled him, by the threat of instant death, to assume the imperial purple. Philip, leaving his son to protect Rome, marched against Décius, but was defeated and slain near Verona (A. D. 249) His son was massacred by the prætorian guards.

Décius commenced his reign by one of the most sanguinary persecutions that ever oppressed the church. The Christians throughout the empire were driven from their habitations, dragged to execution like common malefactors, and subjected to the most exquisite tortures

cruelty itself could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were violated, friend betrayed friend, brother informed against brother, children against their parents, and parents against their children; every one thinking it meritorious to discover a Christian and procure his death. Décius vented his rage chiefly against the bishops. Among his victims were Fábian, bishop of Rome; Bab'ylaz, bishop of Antioch; and Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem. Great numbers of Christians betook themselves to mountains, rocks, and deserts, choosing rather to live among wild beasts than with men who had divested themselves of reason and humanity. Among these was the celebrated Paul, who withdrew into the deserts of Egypt, where he is said to have lived a solitary life for the greater part of a century. He is usually regarded as the father and founder of the order of anchorets, or hermits, whose superstitious austerities appear to have been derived from the extraordinary penances practised by the fanatics of central and southern Asia.

This persecution was interrupted by an invasion of the Goths, who, for the first time, crossed the Danube in considerable numbers, and devastated Mœ'sia. Décius marched against them, and gained some important advantages; but in his last battle, charging into the midst of the enemy to avenge the death of his son, he was overpowered and slain (A. D. 251). A great number of the Romans, thus deprived of their leader, fell victims to the barbarians; the survivors, grateful for the protection afforded them by the legions of Gallus, who commanded in the neighborhood, proclaimed that general emperor.

Gallus concluded a dishonorable peace with the Goths, and renewed the persecutions of the Christians. His dastardly conduct provoked general resentment; the provincial armies revolted, but the most dangerous insurrection was that headed by Æmiliánus, who was proclaimed emperor in Mœ'sia. He led his forces into Italy, and the hostile armies met at Interamna (*Terni*); but just as an engagement was about to commence, Gallus was murdered by his own soldiers (A. D. 253), and Æmiliánus proclaimed emperor. In three months Æmiliánus himself met a similar fate, the army having chosen Valérian, the governor of Gaul, to the sovereignty.

Valérian, though now sixty years of age, possessed powers that might have revived the sinking fortunes of the empire, which was now invaded on all sides. The Goths, who had formed a powerful monarchy on the lower Danube and the northern coasts of the Black sea, extended their territories to the Borys'thenes (*Dnieper*) and Tanáis (*Don*): they ravaged Mœ'sia, Thrace, and Macedon; while their fleets, which soon became formidable after the capture of the Tauric Chersonese (*Crim Tartary*), devastated the coasts both of the European and Asiatic provinces. The great confederation of the Franks became formidable on the lower Rhine, and not less dangerous was that of the Allemanni on the upper part of that river. The Carpians and Sarmatians laid Mœ'sia waste.

The Sarmatians were particularly formidable for their cavalry: both horses and men were covered with a curious kind of scale armor formed of the sliced hoofs of animals, which hung sufficiently loose not to impede the motions of the warrior, and was yet strong enough to

turn aside arrows and javelins. The light cavalry of the Persians at the same time devastated the greater part of western Asia, extending their ravages even to the shores of the Mediterranean.

Galliénus, the emperor's son, whom Valérian had chosen for his colleague, and Aurelian, destined to succeed him in the empire, gained several victories over the Germanic tribes, while Valérian marched in person against the Scythians and Persians, who had invaded Asia. He gained a victory over the former in Anatolia, but, imprudently passing the Euphrátes, he was surrounded by Sápor's army near Edes'sa, in a situation where neither courage nor military skill could be of any avail, and was forced to surrender at discretion (A. D. 259). During nine years Valérian languished in hopeless captivity, the object of scorn and insult to his brutal conqueror, while no effort was made for his liberation by his unnatural son.

SECTION VII.—*From the Captivity of Valerian to the Resignation of Dioclesian.*

FROM A. D. 260 TO A. D. 305.

GALLIE'NUS succeeded to the throne, receiving the news of his father's misfortunes with secret pleasure and open indifference. He seemed to be versed in everything but the art of government; "he was master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator and elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and most contemptible prince."* At the moment of his accession, the barbarians, encouraged by the captivity of Valérian, invaded the empire on all sides. Italy itself was invaded by the Germans, who advanced to Raven'na but they were forced to retire by the emperor. Galliénus, after this exertion, sunk into complete inactivity: his indolence roused a host of competitors for the empire in the different provinces, commonly called "the thirty tyrants," though the number of pretenders did not exceed nineteen. It would be impossible to describe the various struggles for power between these rivals, which distracted every part of the empire. Far the most remarkable of them was Odenátus, who assumed the purple at Palmy'ra, gained several great victories over the Persians, and besieged Sápor in Ctes'iphon. Though he failed to take the city, he checked for a long time the progress of the Sassan'ides. Galliénus, hearing of these great achievements, resolved to convert a rival into a friend, and proclaimed Odenátus his partner in the empire. But this great man was murdered by some of his own family: he was succeeded by his wife, the celebrated Zenóbia, who took the title of Queen of the East. Galliénus did not long survive him: he was murdered while besieging Aureólus, one of his rivals, in Mediolanum (*Milan*); but before his death he transmitted his rights to Claúdius, a general of great reputation (A. D. 268). Most of the other tyrants had previously fallen in battle or by assassination.

Mar'cus Aurélius Claúdius, having conquered his only rival, Auréolus, marched against the Germans and Goths, whom he routed with great slaughter. He then prepared to march against Zenóbia, who had

* Gibbon.

conquered Egypt; but a pestilence broke out in his army, and the emperor himself was one of its victims (A. D. 270). Extraordinary honors were paid to his memory by the senate. His brother was elected emperor by acclamation; but in seventeen days he so displeased the army by attempting to revive the ancient discipline, that he was deposed and murdered.

Aurélian, a native of Sir'mium, in Pannónia, was chosen emperor by the army; and the senate, well acquainted with his merits, joyfully confirmed the election. He made peace with the Goths, and led his army against the Germans, who had once more invaded Italy. Aurélian was at first defeated; but he soon retrieved his loss, and cut the whole of the barbarian army to pieces. His next victory was obtained over the Vandals, a new horde that had passed the Danube; and having thus secured the tranquillity of Europe, he marched to rescue the eastern provinces from Zenóbia.

The queen of Pal'myra was one of the most illustrious women recorded in history: she claimed descent from the Egyptian Ptolemies, but was probably of Jewish origin, since she is said to have professed the Jewish religion. She was well acquainted with the principal languages of the eastern and western worlds, skilled in the leading sciences of her day, and so well versed in affairs of state, that the successes of her husband, Odenátus, are generally attributed to his having acted by her advice. For nearly six years she ruled Syria and Mesopotámia, discharging all the duties of an excellent sovereign and intrepid commander. Ambition, however, precipitated her ruin: not satisfied with the conquest of Egypt, she aspired at the sovereignty of Asia, and Aurélian resolved to put an end to usurpations so disgraceful to the Roman fame.

On his march through Thrace, the emperor fought a great battle with the Goths. Not satisfied with a single victory, he pursued them across the Danube, routed their forces a second time, and slew one of their kings. Passing over into Asia, he encountered the forces of Zenóbia near Antioch; the battle was sanguinary and well contested, but in the end the Romans prevailed. A second victory enabled Aurélian to besiege Palmy'ra, which the dauntless queen defended with great spirit and resolution. At length, finding that there was no hope of succor, she attempted secretly to fly into Persia, but was betrayed by her servants, and taken prisoner. Palmy'ra surrendered; but the citizens soon revolting, this great commercial capital was stormed, its inhabitants put to the sword, and its trade and prosperity irretrievably ruined.

Scarcely had this revolt been subdued, when Aurélian was called upon to quell a formidable insurrection in Egypt. The celerity of his march disconcerted the rebels; they were speedily conquered; and the emperor, having thus suppressed all the troubles of the east, resolved to recover Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which had now for thirteen years been the prey of different tyrants. A single campaign restored these provinces to the empire; and Aurélian, returning to Rome, was honored with the most magnificent triumph that the city had ever beheld. Far more honorable to him, however, was his generous treatment of his captives—a suitable estate was granted at Tibur (*Tivoli*) to Zenóbia and her children. The princess, reconciling herself to her lot, became a

respectable Roman matron; and her family was not extinct in the fifth century.

Tranquillity was first disturbed by a violent insurrection excited at Rome by the debasing of the coinage. The imperial troops, sent to drive the mob from the Cœlian hill, were routed with the loss of seven thousand men, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the insurgents were reduced. Aurélian punished the principal authors of the tumult with great severity, not to say cruelty, and, finding that he had thus become unpopular, left the city. He directed his course to Gaul, where he appeased some growing disturbances; thence he marched to Vindelícia, and restored it to the empire: but he abandoned the province of Dácia to the barbarians, withdrawing all the Roman garrisons that had been stationed beyond the Danube.

Aurélian's virtues were sullied by the sternness and severity that naturally belongs to a peasant and a soldier. His officers dreaded his inflexibility, which had been already shown in his sentencing his own nephew to death. While he was thus preparing to lead his army against the Persians, he discovered an act of peculation committed by Mnesthéus, one of his secretaries, and threatened a severe punishment. The guilty functionary, having no other hope of escape, conspired with several others exposed to legal vengeance: they assailed the emperor, escorted only by a few friends, on his road to Byzantium, and slew him with innumerable wounds (A. D. 275). But the assassins did not escape the punishment due to their crimes; the soldiers, attached fondly to an emperor who had so often led them to victory, tore the authors of his death to pieces. They showed, at the same time, greater respect for the law than had ever been displayed by their predecessors, cheerfully referring the choice of an emperor to the senate.

After a tranquil interregnum of more than six months, the senate elected Mar'cus Claúdius Tacit'us, a member of their own body, in spite of his great age, for he was already passed his seventy-fifth year. Having enacted some useful laws, the emperor marched against the A'lans, who had overrun Asia Minor. He defeated the barbarians; but the fatigues of the campaign proved too much for his constitution, and he died in Cappadocia, after a short reign of about seven months.

Flóran, the brother of Tacit'us, was elected emperor by the senate, but Mar'cus Aurélius Próbus was the choice of the Syrian army; and a civil war soon began between these rivals. But Flórian's own soldiers took offence at some part of his conduct, rose in sudden mutiny, and put him to death. Próbus, now undisputed master of the empire, led his troops from Asia to Gaul, which was again devastated by the German tribes; he not only defeated the barbarians, but pursued them into their own country, where he gained greater advantages than any of his predecessors. Thence he passed into Thrace, where he humbled the Goths; and returning to Asia, he completely subdued the insurgent Isaurians, whose lands he divided among his veterans. Alarmed at these victories, Bahram II., king of Persia, called Var'ames by the western writers, sent ambassadors to solicit peace, and submitted to the terms dictated by the emperor. Three competitors in different provinces were next subdued; but when wars were at an end, the emperor employed his armies in useful public works, which so offended the licen-

tious soldiery, that they suddenly attacked and slew him (A. D. 282). They subsequently repented of the crime, and united to raise a stately monument to his memory.

Cárus, the captain of the prætorian guards, was elected emperor by the army; and the senate, not without reluctance, assented to the arrangement. The new emperor gave the title of Cæsar to his sons Carínus and Numeriánus, the former of whom was one of the most depraved young men of his time; the latter a model of every virtue. The new emperor signalized his accession by a brilliant victory over the Sarmatians: he would have pursued these barbarians into their native wilds, had he not been summoned to Asia by a new invasion of the Persians. Leaving the care of the western provinces to Carinus, the emperor, accompanied by Numeriánus, hastened into Mesopotámia, where he defeated Bahram, and, pursuing the Persians into their own country, besieged Ctes'iphon. The city would probably have been taken, had not the emperor fallen a victim to disease, or, as others say, to a thunderbolt (A. D. 283). Numeriánus was chosen his successor; but, after a few months' reign, he was assassinated by A'per his father-in-law and captain of his guards. The crime, however, was discovered, and the murderer put to death by the army.

Dioclésian, said to have been originally a slave, was unanimously saluted emperor, by the army. He was proclaimed at Chal'cedon on the 17th of December, A. D. 284; an epoch that deserves to be remembered, as it marks the beginning of a new era, called "the era of Dioclésian," or "the era of martyrs," which long prevailed in the church, and is still used by the Copts, the Abyssinians, and other African nations. When Carinus heard of his brother's death, he assembled a numerous army, marched from Gaul into Illyr'icum, where he conquered a usurper named Juliánus, and thence advancing into Mœ'sia, inflicted a severe defeat on the army of Dioclésian, in the plains of Mar'gus (*Morava Hissar*). But in the very moment of victory a tribune, whose wife he had seduced, seized the opportunity of revenge, and by a single blow put an end to the civil war.

Dioclésian made a generous use of his victory: in an age when death, exile, and confiscation, were the usual fate of the conquered party, the new emperor did not even deprive his rival's ministers of office. The troubles of the empire appearing too great to be managed by a single mind, Dioclésian voluntarily gave himself a colleague, selecting for this high situation his friend Maximian, a brave and skilful soldier, but unfortunately also an ignorant and ferocious barbarian. Scarcely had the appointment been made, when Maximian was called upon to exert his military talents in Gaul, both in suppressing insurrections and checking the barbarians. He effected his purposes with great skill; while his colleague gained several victories over the Sarmatians in the east.

A brief interval of tranquillity was followed by new and more alarming disturbances in every part of the empire. The two sovereigns, in great alarm, resolved on a further division of authority; each chose an associate and successor, with the title of Cæsar, who was to be invested with a considerable share of imperial power: to this new dignity Dioclésian nominated Max'imin Galérius; and Maximian, Constan'tius Chlórus. A division of the empire followed: Dioclésian took the prov-

inces beyond the Ægean sea; Thrace and Illyr'icum were assigned to Galérius; Maximian received Italy and Africa; Gaul, Spain, and Britain, were intrusted to Constan'tius.

Although this arrangement appears to have been rendered necessary by the circumstances of the empire, it undoubtedly hastened its decline: four courts, with all their expensive adjuncts, were now to be maintained, instead of one: taxes were multiplied; the inhabitants of several provinces reduced to beggary, and agriculturists, unable to meet the imposts levied on land and produce, left the fields in many districts uncultivated. Italy, which had hitherto borne a very light share of the public burdens, was no longer permitted to claim exemption as the seat of domestic empire, and was soon reduced to a deplorable condition.

Britain, which had been usurped by Caraúsius, early claimed the attention of Constan'tius: it was, however, necessary to prepare a fleet for the invasion, as the usurper was powerful by sea; and while the naval armament was preparing, Constan'tius gained several victories over the German hordes. Just as he was about to set sail, he learned that Carúsius had been deposed and murdered by a new usurper, named Allec'tus, far inferior to his victim in talent and popularity. The Cæsar instantly hastened to cross the channel; Allec'tus was defeated and slain in Kent, the remainder of the province quickly reduced to obedience, and the ravages of the barbarians on the northern frontiers prevented. Galérius was as successful on the Danube as Constan'tius in Britain and on the Rhine; Maximian reduced the barbarous tribes that had invaded Africa, while Dioclésian quelled a dangerous revolt in Egypt. He was soon summoned to protect the empire from a dangerous invasion of the Persians; Galérius had been sent from the Danube to the Euphrates to check their progress, but he was defeated by the Sassanid monarch Narsí, on the very field which had been so fatal to Cras'sus and his legions. Dioclésian showed great indignation at the misconduct of Galérius, to which he attributed the recent calamity; but at length he permitted himself to be mollified, and intrusted the Cæsar with a new army for a second campaign.

In the following year the Romans again invaded Persia; but, profiting by recent and bitter experience, the leader left the plains of Mesopotámia on the right, and led his forces through the Armenian mountains, which were more favorable for the operations of his infantry, in which the principal strength of his army consisted. Masking his course from the enemy, Galérius unexpectedly rushed down from the the hills on the Persian lines: the surprise, the impetuosity of the attack, and the desire for revenge which animated the Romans, rendered their onset irresistible. Narsí was severely wounded, but escaped by the swiftness of his horse, leaving his entire family, his magnificent tents, and his sumptuous camp-equipage, as a prize to the conquerors. A bag of embossed leather filled with pearls, fell into the hands of a private soldier: unacquainted with the value of his prize, he flung the pearls away, keeping the bag as something that might be useful. Galérius treated his royal captives with the greatest kindness and generosity; his conduct produced such an effect on Narsí's heart, that he solicited peace. The great province of Mesopotámia ((*Juzírah*) was yielded to the Romans, together with five districts beyond the Tigris,

including the greater part of Cardúchia (*Kurdistán*), a country more fruitful in soldiers than grain, but which, from its strength and position, commands the greater part of western Asia. These districts were taken from Tiridátes, king of Armenia, the ally of the Romans; but he was indemnified, at the expense of Persia, by the fine province of Atropatené (*Azerbíján*). When the Armenian took possession of this country, he made its chief city, Taúris (*Tabriz*), the metropolis of his kingdom, and greatly improved that ancient capital.

But these triumphs were sullied by a general persecution of the Christians (the tenth and last), which Dioclésian is said to have commenced at the instigation of Galérius (A. D. 303). It lasted ten entire years, and exceeded all the preceding in its indiscriminate massacres and severities. Such multitudes of Christians suffered death, in all the provinces of the empire, that the emperors believed that they had accomplished their purpose, and completely extirpated Christianity. They told the world in a pompous inscription, that they had extinguished the Christian name and superstition, and everywhere restored the worship of the gods to its former purity and lustre. But the church triumphed over all their artifices and power; and, in spite of the utmost efforts of tyranny, many years had not elapsed after the publication of this boast, when it reigned triumphant in the very metropolis of idolatry and superstition.

Dioclésian prepared to return to Rome, but was delayed for some time by a strange revolt in Syria. Eugénius, an officer of little or no reputation, had been intrusted with the command of five hundred men in Seleúcia, who, being employed all day in cleansing the harbor, and compelled to work all night baking their own bread, resolved to deliver themselves from such insupportable drudgery; and forthwith proclaimed their governor emperor. Eugénius at first refused the dignity; but being threatened with instant death, he allowed himself to be invested with the purple, and by a rapid march, got possession of Antioch. When the citizens, however, recovered from their surprise, they fell upon the insurgents, and cut them to pieces. Dioclésian, instead of rewarding the people of Antioch for their fidelity, ordered their chief magistrates to be put to death without inquiry or trial; a crime which rendered him so odious to the Syrians, that for more than ninety years they could not hear his name pronounced without a shudder.

Rome, on the return of the two emperors, witnessed for the last time, the splendid ceremonial of a triumph; it was less costly than those of Aurélian and Próbus, but it commemorated greater and more useful victories. In his triumph, and in the spectacles that followed it, however, Dioclésian having displayed more parsimony than was pleasing to the people, he was assailed by jests and lampoons, which annoyed him so much, that he quitted the city for Raven'na. On his journey a severe storm arose, and the cold which he caught produced a long and lingering disease that affected his reason. After he had begun to recover, he was induced, or perhaps compelled, to resign the empire, by Galérius (A. D. 305). He persuaded Maximian to abdicate also. The two Cæsars became emperors, and chose two other nobles to fill the station they had occupied.

Dioclésian survived his abdication nearly nine years; he resided

during this time at his country-seat near Salóna (*Spalatro*), where the ruins of his palace may still be seen. He never regretted the power he had resigned; and when Maximian and others wrote, inviting him to make a struggle for empire, he replied: "I wish you would come to Salóna, and see the cabbages I have planted: after having once visited my garden, you would never again mention to me the name of empire." The close of his life was embittered by domestic misfortune, by the ingratitude of Constantine and Licin'ius, and by the calamities which he foresaw that the dissensions of these rivals would bring upon the empire. There are various accounts given of the manner of his death, and it is impossible to discover whether he fell by his own hand or by natural disease.

Section VIII.—*From the Abdication of Dioclésian to the Death of Constantine the Great.*

from A. D. 303 to A. D. 337.

The Cæsars, Sevérus and Max'imin, owed their elevation to Galérius; but they were not quite so subservient to his wishes as he expected, both showing themselves favorable to the toleration of the Christians. Arrangements were made for the division of the empire; Constan'tius and Sevérus received the western provinces; Galérius and Max'imin ruled all the territories east of the Adriatic. Constantine, the celebrated son of Constan'tius, was sick in the provinces assigned to Galérius when the empire was thus divided; some efforts were made to assassinate a prince whose talents and popularity had already rendered him formidable. He escaped the danger by a rapid flight, and came to his father, who was just about to embark at Gessoríacum (*Boulogne*) for Britain. The presence of Constantine was required in that island by a formidable invasion of the Picts, a nation now for the first time mentioned in history; but while on his march against these barbarians, he was seized with a mortal disease, and died at Ebor'acum (*York*), where his body was honorably interred by his son Constantine (A. D. 306).

Constantine was instantly proclaimed Augustus by the soldiers; but Galérius would only give him the title of Cæsar, declaring that Sevérus was his partner in the empire. Maxen'tius, the son of Maximian, indignant at his exclusion from power, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the dissatisfied soldiery, and induced his father to abandon his solitude, and remount the throne. Sevérus led an army against them; but he was abandoned by the greater part of his troops, taken prisoner, and put to death (A. D. 307). Maximian, knowing that Galérius would revenge the murder of Sevérus, strengthened himself by entering into close alliance with Constantine, to whom he gave his daughter Fausta in marriage. Nor did he dread Galérius without a cause: that emperor hastened from the east with a large army, and attempted to besiege Rome; but failing in this enterprise, he permitted his soldiers to devastate Italy. Maximian had gone to Gaul, hoping to receive aid from Constantine; but finding that prudent prince by no means disposed to encounter the hazards of a dangerous war, and hearing that Galérius had retreated precipitately, he returned to Rome,

where he reigned conjointly with his son. In the meantime, Galérius conferred the title of emperor on his friend Licínius; and thus the empire was shared between six sovereigns.*

Maximian having quarrelled with his son, returned to Gaul, where he began to plot against the life of Constantine; but his treachery was discovered, and he was deservedly executed (A. D. 310). In the following year a loathsome disease, produced by debauchery, removed Galérius from the stage; his dominions were divided between Maximin and Licínius. It was scarcely possible that peace could long continue between the four princes who now shared the empire. Constantine had won the affections of his subjects by his wise and beneficent administration in Gaul, while the cruelty and rapacity of Maxen'tius filled Italy and Africa with confusion. But the tyrant was not conscious of the weakness that resulted from his crimes. Under pretence of revenging the death of his father, he ordered all the statues erected in honor of Constantine throughout Italy to be thrown down, and thus provoked a war with the most able prince of the age. Constantine having passed the Alps, defeated the lieutenants of Maxen'tius at Augusta Taurinórum (*Turin*) and Ver'ona, while the tyrant himself remained sunk in sloth and luxury at Rome. At length he was roused from his lethargy by the rapid approach of the victorious army; a dreadful battle was fought at a place called Sax'a Rúbra, within nine miles of Rome, near the little river Creméra, so memorable for the destruction of the Fabii. The result was fatal to Maxen'tius; the prætorian guards, on whom he chiefly relied, were broken and cut to pieces by the repeated charges of the Gallic horse. The tyrant himself was drowned in the Tiber, while attempting to make his escape through the crowd over the Milvian bridge (A. D. 312). It was during this campaign that Constantine is said to have seen a miraculous vision of a luminous cross in the heavens, a little before sunset; and to have been warned in a dream to take this sacred symbol as his standard. The principal evidence for the truth of this miracle is the emperor's own account of the event, related many years afterward to Eusébius; one circumstance, however, greatly weakens his testimony; the vision was so far from producing the conversion of Constantine, that he did not receive baptism until a short time before his death.

No sooner had the death of Maxen'tius made Constantine master of Rome, than he removed the great source of all the calamities that had befallen the city under the empire, by disbanding the prætorian guards, and destroying their fortified camp. He restored the authority of the senate and magistrates, recalled all those who had been banished by Maxen'tius, and dismissed the entire tribe of spies and informers. He revoked all the edicts that had been issued against the Christians and paid great respect to the bishops and clergy, either on account of the miraculous vision already mentioned, or, as is more probable, through gratitude for the efficient aid he had received from the Christians in the recent contest, and anxiety to secure their assistance in any future struggle.

Maximin was a devoted adherent of paganism; he viewed the innovations of Constantine with great hostility; and when Licínius mar-

* Maximian, Galérius, Licínius, Maximin, Constantine, and Maxentius.

ried the sister of that prince, he resolved to destroy both. Taking advantage of the war in which Constantine was involved with the Franks, he marched against Licin'ius, hoping to destroy him before any assistance could arrive from the west. His first efforts were crowned with success; but being totally defeated near Adrianople, he fled without attendants to Nicomedia, where he soon died of rage and disappointment (A. D. 313). Licin'ius made a cruel use of his victory, slaughtering without mercy all whom he deemed likely to become competitors for empire: among the most illustrious of his victims were the wife and daughter of Dioclésian.

Constantine, during this war, was engaged in securing the tranquillity of western Europe; he gave an unquestionable proof of his attachment to Christianity by convening a general council of the bishops at Areláte (*Arles*), to suppress the heresy of the Donatists; but before the assembly met, he was forced to take the field against Licin'ius, who had thrown down his statues in Ænóna (*Laybach*), a city of upper Pannónia. With his usual celerity, Constantine hastened into Pannónia before Licin'ius could expect his arrival; but he found that prince already in the field. A fierce battle was fought at the little town of Cib'alis or Ceb'alæ (*Sevilei*), not far from Sir'mium, in which Licin'ius was defeated, and forced to fly into Thrace. Thither he was followed by Constantine, vanquished a second time, and forced to consent to an accommodation, by which Illyr'icum, Macedon, Greece, and lower Mœ'sia, were yielded to Constantine (A. D. 314). The conqueror immediately took the most prudent measures to secure his new acquisitions; while Licin'ius continued to provoke his subjects by repeated cruelties and exactions.

Foreign invasions led to a renewal of the civil war. Constantine having conquered the Sarmatians and Goths, pursued the latter into territories of Licin'ius, and that prince immediately declared that the recent articles of peace had been violated (A. D. 322). Great preparations were made on both sides for the renewal of hostilities, but Constantine was the first to take the field, and entering Thrace he found his rival encamped on the Hébrus (*Maritza*), not far from Adrianople. The battle was in some measure a struggle between Christianity and paganism: Constantine displayed the banner of the cross, Licin'ius the ancient idolatrous standards of the empire: the struggle was fierce—it ended in the total overthrow of Licin'ius, who had the further mortification of learning that his fleet had been destroyed in the straits of Callip'olis (*Gallipoli*) by Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine. An attempt was made to terminate the struggle by negotiation, but it was frustrated by the insincerity of Licin'ius: he hazarded a second engagement, and was irretrievably ruined. From the field of battle the defeated tyrant fled to Nicodemia, but he was soon taken prisoner, and put to death (A. D. 324). Constantine being thus sole master of the empire, restored the churches, of which the Christians had been deprived in the eastern provinces, to their respective pastors, and issued several edicts for the suppression of idolatry.

New controversies in the church led to the convocation of the celebrated council of Nice, in which the doctrine of the Trinity was fixed and defined, the heresy of Arius condemned, and the spiritual suprem-

acy of the emperor virtually acknowledged (A. D. 325). When the labors of this celebrated assembly terminated, Constantine returned to the western provinces, and paid a visit to Rome. His reception in the city was anything but flattering; the populace loaded him with insults and execrations for abandoning the religion of his forefathers; and his rage at such injurious treatment is said to have greatly influenced his determination of transferring the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium. At the same time he was harassed by domestic troubles, which led him to commit a horrid crime. Instigated by the empress Fausta, he put his eldest son, the virtuous Crispus, to death without a trial; and when he too late discovered his error, he caused Fausta and her accomplices to be slain. These horrors aggravated his unpopularity among the Romans; but he no longer regarded their displeasure, having finally resolved to give a new capital to the empire (A. D. 330).

Anger and caprice were not the only causes that induced Constantine to make such an important change; indeed, the removal of the seat of government was justified by considerations of the soundest policy. The eastern provinces were exposed to the attacks of a powerful dynasty, the Persian Sassan'ides, who openly aspired to the ancient empire of Cy'rus; the frontier of the Danube was not sufficient to restrain the Goths and Sarmatians; the emperors would therefore have endangered the most faithful and wealthy portions of their dominions, had they continued to reside in western Europe. A metropolis on the confines of Europe and Asia was at once recommended, by the political advantages of its central situation, and the opportunities it afforded for reviving the lucrative commerce of the Euxine and the eastern Mediterranean. A slight glance at the natural advantages of Byzantium, will show that it was worthy of being made the metropolis of an empire by the wise sovereign whose name it bears.

The area of Constantinople is an irregular triangle, whose apex, an obtuse point advancing to the east and toward the Asiatic coast, meets and repels the waters of the Thracian Bosphorus. On the north is a winding harbor, known both in ancient and modern times by the name of *Chryso-Keras*, or the Golden Horn: it is about seven miles in length, with good anchorage through the greater part of its extent: the entrance is not more than five hundred yards wide, and may be easily defended against a hostile armament. On the southeastern side the walls of the city are washed by the Propon'tis (*sea of Marmora*), and the west forms the base of the triangle which is connected with the continent. Thus situated, the Euxine sea on the one side, and the Ægean on the other, could supply it with the richest productions of Europe and Asia; while its shape rendered it easily defensible against the savage and plundering tribes of Thrace.

Enormous sums were expended by Constantine in embellishing his new capital; unfortunately, there was equal prodigality in the other branches of the administration, and the emperor's rule became grinding and severe. But he did not abandon his warlike character; he severely chastised the Goths and Sarmatians, who invaded Thrace, and compelled them to give hostages for their future good conduct. In the decline of his life, he appears to have adopted much of the pomp and

luxury characteristic of Asiatic despots; but when increasing disease warned him of approaching dissolution, he received the sacrament of baptism, and expired ten months afterward, in the thirtieth year of his reign (A. D. 335). He left three sons to inherit his empire.

The removal of the seat of government consummated the revolution in the Roman constitution which had been commenced in the reign of Dioclésian; it became a simple despotism, with more of a political than military character. An entire change was made in the form of administration; the magistrates being divided into three classes, the *illustrissimi*, the *spectab'iles*, and the *clarissimi* (illustrious, respectable, and honorable).

The magistrates of the first class were, the consuls and patricians, the prætorian and metropolitan præfects, the masters-general of cavalry and infantry, and the seven great officers of the household. The titles of consul and patrician were merely honorary. They were conferred by the emperor at his pleasure, and in both cases the distinctions were personal, not hereditary. The power of the prætorian præfects ranked next to that of the emperors. The Roman dominions were divided into four great præfectures, and these again were subdivided into dioceses and provinces. The præfectures were named, those of the East, Illyr'icum, Italy, and Gaul. To the prætorian præfects was assigned the civil government of these several divisions; but Constantine had taken care that such power should not be rendered too dangerous by being united with military command. To their charge were intrusted the coinage, the highways, the ports, the granaries, the manufactures, and everything that could interest the public prosperity of their respective districts. They were empowered to explain, enforce, and in some cases modify, the imperial edicts. They could remove or punish the provincial governors; an appeal lay to their tribunal from all inferior jurisdictions; and the sentence of the præfect was final.

Rome and Constantinople had præfects of their own. The superior dignity of their tribunals caused those of the prætors to be deserted, and the most ancient title of Roman magistracy soon fell into desuetude. The peace of both capitals was preserved by a vigilant police; and so numerous were the statues with which they were adorned, that a magistrate was specially appointed to preserve them from injury.

The great officers of the state and court were, 1. The *præpositus sancti cubiculi* (lord chamberlain), whose duty it was "to attend the emperor in his hours of state or amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial offices which can only derive their splendor from the influence of royalty." Under him were all the *comites palatii* (lords of the palace), and *cubicularii* (chamberlains), many of whom, at a later age, were eunuchs of great influence. 2. The *magister officiorum* (minister for the home department): to him was intrusted the management of all correspondence between the prince and his subjects, memorials, petitions, letters, and their answers. He was also inspector-general of the civil and military schools, and appeals lay to his tribunal from every part of the empire, in cases where the privileges of the imperial officers were concerned. 3. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* (lord high treasurer), was the chief minister of finance: his duties were not confined to the charge of the exchequer and superintendence

of tax-gatherers: he had also the charge over manufactures and commerce, which Constantine, with more wisdom than most of his predecessors, brought under the especial care of the state. 4. The *quæstor* (principal secretary of state) was the representative of the emperor's legislative power, and the original source of civil jurisprudence; some of his functions appear to have been similar to those of the British lord chancellor. 5. The *comes rei principis* (keeper of the privy purse) had the charge of the imperial private estates, which were scattered through the provinces, from Mauritania to Britain. 6 and 7. The *comites domesticorum* (commanders of the household guards) presided over the *seven scholæ* (troops or squadrons) of cavalry and infantry that guarded the emperor's person.

The commanders of the army were the *magistri equitum* (generals of cavalry), *magistri peditum* (generals of infantry), and the *magistri utriusque militiæ* (commander-in-chief); those who commanded under them were called *duces* and *comites* (dukes and counts); they were distinguished by wearing a golden belt, and received, in addition to their pay, a liberal allowance, sufficient to maintain one hundred and ninety servants, and one hundred and fifty-eight horses. Constantine changed the entire constitution of the legions, diminishing their number to less than one fourth: to secure a regular supply of young soldiers, he made it one of his conditions, in assigning lands to the veterans, that their sons should be trained to the profession of arms. But the necessity for such a stipulation is not the only proof we have of the decay of military spirit. Such was the dislike the degenerate Romans entertained for a soldier's life, that many young men in Italy mutilated the fingers of their right hand to avoid being pressed into the service. In consequence of this reluctance, the custom of employing the barbarians as soldiers became every day more frequent and more fatal. They were not only enlisted in the ranks, but many of them were raised to the highest dignities of the state.

These changes in the constitution of the civil and military administration of the empire rendered the government more costly, and required an entirely new system of taxation for their support. It is one of the few advantages of an arbitrary government, that it is not tempted to delude its subjects by the onerous and expensive machinery of indirect taxation through the excise and customs, where an apparent choice is left to the purchaser, and his payment of the tax, by buying the taxed article, seems to be voluntary. A despot may venture on direct taxation of property or person; and, though this is apparently more harsh, it is in reality more favorable to the subject. The first of the new taxes was the *indiction*, an annual land-tax, levied proportionately to the fertility of the estates possessed by landed proprietors; and a general census, or survey of property, was made throughout the empire every fifteen years, to regulate this assessment. Hence the name of *indiction* is given indifferently to the tax and to the cycle of registration. Trade and commerce were subjected to an impost called the *aurum lustrale*, which was collected every fourth year. "The honorable merchant of Alexandria, who imported the gems and spices of India for the western world; the usurer, who derived from the interest of money a silent and ignominious profit; the ingenious manufacturer, the diligent mechanic,

and even the most obscure retailer of a sequestered village, were obliged to admit the officers of the revenue into the partnership of their gain; and the sovereign of the Roman empire, who tolerated the profession, consented to share the infamous gain of prostitutes."* The last imposition that need be noticed was originally a free gift, called *aurum coronarium*, being a compensation for the crown of gold presented by the allies of the Romans to generals who had been the authors of their deliverance, or who had conferred upon them any remarkable favor. This spontaneous offering was at length exacted as a debt, whenever the emperor announced any remarkable event which might give him a real or apparent claim to the benevolence of his subjects, such as his accession, the birth of a son, or a victory over the barbarians. To these must be added, the municipal expenses, which fell almost wholly on the civic officers. Instead of having a system of local taxation, the richest citizens were obliged to take in turn the duty of providing for the administrative wants of the towns in which they resided; but our information respecting the practical operation of this plan is too limited for us to pronounce any opinion upon its efficiency.

It must not be supposed that evil alone resulted from these changes; on the contrary, under the circumstances of the empire, Constantine's innovations were for the most part useful reforms. The great curse of the Romans during several centuries had been military despotism; but the license of the turbulent soldiery was checked and restrained by "the pride, pomp, and circumstance," with which the civil administration was surrounded. The despotism of a court was put in place of the despotism of a camp, and it needs not to be told, how vast was the improvement that must have resulted from such an alteration.

Under Constantine, Christianity became the established religion of the empire. He found the constitution of the church already organized —its form of government firmly established. Even in the reign of Dioclésian the bishops held an honorable rank in their respective provinces, and were treated with proper respect, as men of high and sacred station, not only by the people, but the magistrates themselves. Constantine saw clearly the advantages that would result to the extent and stability of his power by cementing the union between the church and the state; he therefore appropriated a great portion of the revenue of cities to the endowment of churches and the support of the clergy. Thus religion came to the aid of police in checking turbulence, and, but for the crimes and follies of the rulers, the Roman empire might have enjoyed a long course of prosperity under the constitution of Constantine.

Section IX.—*From the Death of Constantine to the Reunion of the Empire under Theodosius the Great.*

FROM A. D. 337 TO A. D. 394.

Constantine bequeathed portions of his dominions to his nephews Dalmátius and Hannibiliánus; but no notice was taken of their claims by the army or the Roman senate, the late emperor's three sons being

* Gibbon.

proclaimed unanimously heirs of his dominions. These princes had been educated with the greatest care; the most pious of the Christian teachers, the most celebrated professors of Grecian philosophy and Roman jurisprudence, were engaged to superintend their instruction; but the youths, Constantine, Constan'tius, and Constans, resembled their mother Fausta more than their illustrious father, and were as similar in depravity of disposition as they were in name. Some portion of their faults, must, however, be attributed to paternal weakness. Ere they had emerged from boyhood they were successively invested with the title of Cæsar and invited to share in the administration. Such injudicious indulgence necessarily surrounded them with a crowd of flatterers, ready to take advantage of the warm passions and confiding dispositions of youth: they were summoned too early from their studies, and were permitted to exchange the pursuit of knowledge for the enjoyment of luxury, and the expectation of a throne.

Constan'tius was the nearest of the brothers to the capital when their father died; he hastened to take possession of the palace, and, to remove the apprehensions of his kinsmen, who justly suspected his jealous temper, he took a solemn oath to protect them from all danger. In a very few days a forged scroll was placed in his hands by the bishop of Nicomédia, purporting to be the genuine testament of the late emperor, in which Constantine was made to declare that he had been poisoned by his brothers, and to exhort his children to vengeance. The soldiers, secretly prepared to second this incredible charge, loudly demanded the punishment of the accused; all legal forms were violated; a promiscuous massacre was made of the Flavian family. The two brothers of the great Constantine, seven of his nephews, the patrician Optátus, who had married his sister, and his chief favorite, the præfect Ablávius, were butchered, without being permitted to speak a word in their own defence. Gallus and Julian, the youngest sons of Julius Constantius, were with difficulty concealed until the rage of the assassins had subsided.

A new division of the empire was made by the princes. Constantine, the eldest, took possession of the capital; Constan'tius received Thrace and the Asiatic provinces; the western dominions were assigned to Constans. Ere long, the enemies of Rome, that had been daunted by the fame of Constantine, began to harass his successors; but far the most dangerous of the wars in which they had to engage was that waged by Shah-púr II., king of Persia, against Constan'tius.

Shah-púr's previous history deserves to be noticed. His father Hormúz (*Hormisdas*) died, leaving no son (A. D. 310): the kingdom was on the point of being thrown into confusion, when it was announced by the principal mobeds, or priests, that one of the ladies in the harem was pregnant, and that from certain indications, they knew that the child would be a male. A strange ceremony of coronation was performed for the unborn infant. From the hour of his birth the whole nation watched over his progress with the most affectionate interest, and the early proofs he exhibited of spirit and ability spread universal joy through Persia. He had not emerged from boyhood, when the fierce Arab tribes from the neigboring peninsula took advantage of his minority to desolate his kingdom: the royal youth marched against them,

routed their forces, slew many, and took a greater number prisoners. To terrify their countrymen from renewing such an invasion, he caused the shoulders of his captives to be pierced, and then dislocated by a string passed through them; and from this circumstance he received the formidable title of *Zúlaktáf*, or "Lord of the shoulders."

Shah-púr, or Sápor as he is called by western writers, inherited the pretensions of the Sassanides to the empire of Cyrus; but he was particularly anxious to recover the five provinces that had been ceded to the Romans beyond the Tígris, and to assert the ancient supremacy of his family over Mesopotámia. Constan'tius hastened to the banks of the Euphrátes on the first news of the approach of so formidable an invader; but the war long continued to be a series of petty skirmishes and predatory incursions. Nine sanguinary but indecisive engagements were fought; but at length the Romans, by their own imprudence, received a decisive overthrow in the plains of Sin'gara (*Sinjar*), not far from the ruins of Bab'ylon (A. D. 348). Sápor, encouraged by this victory, laid siege to Nis'ibis (*Nisibin*); but, after he had lost more than twenty thousand men before the walls, he was forced to relinquish the enterprise, and hasten to the defence of his eastern provinces, which were invaded by the fierce tribes from beyond the Oxus. This war induced him to propose terms of truce to Constan'tius, which that prince readily accepted (A. D. 350), as the troubled state of the empire rendered his presence necessary in Europe.

Three years had scarcely elapsed from the partition of the empire, when the ambition of Constan'tine kindled the flames of civil war (A. D. 340). Not content with wresting the African provinces from Constans, he invaded that prince's dominions through the Julian Alps, and devastated the country round Aquileía. But, advancing with great imprudence, he fell into an ambuscade near the little river Al'sa (*Ansa*), and was slain with the greater part of his followers. Constans took possession of his brother's provinces, and showed no inclination to reserve any share for the absent Constan'tius.

During ten years Constans remained master of two thirds of the empire, which he plundered by his rapacity, and disgraced by his vices. He usually resided in Gaul, whose forests afforded him opportunities for hunting, the only manly sport to which he was addicted. While pursuing game in a neighboring forest, Magnen'tius, who commanded the imperial forces stationed at Augústodúnum (*Autun*), caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and closed the gates of the city. Tidings of the revolt were, however, conveyed to Constans: he fled toward Spain, but was overtaken at Ellib'eris (*Elne*), or, as it was then called, Hel'ena, in memory of the mother of Constantine, and put to death.

The usurpation of Magnen'tius in Gaul was followed by that of Vetránio in Illyria; but the latter general assumed the purple very reluctantly, being compelled by the clamors of his soldiers, and urged by the princess Constantína, who placed the crown on his head with her own hand. This ambitious woman had been the wife of Hannibiliánus, her cousin, whose sad fate has been already mentioned. She was eager to possess power, and so unscrupulous about the means, that she persuaded Vetránio to form an alliance with Magnen'tius, whose hands yet reeked with the blood of her brother Constans.

Constan'tius, having concluded a truce with Sápor, intrusted the care of the east to his lieutenants, but afterward to his cousin Gallus, whom he thus raised from a prison to a throne. He then hastened to Europe, deceived Vetránio by offering to make him his colleague, and obtained admission into Constantinople. In a public assembly of the army and people, the artful prince, in a studied address, asserted his claims to the empire; a unanimous burst of applause was followed by shouts for the deposition of the usurpers; Vetránio quietly submitted, and, taking the diadem from his head, tended his homage to Constan'tius. The prince not only spared his rival's life, but assigned him a considerable pension. Vetránio retired to Prúsa (*Brúsa*), where he spent the rest of his life in retirement, without ever expressing a desire to resume the sceptre. Magnen'tius foresaw that he would be the next assailed, and he led his army into lower Pannónia, which became the theatre of a fierce and sanguinary war.

The armies finally met for a decisive battle on the plains of Mur'sa (*Essek*); the heavy cavalry of Constan'tius, sheathed in full panoply of plates of steel, decided the fate of the day, the very weight of their onset breaking the lines of the western legions, while the light archers of Asia harassed the naked German auxiliaries, on whom Magnen'tius chiefly relied, and reduced them to such despair, that battalions threw themselves into the rapid stream of the Drave. Still, so obstinate was the battle, that fifty-four thousand fell in the field, and the victors suffered more severely than the vanquished. It has been justly observed, that the destructive plains of Mur'sa absorbed the strength of the empire; for never again could the Roman rulers collect such noble bands of veterans as perished there by mutual slaughter.

Magnen'tius fled to Italy, whither he was followed by Constan'tius in the following spring. The peninsula soon submitted to its legitimate sovereign; but the usurper escaped into Gaul. Finding, however, that he could not long protract resistance, he baffled the vengeance of Constan'tius by suicide; his associates were reduced either to follow his example, or suffer the penalties of treason.

Constan'tius had given Constantína in marriage to his cousin Gallus, invested him with the title of Cæsar, and intrusted him with the administration of Asia. The Cæsar, naturally of a sullen and morose temper, had been soured by the sufferings of his early youth, and his evil passions were stimulated by the ambitious intrigues of the princess to whom he was unfortunately united. His excesses at length compelled Constan'tius to send commissioners to investigate the state of the east: these officers proceeded to Antioch, where they seem to have conducted themselves with unnecessary and offensive haughtiness; but their faults afford no sufficient excuse for the crime of Gallus, who urged the populace of Antioch to put the commissioners to death with torture and insult, and then ordered their bodies to be thrown into the Oron'tes (*Aaszy*). Constan'tius, instead of openly resenting the outrage, invited Gallus to visit him: the Cæsar delayed until further procrastination was impossible; he proceeded on the road to Milan through Asia and Thrace, in safety; but when he passed the frontiers of Pannónia, he was placed under arrest, hurried to a distant castle in Istria, and secretly put to death (A. D. 354). Julian, the only surviving descendant of Con-

stan'tius Chlorus, except the reigning emperor, would have shared his brother's fate, but for the generous interference of the empress Eusébia. She procured him permission to prosecute his studies in Athens, where, dazzled by the false philosophy of the schools, he forsook Christianity for paganism, and earned for himself the unenviable title of Apostate. After he had been more than a year in retirement, he was summoned to court, united to Hel'ena, the sister of the emperor, and appointed to govern the countries north of the Alps, with the title of Cæsar.

Constan'tius himself had gained several victories over the Germanic tribes; but he delayed in the west after the departure of Julian, to support the cause of the Arians against the orthodox prelates. Before returning to the east, he resolved to visit the ancient capital of the empire; and Rome, after an interval of thirty-two years, was gladdened with the presence of its sovereign. Constan'tius was so pleased with his reception, that he presented to the city the splendid Theban obelisk, with which his father had intended to adorn Constantinople. He was compelled to hurry his departure by intelligence of the Sarmatians having invaded Pannónia. Constan'tius soon appeared on the Danube: he gained several important victories over the barbarians; but scarcely had he secured the tranquillity of his northern frontiers, when he was threatened with more dangerous hostilities on the side of Persia.

Having subdued the fierce tribes of Turkestán, Sápor renewed his attacks upon the Roman empire, and, guided by a deserter, entered Mesopotámia. Irritated by the insolence of the inhabitants, he laid siege to Am'ida (*Diarbekr*); and though he captured that strong city, he lost the favorable season of invading Syria, and was forced to content himself with reducing Sin'gara (*Sanjar*) and Bezabdé (*Jezírah*). Constan'tius made an effort to recover Bezabdé, but was compelled to raise the siege. He returned to Antioch, where his mortification was increased by intelligence of the brilliant achievements of Julian in Gaul. The young prince had vanquished the Allemans, the Franks, and several other formidable tribes; he had pursued his victorious career beyond the Rhine, and by his rapid conquests filled Germany with confusion; while the prudence of his civil administration raised Gaul to unexampled prosperity. Constan'tius resolved to weaken the strength of the Cæsar, and summoned his best legions from Gaul to defend the east; the soldiers refused to obey, and proclaimed Julian emperor. Preparations for civil war were made on both sides; but its calamities were averted by the death of Constan'tius (A. D. 361). During this entire reign, the Christian church was scandalized and distracted by fierce disputes arising out of the Arian heresy: Constan'tius was the avowed partisan of the Arians, and encouraged them in their persecution of the orthodox, especially sanctioning the efforts made for the destruction of the celebrated Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.

When Julian reached Heracléa (*Erekli*), though he was still sixty miles distant from the capital, the whole population of Constantinople came out to welcome his arrival, and he made his triumphal entry amid general acclamations. One of his earliest measures was to constitute a court at Chal'cedon (*Scutari*) for the trial of such ministers of Constan'tius as might be accused of peculation. Many of them indeed well deserved punishment; but the ostentatious mode in which they were

brought to trial was an ungenerous attack on the memory of the late emperor, and the inquisitions were conducted with such indiscriminate severity, that many innocent persons suffered with the guilty. He then commenced a complete reform of the court, banishing the eunuchs and other ministers of luxury; but with the idle parade of pomp, Julian discarded many of the decencies of life, ostentatiously exhibiting a disregard for personal cleanliness, as if filth was a necessary element of philosophy. But the great object of his ambition was to restore ancient paganism; he revoked the edicts that had been issued against idolatry, under the plausible pretext of granting freedom of opinion to all his subjects; he encouraged the philosophers to veil the most revolting fictions of mythology under allegorical explanations; he showed a marked dislike to the Christians who visited the court; and finally he closed the schools which were kept by the clergy.

But the most remarkable of his enterprises for the overthrow of Christianity was his celebrated attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, which appears to have been miraculously defeated. Seeing that the condition of the Jews was a standing miracle in proof of Christianity, he resolved to weaken or destroy its effect, by restoring to that people their ancient city and national worship, erecting for them at the same time a temple on Mount Moriah, whose splendor should surpass that of the church of the holy sepulchre. This measure was frustrated, after great expense had been incurred in making preparations for its execution, as most historians declare, in consequence of balls of fire that burst from the earth, and scared the workmen employed to dig the foundation. Whether these phenomena were supernatural, or whether they ever had existence, is really of little importance in the great weight that the occurrence gives to the evidence in favor of the divine origin of Christianity: the most powerful monarch of the earth attempted to erect a building in one of his cities; he was aided by a wealthy and zealous people; pride, passion, and interest, equally urged him to persevere; yet was he forced to abandon the enterprise. Assuredly we must say, "the finger of God is here!"

While Julian, by withholding his countenance from sincere believers on the one hand, and placing every possible impediment in the way of instruction on the other, was using all his efforts to check the progress of Christianity, he was summoned to take the field against the Persians, who had renewed their incursions. Julian invaded their dominions, and gained several great triumphs, though he was unable to bring the enemy to a decisive engagement. His march led him through the deserts of Hat'ra, which skirt the Tigris; but the city of Hat'ra, erected like Palmy'ra in a fertile oasis, appears to have been deserted at his approach. From the magnificence of its ruins, and the fact that the city continued to be inhabited until the twelfth century of our era, it is probable that this, with several other cities, was dismantled by the Persians to deprive the Romans of the resources which these "settlements in the desert," might have supplied. At length, deceived by treacherous guides, he burned his boats, and advanced into a desert country, where his army was soon reduced to great distress from want of provisions. Under these circumstances he resolved to return; but his retrograde march was greatly impeded by the light cavalry of the

Persians, who hovered round the flanks and rear, discharging showers of darts and arrows, but retreating, like the Parthians their predecessors, whenever any effort was made to bring them to a regular engagement. At length Julian himself was mortally wounded, in a skirmish which proved favorable to the Romans. He died the same night (A. D. 363), about twenty months after his becoming sole master of the empire.

Jovian, the first of the domestics, was saluted Augustus by the army; and his first care was to conclude a dishonorable peace with the Persians, resigning to Sapor not only the five provinces beyond the Tigris, but the whole of Mesopotámia, including the fortified cities of Nis'ibis and Sin'gara, which had so often baffled the most vigorous efforts of the Sassan'ides. His next enterprise was more glorious: he restored the Christian religion to its ancient supremacy; but he calmed the fears of his pagan subjects by a wise edict of toleration, in which he prohibited no rites, however idolatrous, save those of magic. On his journey toward Constantinople, he slept in a damp room, which his attendants had heated with charcoal; he was suffocated by the mephitic vapor, and found dead in his bed (A. D. 364).

For ten days after the death of Jovian, the empire remained without a sovereign. At length the Count Valentinian was chosen by the council of ministers and generals, and the army unanimously acquiesced in their decision. Soon after his election the new emperor divided his dominions with his brother Valens, to whom he assigned the eastern provinces, reserving to himself Illyr'icum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. The emperor of the west made Milan the seat of his government; Valens established his court at Constantinople. This division of the Roman dominions into eastern and western empires was so manifestly required by the necessity of the times, that it provoked neither observation nor remonstrance. Henceforth their histories require separate consideration; and we shall, in the first place, direct our attention to the reign of Valentinian.

The emperor had scarcely reached Italy, when he was summoned to cross the Alps by an invasion of the Germans, who devastated all northern and western Gaul, defeating two Roman armies that had been sent to check their inroads. Valentinian made the most vigorous efforts to retrieve the fame of the empire, and succeeded; but his exertions brought on a disease that nearly deprived him of life. The angry disputes respecting the succession which had taken place during his illness, filled him with just alarm: and immediately after his recovery, he took care to have his son Gratian recognised as his heir, and proclaimed Cæsar in the presence of the army. The piracies of the Saxons in the northern seas first began to attract attention in the reign of Valentinian; and so severely did they harass the northern coasts of Gaul, that it was necessary to appoint a maritime court for their protection. At the same time the province of Britain was invaded by the Picts and Scots: so rapid was the progress of the barbarians, aided probably by some of the discontented natives, that Britain would have been lost to the empire, but for the heroic exertions of Theodósius, to whom Valentinian intrusted the pacification, or rather the recovery of the island. This able commander not only restrained the barbarians, but in some measure restored the ancient prosperity of the province:

he was rewarded by the emperor with the office of master-general of the cavalry, and appointed to protect the frontier of the upper Danube from the inroads of the Allemans, until he was chosen to a more important station, and intrusted with the suppression of the formidable revolt of Africa.

Count Románus, the military governor of Africa, had provoked general resentment by his avarice and exactions; complaints were made of him to Valentinian, and a commissioner appointed to investigate his delinquency; but the count bribed the imperial ministers and commissioners, purchased security from a venal court, and severely punished those who had been guilty of the treason of complaint. Provoked by such accumulated wrongs, the Africans revolted, choosing for their leader Fin'nus, the son of the wealthy Nábal, who had been summoned to appear before the governor's tribunal on a charge of murdering his brother. Numídia and Mauritánia were already in possession of the insurgents, when the entire face of the war was changed by the arrival of Theodósius: from the moment of his landing, the revolters seem to have lost all courage; after a weak struggle, Fin'nus abandoned his army, to seek refuge with the prince of a native tribe in the interior; but he was betrayed to the Romans, and could only escape a public execution by committing suicide. Scarcely had this war terminated, when Valentinian died suddenly, while waging war against the Quádi (A. D. 375). He had conquered these savage warriors, and deputies had been sent to deprecate his resentment; but while reproaching the ambassadors with national perfidy, he worked himself into such a passion, that he burst a blood-vessel, and instantly expired. Valentinian was naturally cruel and severe, but he was disposed to be inflexibly just; and the many unmerited executions that he sanctioned must be attributed to the artifices of corrupt ministers. He was warmly attached to the orthodox faith, and readily gave shelter to the bishops and clergy who sought refuge in his court from the persecutions of his brother Valens.

The emperor of the east, soon after his accession, went into Syria, which was threatened by a Persian invasion; but before he could complete his preparations for war, he was alarmed by the revolt of Procópius, a kinsman of the emperor Julian, but possessing no other merit, whose pretensions were acknowledged by a considerable body of the army, and the citizens of Constantinople. Valens was defeated in his first efforts to overthrow the usurper; but Procópius soon disgusted his supporters by excessive haughtiness and tyranny; he was deserted by those who had been foremost in placing him upon the throne, and was taken prisoner almost without a contest. His fate involved that of many others, for Valens was a stranger to mercy. The emperor was soon more honorably engaged in a war with the Goths, whom he completely subdued, and compelled to submit to humiliating conditions of peace.

The dangerous schism in the church caused by the heresy of A'rius was greatly aggravated by the intemperate zeal, and in some instances, by the unhallowed ambition of rival prelates: Válens declared himself a patron of the Arians, and caused no fewer than eighty orthodox ecclesiastics to be murdered, for maintaining the election of a bishop of their creed to the see of Constantinople. Armenia was at the same

time invaded by the Persians; but Sápor having received a severe defeat, and the Armenian prince Páras, on whose aid he relied, having been treacherously murdered by the Romans, the truce was once more renewed.

In the western empire Valentinian had been succeeded by his sons Gratian and Valentinian II.; the latter, a child only five years old, was added as a colleague to Gratian by the general council of the army. Gratian II. commenced his reign by punishing those ministers and senators who had been guilty of extortion; but yielding to the suggestions of envious courtiers, he sanctioned the execution of the gallant Theodósius, who had just completed his conquest of the Moors: the emperor, after some time, discovered by what gross misrepresentations he had been led to commit so great a crime, and bitterly repented of his guilt. He made several laws favorable to the interest of the church, ordaining that all controversies respecting religion should be decided by the bishop and synod of the provinces in which they occurred; that the clergy should be free from personal charges; and that all places where heterodox doctrines were taught should be confiscated.

The western empire was enjoying profound peace, and the eastern provinces were beginning to taste the unusual sweets of repose, when a people more ferocious than any barbarians hitherto known appeared for the first time on the northeastern frontiers. The Huns, crossing the Tanaïs (*Don*) and Pálus Mæotis (*Sea of Azov*), drove before them the nations that dwelt north of the Danube; and these fugitives, hurled one upon another, were forced to invade the Roman provinces, and commence the dismemberment of the empire. The earliest accounts of the Huns are to be found in the Chinese historians, who call these savages, "Huíng Nú," and describe them as masters of the country between the river Irtish, the Altaïan mountains, the Chinese wall, and Mantchew Tartary. Their personal appearance was almost a caricature of humanity; so that the Romans compared them to a block of wood which had been only partially trimmed: this is said to have been in some degree caused by the strange custom of flattening the nose of male infants the moment they were born, in order that the vizor which they wore in battle should fit closer to the face, and also to their plucking out the beard by the roots as soon as it began to grow. They lived on raw flesh, or at best only sodden by being placed under their saddles and pressed against the backs of their steeds during a sharp gallop: devoted to war and the chase, they left the cultivation of their fields to women and slaves; they built no cities; they erected no houses; any place encircled by walls they looked upon as a sepulchre, and never believed themselves in safety beneath a roof. About the commencement of the second century of the Christian era, the southern Huns, aided by the Chinese and the eastern Tartars, expelled their northern brethren from their ancient habitations, and compelled them to seek refuge in the territories of the Bashkírs. Here they were brought into contact with a fiercer but less warlike race, the A'lans, whom they gradually drove before them, being pressed forward themselves by fresh hordes from the east, until they took possession of the plains between the Rha (*Volga*) and the Tanaïs.

Joined by the A'lans and other barbarous tribes that they had con-

quered, the innumerable cavalry of the Huns passed the lower Tanaïs, and swept the rich fields of the Ostrogoths. The Gothic armies were defeated, and at length the greater part of that nation abandoned the country that they had laboriously brought to a high state of cultivation, and retired beyond the Borys'thenes (*Dnieper*) and the Danas'tus (*Dniester*). The Huns made a horrible carnage of those who remained, sparing neither women nor children; and all who did not save themselves by a precipitate flight, perished by the edge of the sword. The conquerors soon passed the Danas'tus, and inflicted the same calamities on the Visigoths to which they had already subjected their eastern brethren. Athan'aric, the Gothic monarch, after having suffered a severe defeat, saw no better mode of defence than to fortify himself between the Hieras'sus (*Pruth*) and the Danube, by a wall extending from one river to the other, leaving the rest of his country exposed to the ravages of the dreadful Huns.

The whole Gothic nation was reduced to despair; their warriors, who had so often maintained a fierce struggle against the legions, now appeared as suppliants on the banks of the Danube, petitioning for permission to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace. Their request was granted, on condition of their resigning their arms; but the officers sent to see this stipulation enforced were bribed to neglect their duty: most of the Goths retained their weapons, which they regarded as the means of obtaining more valuable possessions than those they had lost.

About the same time, Arianism was established among the Goths, by the exertions of their bishop, the celebrated Ul'philas, who invented the Gothic alphabet: this subsequently aggravated their hostility to the Romans; for the enmity of rival sects had, toward the close of the fourth century, become greater than that between Christians and pagans. The officers whom Valens chose to superintend the settlement of the Goths were the most profligate extortioners even of his corrupt court; instead of supplying provisions to the fugitives until their new lands would yield a harvest, as had been promised, they closed the magazines, and charged exorbitant prices for the worst and most revolting kinds of food. At length Lupicínus attempted to murder Frit'igern and the other chiefs of the Goths, at a banquet in Marcianop'olis (*Pravadi*) to which they had been treacherously invited. The plot exploded prematurely; the Gothic leaders escaped; and their followers took revenge for the atrocious breach of hospitality by massacring the greater part of the Roman legions. In the meantime, the Ostrogoths, pressed forward by the Huns, had crossed the Danube and reinforced Frit'igern just as the war was about to commence: thus supported, the irritated sovereign devastated Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, approached the walls of Constantinople, and destroyed its suburbs. Valens wrote to Gratian for aid; and the young emperor, though harassed by wars with the Germanic tribes and the A'lans, marched to his assistance. He was delayed, however, by illness at Sir'mium; and before he could resume his march, Valens was no more. The eastern emperor, baffled by the artifices and enraged by the boldness of Frit'igern, hazarded a decisive battle near Adrianople, in which he was defeated and slain (A. D. 378). The Romans had not suffered so severe a loss since they were overthrown by Han'nibal at Cannæ: two thirds of the legions,

including thirty-five tribunes and commanders of cohorts, fell in the fatal field.

Gratian was incapable of remedying this disaster without the aid of a colleague, for he could not advance against the Goths without leaving the western provinces a prey to the Germans. He chose as his associate Theodósius, afterward named the Great, son of the elder Theodósius, whom he had unjustly put to death.

The accession of Theodósius was hailed with delight by all the eastern provinces; he defeated the Goths in the field; but what was of still greater importance, he won their affections by his justice and moderation; so that they voluntarily promised not only to abstain from hostilities, but to protect the frontiers of the Danube. Being himself sincerely attached to the orthodox faith, he summoned a general council at Constantinople to check the progress of heresy, and issued several edicts to restrain the teachers of erroneous opinions. While he was thus engaged, Max'imus, the governor of Britain, revolted against Gratian, and was joined by the whole of the western legions. The emperor, seeing himself abandoned by his troops, fled toward Italy, but was overtaken at Lugdúnum (*Lyons*), and put to death (A. D. 383). St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, courageously went into Gaul, claimed the body of the deceased emperor from the usurper, obtained it after some delay, and honorably interred the remains of Gratian in the sepulchre that had been raised for the Valentinian family in the Milanese cathedral.

Max'imus, to support his usurpation, had brought with him the flower of the British youth; but the Roman province, thus deprived of its defenders, was exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, who broke through the Roman wall, and pushed their incursions far into the south. Theodósius, harassed by the attacks of the barbarians in the east, at first entered into a treaty with Max'imus: but the usurper, encouraged by impunity, soon meditated depriving Valentinian II. of Italy, though that prince had shown little inclination to revenge the murder of Gratian, his brother and benefactor. Valentinian, unable to defend his territories, fled to Theodósius, who instantly marched against Max'imus. The usurper was defeated in two decisive battles; he sought shelter in Aquileía; but he was arrested by his own soldiers, brought in chains to Theodósius, and executed (A. D. 388). It is said that his death was hastened by the imperial ministers, who feared that he might extort a pardon from their master's compassion.

The generous conqueror not only restored Valentinian to his ancient dominions, but resigned to him the provinces that had belonged to Gratian. Having visited Rome, and sanctioned some severe measures for extirpating idolatry in that city, he returned to the east, where he made similar efforts to crush pagan superstitions and Christian heresies. The young Valentinian did not long retain his throne; he was murdered by Arbogas'tes, a Frank, whom he had unwisely admitted to too great a share of sovereign power (A. D. 392). The Frank did not dare to assume the purple himself, but he conferred the empire on one of the royal secretaries, named Eugénius, whom he trusted that he could make the mere instrument of his ambition.

Theodósius refused to enter into any negotiation with the usurper,

but made preparations for war. Having levied a powerful army, he forced the passes of the Alps (A. D. 394), and encountering the forces of Eugenius on the banks of the Frig'idum (*Wibach*), put them to the rout. The usurper was murdered by his own soldiers, and Arbogas'tes committed suicide. Theodósius, in consequence of this victory, became master of the whole Roman empire, which was thus once more reunited under a single head.

SECTION X.—*The Overthrow of the Western Empire.*

FROM A. D. 394 TO A. D. 476.

THEODÓSIUS was well aware that the partition of the empire originally made by Valentinian was rendered necessary by the condition of the Roman dominions in Europe and Asia; he therefore invited his younger son Honórius to receive the sceptre of the western empire, appointing Arcádius, the elder, his successor on the throne of Constantinople. He did not long survive this arrangement; the ease and luxury in which he indulged after his victory proved fatal to a constitution already enfeebled by the fatigues of a severe campaign: he died universally lamented by his subjects, who knew too well that they "ne'er should look upon his like again."

Arcádius and Honórius ascended the thrones bequeathed to them by their father, but both abandoned the cares of empire to their ministers Rufínus and Stil'icho. There are few greater stains on the character of Theodósius than his elevation of such an unworthy favorite as Rufínus, a wretch whom all parties describe as stained with every crime. He was the scourge of the east, and was universally hated: aware of his unpopularity, he resolved to secure his power by uniting Arcádius in marriage with his daughter; but some courtiers, jealous of his influence, took advantage of his absence to persuade the young emperor to share his throne with Eudox'ia, universally regarded as the most beautiful woman of her age. Though disappointed in this darling object of his ambition, the wealth and power of Rufínus enabled him to triumph over Arcádius and his courtiers; but he dreaded more justly his great rival in the western empire.

Stil'icho, the minister and master-general of the west, was worthy of the eminent station to which he had been raised by Theodósius. On his death-bed the emperor recommended to him the charge of both empires; but some pretext was necessary for assembling a force sufficient to depose Rufínus, without giving such alarm as would put that wary statesman on his guard. The Gothic war furnished the desired excuse; Stil'icho led his forces round the Adriatic; but he had scarcely reached Thessalonica, when he received orders to return, with a threat that his nearer approach to Constantinople would be considered a declaration of war. Leaving the army in the charge of the Gaínas, Stil'icho returned to Italy; and Rufínus, believing all danger past, went to review the western troops. As he passed along the ranks, he was suddenly surrounded by a chosen band, and, on a signal from Gaínas, pinned to the earth by a lance, and mangled with a thousand wounds. If Stil'icho had contrived this murder, he derived no advantage from it.

Gaínas, the eunuch Eutrópius, and the empress Eudox'ia, combined to exclude him from Constantinople; their puppet Arcádius procured a decree from his obsequious senate, declaring him a public enemy, and confiscating all his property in the east.

Instead of hazarding a civil war, Stil'icho exerted himself to suppress the revolt which Gil'do, the brother of Fir'mus, had excited in Africa. He intrusted the command of the forces raised for this purpose to Mas'cezel, the brother and deadly enemy of Gil'do. Accident left the Romans an almost bloodless victory. Before giving the signal to engage, Mas'cezel rode to the front of the lines with fair offers of peace and pardon; he encountered one of the standard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The weight of the blow threw the standard and its bearer prostrate. This was regarded by the rest as a signal of submission, which all the African legions hastened to imitate; they flung down their ensigns, and, with one accord, renewed their allegiance to their rightful sovereign. Gil'do attempted to fly, but he was arrested by the citizens of Tab'raca (*Tabarca*), and thrown into a dungeon, where he committed suicide, to avoid the punishment of treason. Mas'cezel was subsequently murdered by Stil'icho, who feared the hereditary enmity of the house of Nábal.

The Goths were now become more formidable than they had ever been. Instead of being guided by several independent chiefs, they were united into a compact body under the renowned Al'aric; and the withholding of the subsidy paid them by Theodósius, afforded a plausible pretext for war (A. D. 396). Disdaining to ravage the exhausted lands of Thrace, Al'aric led his soldiers into Greece, passed the straits of Thermop'ylæ without opposition, devastated Bœotia, At'tica, and the Peloponnésus, while Athens, Corinth, Ar'gos, and Spar'ta, yielded to the barbarous invaders without opposition. Stil'icho hastened to repel the Goths from Greece. His masterly movements drove Al'aric into a corner of Elis, whence his extrication appeared impossible; but the Goth, perceiving that the watchfulness of his enemies was relaxed, gained the gulf of Corinth by a rapid march, passed over the narrow strait between the headlands of Rhium and Antir'rhium (*Dardanelles of Lepanto*), and was master of Epírus before Stil'icho could renew his pursuit. The Romans were preparing to pass into northern Greece, when they received information that Al'aric had not only made his peace with the Byzantine court, but had been appointed master-general of Illyr'icum by the feeble Arcádius.

Stil'icho returned to Italy, and was soon compelled to defend that peninsula against Al'aric, who forced a passage over the Julian Alps, and advanced toward Milan. Honórius fled from his capital, but was so hotly chased, that he was forced to seek refuge in As'ta (*Asti*), which the Goths immediately blockaded. Stil'icho hastened to the relief of his sovereign, and gained a complete victory over Al'aric at Pollentia (*Polenza*); but the Gothic sovereign, having rallied his shattered forces, crossed the Appenines, and made a sudden rush toward Rome (A. D. 403). The capital was saved by the diligence of Stil'icho; but Al'aric's departure from Italy was purchased by a large pension.

Honórius went to Rome, where he enjoyed the empty honor of being received in triumph; but after a short time he removed to Raven'na, which from this time began to be regarded as the most secure seat of Italian government. Scarcely had Al'aric departed, when Italy was invaded by new hordes of Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and Goths, under the command of Radagaísus. Once more the peninsula was saved by Stil'icho: he allowed the barbarians to lay siege to Florence, which was well garrisoned and provisioned; then securing all the passes, he blockaded them in their turn, and reduced them to such distress, that they surrendered at discretion (A. D. 406). Radagaísus was put to death; his followers were sold as slaves; but about two thirds of the hordes fell back upon Gaul, and laid waste that province from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. The provincials, receiving no aid from the court of Raven'na, proclaimed Constantine, the governor of Britain, emperor, who gained some advantages over the Germans, and wrested Spain from Honórius. Stil'icho entered into a treaty with Al'aric against the usurper; but before it could take effect, the able minister was treacherously murdered by his unworthy master (A. D. 408), and the wretched Olym'pus was appointed premier in his stead. The first measure of the new minister was as impolitic as it was monstrous. He ordered a promiscuous massacre of the families of the barbarians throughout Italy, instead of retaining them as hostages for the fidelity of his mercenary cohorts. The barbarous edict was too well obeyed; and thirty thousand of the bravest soldiers in the Roman pay invited Al'aric to head them in avenging the slaughter of their wives and children.

Al'aric was not slow in obeying the summons: he hastened into Italy, and, disregarding meaner prizes, marched directly against Rome (A. D. 408). "The eternal city" was closely besieged: plague, pestilence, and famine, raged within its walls. The emperor at Raven'na made no effort to relieve his hapless subjects; and the senate at length purchased temporary safety by paying an enormous ransom. Al'aric led his forces into Tuscany, and was joined on his march by forty thousand Goths and Germans, whom his victorious career had enabled to burst the bonds of slavery. Honórius refused to ratify the treaty that had been concluded by the Romans; and in the following year, Al'aric appeared once more before the city. He took possession of Ostia, where the magazines were established for the corn that supplied the capital; and having thus deprived the citizens of all means of sustenance, summoned them to surrender. They complied with great reluctance: Al'aric raised At'talus to the empire, but soon deposed him, and renewed his negotiations with the court of Raven'na. Once more Honórius refused to treat, and once more Al'aric marched to punish the Romans for the crime of their sovereign (A. D. 410). He marched against Rome; the Gothic slaves in the city opened to him one of the gates, and the city became the prey of the barbarians. The horrors of the pillage that ensued were in some degree alleviated by the piety of the Goths, who spared the churches and religious houses. Al'aric himself was unwilling that a city which had been so long the mistress of the world should be so totally ruined; and on the sixth day after its capture evacuated the place, and took the road for southern Italy. He was preparing to invade Sicily, when he was seized with a mortal dis-

ease, which brought him prematurely to his grave. His remains were interred in the bed of a small rivulet near Consen'tia (*Cosenza*), and the captives who prepared his grave were murdered, in order that the Romans might never learn the place of his sepulture.

Adol'phus succeeded his brother Al'aric, and concluded a peace with the empire, on condition of receiving the princess Placid'ia as his bride. He led his forces into Gaul, reunited that province to the dominions of Honórius, and then passed into Spain, which had been invaded by hordes of Suevi, Vandals, and A'lans. He was murdered; but his successor Wal'lia established the supremacy of the Visigoths in Spain and the east of Gaul. About the same time, the Franks, the Burgundians, and other barbarous tribes, established themselves in Gaul; while Britain and Armorica, neglected by the emperor, became independent. The Britons had so degenerated under the empire, that they were unable to resist the barbarous Picts and Scots; they therefore applied for aid to the Angles and Saxons, warlike tribes (A. D. 448). The Saxons readily obeyed the summons; but, after repelling the Picts and Scots, they took possession of southern Britain, which they named Angle-land, since contracted into England.

In the meantime, the reign of Arcádius in the east was dishonored by the profligate administration of the eunuch Eutrópius and the empress Eudox'ia, to whose cruelty the most illustrious persons, and among others St. Chrysostom, were victims. After his death (A. D. 408), the young Theodósius succeeded to the purple; but the administration was usurped by his sister Pulchéria, who ruled the east with singular energy and ability for more than forty years. During a great portion of this period, there was little sympathy between the courts of Rome and Constantinople; but the family intercourse was renewed when Placid'ia, the widow of Adol'phus, was banished by her brother, after the death of her second husband Constantius. She sought refuge in the court of Theodósius, bringing with her Valentinian and Honória, her infant children. She had scarcely time to enjoy the hospitality with which she was received, when news arrived of the death of Honórius (A. D. 423), and the usurpation of the empire by John, his principal secretary. Theodósius levied an army to support the claims of his relative; John was deposed and slain; Valentinian III. was proclaimed emperor of the west, under the guardianship of his mother Placid'ia; and thus two women wielded the destinies of the civilized world.

Placid'ia, seduced by the interested counsels of her minister Æ'tius, recalled Count Boniface, the most faithful friend of the imperial family, from Africa; but that governor, deceived by the same crafty adviser, refused obedience, and invited Gen'seric, king of the Vandals, to his aid. That nation occupied the Spanish province, called from them Vandalúsia, a name which it still retains, with but slight alteration. They were still restless, eager to seek further conquests and fresh plunder, so that nothing could have been more grateful to Gen'seric than such an invitation. Boniface had soon reason to lament the effects of his precipitate resentment. When it was too late, he attempted to check the progress of the Vandals, and returned to his allegiance. Auxiliaries were sent to his aid from the eastern empire; but the un-

fortunate count was irretrievably defeated. He returned to Italy, where he engaged in a civil war with Æ′tius, and was slain by his rival. Placid′ia having discovered the double treachery of Æ′tius, proclaimed him a traitor, and that general found it necessary to seek shelter in Pannónia with the Huns. At′tila, justly called "the scourge of God," was now the ruler of the formidable Hunnish hordes: he extorted vast sums, as the price of his forbearance, from the Byzantine empire. On the death of Theodósius II. he threatened war against Marcian his successor, the nominal husband of Pulchéria; but the victories of Æ′tius over the Franks and Vandals, when restored to Placid′ia's favor, induced the fierce barbarian to turn his arms against the western empire (A. D. 451). He had an additional pretext, through the malice of the princess Honória, who secretly offered him her hand, to revenge her exclusion from power; and the barbarian monarch, though he already had several wives, proclaimed himself her champion. When the Huns appeared in Gaul, Æ′tius entered into an alliance with the Visigoths, aided by whom he gained a great victory over At′tila, and drove him beyond the frontiers. But in the ensuing spring (A. D. 452) the Huns poured like a torrent into Italy, and laid waste the peninsula. The death of At′tila, who fell a victim to intemperance, and the civil wars between his followers, delayed the utter ruin of the empire; but the murder of Æ′tius by the ungrateful Valentinian, and the unchecked ravages of the barbarians, rendered all the provinces miserable and wretched. Valentinian himself was murdered by the patrician Max′imus, whose wife he had debauched (A. D. 455), and the injured husband assumed the imperial purple.

Max′imus had scarcely been three months upon the throne when the fleet of the Vandals appeared in the Tiber. His subjects, attributing this new calamity to his supineness, stoned him to death; but ere a successor could be chosen, Gen′seric marched his soldiers into the defenceless city, and pillaged everything that had been spared by the piety or mercy of Al′aric. Many thousands of the unfortunate citizens were transported as slaves into Africa; but their condition was in some degree alleviated by the generosity of Deográtias, bishop of Carthage, who sold the gold and silver plate of his churches to purchase the redemption of his brethren.

By the influence of Theod′oric, king of the Visigoths, Avítus, a Gaul of noble family, was installed emperor; but he was soon deposed by Count Rícimer, the principal commander of the barbarian auxiliaries intrusted with the defence of Italy. He did not long survive his fall; he died on his way to the Alps, as he was about to seek refuge among the Visigoths. Majoriam received the degraded sceptre from Rícimer, and made some vigorous efforts to remedy the disorders of the state. His virtues were not appreciated by his subjects. He was dethroned by a licentious soldiery (A. D. 461), and died in a few days after.

Rícimer chose one of his own creatures, Sevérus, to be nominal emperor, retaining all the power of the state in his own hands; but the superior strength of the Vandals compelled him to have recourse to the court of Constantinople for aid, and to offer the nomination of a sovereign for the west to Leo, the successor of Marcian. Leo appointed the patrician Anthémius to this high but dangerous station, and sent a

large armament against the Vandals in Africa. The imperial forces were completely defeated, and when the shattered relics of the armament returned to Constantinople, Rícimer deposed Athémius, put him to death, and elevated Olyb'rius to the throne (A. D. 472). Both Rícimer and Olyb'rius died within a few months: and Leo, after some delay, appointed Julius Nepos his colleague.

Glycérius, an obscure soldier, trusting to the aid of the Burgundians, attempted to dispute the empire with Nepos; but finding his strength inadequate to the contest, he resigned the sceptre for the crosier, and became bishop of Salona. Nepos himself was soon driven from the throne by Ores'tes, the successor of Rícimer in the command of the barbarian mercenaries. He fled into Dalmátia, where he was assassinated by his old rival Glycérius.

Ores'tes gave the throne to his son Rom'ulus Momil'lus, whom he dignified with the title of Augus'tus, or, as he is more frequently called, Augus'tulus. Odoácer, the leader of the German tribes in the Roman pay, persuaded his countrymen to take arms against the usurper. Ores'tes was made prisoner, and put to death. Augus'tulus was sent into captivity, but was allowed a pension for his support; and the conqueror, abolishing the name and office of emperor, took the title of king of Italy (A. D. 476). The Ostrogoths finally conquered Italy (A. D. 492), deposed Odoácer, and founded a new empire.

During this calamitous period Christianity was sullied by the admixture of various superstitions, borrowed from ancient paganism. The Gnostics attempted to combine the truths of the gospel with the wild dreams of oriental philosophy, and they prepared medals with mystic devices, which were worn as charms or amulets, in the belief that they would protect men from danger and disease.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INDIA.

When India became known to the Greeks by the conquests of Alexander, its inhabitants were found in very nearly the same state of civilization as the Hindoos of the present day; we may therefore fairly conclude that this civilized state must have been several hundred years in existence, else it could not have been so complete in its parts and so permanent in its influence. As Alexander's invasion took place about the fourth century before the Christian era, we may regard it as pretty certain that the civilization of India reaches back to at least one thousand years before Christ, but how much further it is impossible to determine with certainty. From the institution of caste, it seems probable that the Hindoos are of a mixed origin, for the difference between the castes is so very great that we are almost obliged to admit a corresponding difference of original extraction. "I could at all times, and in every part of India," says Major Bevan, "distinguish a Brahmin by his complexion and peculiar features." All the Hindoo traditions unite in representing the neighborhood of the Ganges as the cradle of their race; their most ancient records intimate that the first kingdoms in this sacred spot were founded by persons who came from the north, and the existing series of temples and monuments, both above and below ground, is a species of chronicle of the progressive extension of an immigrating and highly-civilized race from north to south. This is the very reverse of what we find to have occurred in Egypt, where the social and religious advance was from south to north.

The Brahmins in India, like the priests in Egypt, exercised an indirect sovereignty over the other classes of society; the kings, in both countries, were selected from the warrior caste, but the priestly caste restrained the power of the sovereign by religious enactments and institutions which brought both public and private affairs under their cognizance. How this influence was obtained is merely matter of conjecture, but it certainly existed before the appearance of the two great Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Máha-bhárata, both of which contain several instances of the awful veneration in which the Brahmins were held by the kings themselves. In the interesting drama, "The Toy Cart," translated by Professor Wilson, we find a notice of a strange revolution effected in the government of Ujayín (*Oogein*) by Brahminical intrigue. The drama itself was written before the Christian era, but the incidents on which it is founded are of much earlier date; it describes how the Brahmins, offended by their sovereign Palaka's public disregard of them, brought about a change in the government, employing a hermit and a cow-boy as their instruments. Aryaka, the cow-

herd, is chosen king, and his accession is thus announced to a Brahmin whom Palaka had condemned to death :—

> "And Brahmin, I inform you, that the king,
> The unjust Pálaka, has fallen a victim,
> Here in the place of sacrifice, to one
> Who has avenged his wrongs and thine; to Aryaka,
> Who ready homage pays to birth and virtue."

The conclusion of the drama still more forcibly shows the influence of the Brahmins, for reverence to their caste is invoked as one of the chief blessings of heaven :—

> "Full-uddered be the kine, the soil be fertile;
> May copious showers descend, and balmy gales
> Breathe health and happiness on all mankind;
> From pain be every living creature free,
> And reverence on the pious Brahmin wait;
> And may all monarchs, prosperous and just,
> Humble their foes and guard the world in peace."

It appears that there were two great dynasties in India proper; that is, north of the Krishna river, and excluding the Dec'can; the Solar race was established at Ayad'da, the modern Oude; the Lunar race fixed itself more to the west, in the country round Delhi. The war between the Pan'doos and Koóroos, both descended from the Lunar race, was to the Indians what the Trojan war was to the Greeks, by its influence upon their poetry, literature, and arts. It forms the subject of the great Hindoo epic, the "Máha-bhárata" (great war), which contains one hundred thousand *slokas*, or distichs. How far the events of this war are to be regarded as historical, would be an inquiry more curious than useful; but it seems probable that, like the Trojan war, it was not less fatal to the victors than the vanquished, for a new dynasty arose at Magad'ha, which gradually acquired the supremacy of India.

The kingdom of Magad'ha is identified with the province of Behar, and its capital was Paliboth'ra, which stood in or near the modern city of Patan. After the retreat of Alexander from India, the throne of Paliboth'ra was occupied by a celebrated conqueror, known to the Greeks by the name of Sandracop'tus or Sandracot'tus, who has been completely identified with the Chan'dra-Gup'ta of the Hindoo poets. The Greek and Hindoo writers concur in the name, in the private history, in the political elevation, and in the nation and capital of an Indian king, nearly if not exactly contemporary with Alexander; such an approximation could not possibly be the work of accident, and we may therefore regard this monarch's reign as historical.

Combining and comparing the different accounts given of Chan'dra-Gup'ta it appears that about the time of Alexander the kingdom of Magad'ha was ruled by a monarch named Mahapad'ma Nan'da. He was a powerful and ambitious prince, but cruel and avaricious, by which defects, as well as by his inferiority of birth, he probably provoked the hostility of the Brahmins. By one wife he had eight sons, who, with their father, were called the nine Nan'das; and by a wife of low extraction he had according to tradition, a son called Chan'dra-Gup'ta. I is, however, by no means certain that Chan'dra-Gup'ta was the son of

Nan'da, but from uniform testimony he appears to have been closely related to the royal family by his father's side, though his mother was of a very inferior caste.

But whatever may have been the origin of this prince, it is very likely that he was made the instrument of the rebellious spirit of the Brahmins, who, having effected the destruction of Nan'da and his sons, raised Chan'dra-Gup'ta, while yet a youth, to the throne. In the drama Múdra Nahshása, which represents the various artifices employed by the Brahmin Chanak'ya to establish the throne of Chan'dra-Gup'ta, Chanak'ya declares that it was he who overthrew the Nan'das:—

> "'Tis known to all the world
> I vowed the death of Nanda, and I slew him . . . .
> The fires of my wrath alone expire
> Like the fierce conflagration of a forest,
> From lack from fuel—not for weariness.
> The flames of my just anger have consumed
> The branding ornaments of Nanda's stem,
> Abandoned by the frightened priests and people,
> They have enveloped in a shower of ashes
> The blighted tree of his ambitious councils,
> And they have overcast with sorrow-clouds
> The smiling heavens of those moon-like looks
> That shed the light of love upon my foes."

It is thus evident that the elevation of Chan'dra-Gup'ta to the throne was owing to the Brahmins; they were, however, aided by a prince from the north of India, Pawats'wara, to whom they promised an accession of territory as the reward of his alliance. The execution of this treaty was evaded by the assassination of the mountain-prince; his son, Malayakétu, led a mingled host against Magad'ha to avenge his father's death: among his troops we find the *Gavanas*, the Lakas, or Lacæ, and the Kambójas, or people of Arachósia, the northeastern province of Persia. The failure of Seleúcus Nicátor, in his attempt to extend his power in India, and his relinquishment of territory, may be connected with the discomfiture and retreat of Malayakétu, as narrated in the drama, although it is improbable that the Syrian monarch and the king of Magad'ha ever came into direct collision. The retreat of Malayakétu was occasioned by jealousies and quarrels among the confederates; he returned, baffled and humbled, to his own country. Chan'dra-Gup'ta's power was now so firmly established that Seleúcus Nicátor relinquished to him all the country beyond the Indus, receiving fifty elephants in exchange; he also formed a matrimonial alliance with the Hindoo prince, and sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to his court. Chan'dra-Gup'ta reigned twenty-four years, and left the kingdom to his son.

There is a complete blank in Indian history from the death of Chan'dra-Gup'ta to the accession of Vicramadit'ya, who is called the sovereign of all India. He ruled with such extraordinary success that his reign forms an important era in history, commencing B. C. 58, according to one account, and ten years later, according to another. Toward the close of his reign he was conquered by Shapour, the second Persian monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, and the empire of India became

subject to that of Persia. The Hindoo accounts of Vicramadit'ya are intermingled with the most extravagant fables, and all that we can learn from them with certainty is, that this prince was a sedulous upholder of the influence of the Brahmins.

From this period to the Mohammedan invasion, India appears to have been divided into a number of petty independent states, in which the rajahs were completely under the influence of the Brahmins. As the royal power declined, the rules of caste, on which the influence of the hereditary priesthood depended, were rendered more rigid and severe. The caste of the Brahmins arrogated to itself the exclusive privilege of studying and expounding the Vedas, and as these are the source of all Hindoo learning, whether religious or scientific, the priesthood thus obtained a monopoly of knowledge. Brahmins alone could exercise the medical art, for sickness being considered as the punishment of transgression, it is remedied only by penances and religious ceremonies: they alone had the right to interpret the laws, to offer sacrifices, and to give counsel to the sovereign.

The Kshatríya or warrior caste, is generally regarded as extinct; it was naturally viewed with great jealousy by the Brahmins, and the institutions imposed upon it by them, were little calculated to foster a warlike spirit. Hence Hindoostan has so frequently and so easily become the prey of foreign conquerors, for the priestly caste made it the chief object of their policy to humiliate and weaken the caste of warriors.

The Vaisy'a caste includes the higher industrial classes, and was perhaps one of the most numerous. The Súdras formed the lowest class, and were slaves to the rest. In process of time, the number of mixed castes was greatly multiplied, and the determination of their relations to each other became a matter of considerable difficulty.

At a very early but uncertain period, the religious institutions of the Brahmins were opposed by a reformer named Bud'dha, who rejected the Vedas, bloody sacrifices, and the distinction of castes. His followers, called Buddhists, must have been both numerous and powerful at a very remote age, for a greater number of the oldest rock-temples are dedicated to him. From the Christian writers of the second century it is evident that in their day the religion of Bud'dha was very prevalent in India, and in the drama of the Toy-Cart, Bud'dha observances are described with great accuracy, and the members of the sect represented in a flourishing condition, for they are not only tolerated but publicly recognised. One of the characters in the play is a Bud'dha ascetic, and he describes his creed in the following hymn:—

"Be virtue, friends, your only store,
And restless appetite restrain,
Beat meditation's drum, and sore
Your watch against each sense maintain;
The thief that still in ambush lies,
To make devotion's wealth his prize.

"Cast the five senses all away
That triumph o'er the virtuous will,
The pride of self-importance slay,
And ignorance remorseless kill;
So shall you safe the body guard,
And Heaven shall be your last reward.

"Why shave the head and mow the chin,
While bustling follies choke the breast?
Apply the knife to parts within,
And heed not how deformed the rest;
The heart of pride and passion weed,
And then the man is pure indeed."

At some uncertain period, but probably not much later than the twelfth century of the Christian era, nor earlier than the fourth, the Buddhists were expelled from India by the Brahmins; they sought shelter in Ceylon, in the mountains of the north, in the countries beyond the Ganges, in Tartary, and in China, where their religion had been previously preached by active missionaries. By the persecution of the Buddhists in their native country, a great portion of the literature of India has been lost, and in particular, according to Professor Wilson, all the ancient literature of the people that speak the Tamul language. But in the countries surrounding India, Buddhism still prevails; it is indeed the most widely extended of any religion, being professed by not less than two hundred millions of people. Its success is mainly owing to the excellent organization of its hierarchy, and the solemnity of its ceremonies. Celibacy is enjoined on its priesthood, and thus a monastic corporation is formed, which in Tibet possesses the sovereign power, and in the other countries enjoys considerable political influence.

The Buddhists were not the only reformers that opposed the Brahmins; they were followed by the Jäins, who cut down more extensively the vast forest of fraud and superstition. The rise of Jainism was contemporary with the decline of Buddhism in Hindoostan. Both affect to be new doctrines produced by a fresh incarnation of Vishnoo, the conservating principle of the Hindoo Triad.

The ancient trade of the Egyptians and Phœnicians with India has been already noticed in the earlier part of this work; but Indian commerce did not excite much attention in the western world until the first Ptolemy ascended the throne of Egypt, and prepared to realize the vast projects of his master, Alexander the Great. His successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, attempted to connect the Red sea with the Mediterranean, by cutting a canal from Arsinoë (*Suez*) to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. This was not found so useful as the king anticipated; he therefore built a city lower down the Red sea, nearly under the Tropic, called Berenice, which became the staple of the trade with India. Goods were transported from Berenice to Cop'tos on the Nile, and thence floated down the river to Alexandria. The Egyptian vessels sailed from Berenice either to the mouths of the Indus or to the Malabar coast; they were too small to venture directly out to sea, and therefore crept timidly along the shores. The Persians had an insuperable aversion to maritime affairs, else they might have opened the same trade by a shorter and safer course of navigation through the Persian gulf. They procured Indian commodities overland from the banks of the Indus, and the northern provinces were supplied by the caravans which travelled from the Indus to the Oxus, and sent their goods down that river into the Caspian sea.

After Egypt had been some time subject to the Romans, the discovery of the regular shifting of the periodical winds or monsoons brought In-

dia nearer to the rest of the world. Hippalus, the commander of a ship engaged in the Indian trade, about eighty years after Egypt was annexed to the Roman empire, stretched boldly from the mouth of the Arabian gulf across the ocean, and was wafted by the western monsoon to Musius on the Malabar coast, somewhere between Goa and Tellicherry. From this time the Indian trade rapidly increased, and the merchants of Alexandria supplied Europe with spices, and aromatics, precious stones, pearls, silk, and cotton cloths.

Taprobáne or the island of Ceylon, was not known by name to Europeans before the age of Alexander the Great. The Egyptians seem not to have visited it or the Coromandel coast, until after the discovery of the periodicity of the monsoons, but so early as the reign of the emperor Claudius an ambassador was sent from the island to Rome. It subsequently became a great mart of trade for the commodities produced in the countries beyond the Ganges, and probably even for the productions of China.

Little change was made in the commercial routes of communication with India from the time of the Romans, until the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama. The ancients were contented with traffic, and after the time of Alexander made no efforts to establish colonies in Hindoostan; hence their accounts of the country and its inhabitants are very loose and indefinite. But even from these vague accounts we find that the social institutions of the Hindoos have scarcely been altered by the many changes of realm and chances of time which have since occurred; and hence we may conclude, that its system of civilization, so original and so stereotype in its character, belongs to an age of very remote antiquity, and that there is no improbability in its having been connected with that of ancient Egypt.

THE

STUDENT'S MANUAL

OF

MODERN HISTORY.

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CHAPTER I.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

Section I.—*The Gothic Kingdom of Italy.*

There is no period in the annals of the human race which presents to the historical student a greater scene of confusion than the century succeeding the overthrow of the Western Empire. The different hordes of barbarians, following no definite plan, established separate monarchies in the dismembered provinces, engaged in sanguinary wars that had no object but plunder, and were too ignorant to form anything like a political system. There is consequently a want of unity in the narrative of a time when nations ceased to have any fixed relations toward each other, and history must appear desultory and digressive until some one state, rising into command, assume such importance, that the fate of all the rest may be connected with its destinies. It is necessary, before entering on the various incidents of this calamitous time, to take a geographical survey of the places occupied by the principal nations who succeeded the Romans in the sovereignty of Europe.

The Visigoths, after their establishment in Spain, began gradually to adopt the refinement of their new subjects; that peninsula had advanced rapidly in civilization under the Roman dominion, and had escaped from much of the corruption which had degraded Italy; the conquerors, more advanced than any other of the barbarians, soon learned to appreciate the advantages of social order, and began to cultivate the higher arts of life. In Pannonia, the Ostrogoths derived great improvement from their vicinity to Italy on the one side, and the court of Constantinople on the other; they were thus gradually trained to civilization, and their early adoption of Christianity secured them the benefits of literature, which was sedulously cultivated by the clergy.

Tribes of a very different character pressed into the empire from the

German forests—the Burgundians, the Lombards, and the Franks, of whom the last were long distinguished for their hostility to all refinements, and their exclusive attention to the military virtues. Still more barbarous were the Saxons and Angles; they were not only strangers to the civilization and religion of the empire, but were kept in their rude state by the practice of piracy, for which their maritime situation afforded them great facilities; their government, divided among several petty chiefs, was favorable to personal independence, and furnished a striking contrast to the absolute despotism that had been established in the Roman empire. All the Germanic tribes were remarkable for the respect which they showed to the delicacy of the female character; they neither treated their women like slaves, as most other barbarians have done, nor did they degrade them into mere objects of sensual gratification, like the Romans and Byzantines. The German woman was the companion and counsellor of her husband; she shared his labors as an equal, not as a servant. It was from the sanctity of the domestic circle among the northern nations that races of conquerors derived the firmness and courage which ensured them victory.

The northeastern part of Europe was occupied by Sclavonic tribes, differing from the Germans in language, manners, and tactics; like the Tartars of more modern times, they placed their chief reliance on their cavalry; and they were more opposed to civilization than any of the Germanic nations. Their form of government was a kind of aristocratic republic, but in war the tribes generally united under a single leader. They were very averse to fixed residences, and when they occupied a country they rarely entered the cities, but remained in their camps or in rude circular fortifications called *rings*. The Sclavonians hated the Germans, and could rarely be induced to unite with them against their common enemy, the Romans.

After the fall of the Western Empire, the court of Constantinople sunk into obscurity, from which it did not emerge for half a century, when its supremacy was restored during the memorable reign of Justinian. The Isaurian Zeno, raised to the purple by his marriage with the princess Ariadne, was forced to fly into the mountains by a fierce revolt which his mother-in-law Verina had instigated. He was restored to the throne chiefly by the aid of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who had been carefully educated as a hostage at the court of Constantinople. The turbulence of the Goths, and the faithlessness of the Byzantines, soon destroyed the amity of the two sovereigns; a desultory, but sanguinary warfare harassed the Eastern Empire, until Zeno purchased peace by ceding to Theodoric his right over Italy, or rather stimulated the Goth to undertake the conquest of that peninsula. The march of Theodoric was the emigration of an entire people; the Goths were accompanied by their wives, their children, and their aged parents, a vast multitude of wagons conveyed their most precious effects, and their store of provisions for a toilsome march undertaken in the depth of winter. Odoacer boldly prepared to meet this formidable invasion; he took post on the river Sontius (*Isonzo*) with a powerful host; but he was unable to resist the daring energy of the Goths, and his defeat gave Theodoric possession of the Venetian province as far as the walls of Verona (A. D. 489). Italy, however, was not won

without further struggles: Ravenna alone sustained a siege of more than three years; but at length Odoacer capitulated (A. D. 493), and was soon after assassinated at a solemn banquet by his rival.

Theodoric secured his conquest by distributing one third of the lands of Italy to his soldiers in military tenures. This partition was effected with very little violence to the ancient possessors; the Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, and to lay aside their barbarous customs of judicial combats and private revenge. The Gothic sovereignty was soon extended from Sicily to the Danube, and from Sirmium (*Sirmich*) to the Atlantic ocean; thus including the fairest portion of the Western Empire. The monarch of this new kingdom showed great wisdom and moderation in his civil government, but unfortunately his attachment to the Arian heresy led him to persecute the Catholics. The legal murder of the philosopher Boethius and the venerable Symmachus were crimes which admit of no palliation; they hastened Theodoric's death, for remorse brought him to the grave in the thirty-third year of his reign (A. D. 526).

SECTION II.—*Reign of Justinian.*

A DACIAN peasant, named Justin, who had travelled on foot to Constantinople in the reign of the emperor Leo, enlisted in the imperial guards, and, during the succeeding reigns, so distinguished himself by his strength and valor, that he was gradually raised to the command of the household troops. On the death of the emperor Anastasius, the eunuch Amantius, anxious to secure the throne for one of his creatures, intrusted Justin with a large sum of money to bribe the guards; but he used it to purchase votes for himself, and was thus elevated to the empire (A. D. 518). Totally ignorant himself, Justin was not insensible of the value of education; he made his nephew Justinian his associate in the empire; and as this prince had been instructed in all the learning of the times, he soon obtained the whole power of the state.

After the death of Justin (A. D. 527), Justinian ruled alone; but his first exercise of authority fixed a lasting stigma on his reign. He chose for his empress, Theodora, a woman of mean birth and infamous character, whose vices had disgusted even a capital so licentious as Constantinople. Among the most singular and disgraceful follies of the Eastern Empire were the factions of the circus, which arose from the colors worn by the charioteers who competed for the prize of swiftness. Green and blue were the most remarkable for their inveterate hostility, though white and red were the most ancient; all, however, soon acquired a legal existence, and the Byzantines willingly hazarded life and fortune to support their favorite color. Justinian was a partisan of the blues; his favor toward them provoked the hostility of the opposite faction, and led to a sedition which almost laid Constantinople in ashes. The disturbances first burst forth in the circus; Justinian ordered the rioters to be secured; both factions immediately turned against the monarch, the soldiers were called out, but they were unable to contend against the citizens in the narrow streets. Assailed from the tops of the houses, the barbarian mercenaries flung firebrands in revenge, and thus kindled a dreadful conflagration, which destroyed a vast number

of public and private edifices. After the city had been for several days in the hands of the rioters, Justinian contrived to revive the ancient animosity between the *greens* and *blues;* the latter faction declared for the emperor, a strong body of veterans marched to the Hippodrome, or race-course, and tranquillity was restored by the slaughter of thirty thousand of the insurgents. While the internal state of the empire was thus disturbed by faction, a costly and unprofitable war was waged against the Persians, until the emperor purchased a disgraceful and precarious truce, which both he and his rival chose to designate as an endless peace.

The usurpation of the throne of the Vandals in Africa by Gelimer, who owed his success chiefly to the support of the Arian clergy, induced Justinian to undertake a war, in which he appeared both the generous friend of an allied sovereign and the protector of the Catholic faith. Belisarius, the best general of his age, was appointed to the command of the imperial forces, and a large fleet was assembled for the transport of the army in the harbor of Constantinople (A. D. 533). After the armament had been blessed by the patriarch it set sail; and, after a prosperous voyage, Belisarius effected a landing on the coast of Africa without opposition. He advanced toward Carthage, defeating the Vandals on his march, and became master of the city with little opposition. Gelimer made one effort more to save his kingdom; it was unsuccessful, his army was irretrievably ruined, and he was closely besieged in the castle where he sought refuge. The unfortunate king, after having borne the most dreadful extremities of famine, was forced to surrender unconditionally; he was carried captive to Constantinople, where he was led in the triumphal procession that honored the return of Belisarius. The dethroned monarch showed no sorrow for his fall, but consoled himself by Solomon's reflection on the instability of human greatness, frequently repeating. "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, all is vanity."

The murder of Amalasontha, queen of the Goths, by her ungrateful husband Theodatus, afforded Belisarius a pretext for attacking the kingdom of Italy. He sailed from Constantinople to Sicily, and easily conquered that important island (A. D. 535). Theodatus, in great terror, hasted to avert danger, by declaring himself the vassal of Justinian; but hearing in the meantime that two Byzantine generals had been defeated in Dalmatia by the Gothic troops, he passed suddenly from extreme despair to the height of presumption, and withdrew his allegiance. Belisarius soon appeared to chastise his perfidy; he transported his army across the Sicilian strait, and effected a landing at Rhegium (*Reggio*). The greater part of southern Italy, including the important city of Naples, was speedily subdued by the imperial forces; while Theodatus, secure within the walls of Rome, made no effort to protect his subjects. At length the Goths, disgusted by the incapacity and weakness of their sovereign, removed him from the throne, and chose the valiant Vitiges for their king. But Vitiges was forced to commence his reign by abandoning Rome, of which Belisarius took possession without encountering any opposition (A. D. 537). During the ensuing winter, the Goths assembled from every quarter to save, if possible, their kingdom in Italy: a powerful army, animated by dauntless spirit,

was soon collected, and Vitiges led his followers to the siege of Rome. Belisarius concentrated his forces in the Eternal city, which was defended with equal skill and bravery; but famine soon appeared within the walls, and the citizens became anxious for a capitulation. A conspiracy was formed under the sanction of the pope, Sylverius, for betraying the city to the Goths; but it was discovered by an intercepted letter. Belisarius sent Sylverius into banishment, and ordered the bishops to elect a new pontiff: before however a synod could be assembled for the purpose, the general's wife, the infamous Antonina, sold the Holy See to Vigilus for a bribe of two hundred pounds weight of gold. Reinforcements soon after arrived from the east, and the Goths were forced to raise the siege of Rome, having lost one third of their number before its walls. Belisarius pursued the retreating enemy to the marshes of Ravenna, and would probably have captured that city, but for the jealousy of the eunuch Narses, whom Justinian had intrusted with the independent command of a large division of the Byzantine army. Though the differences between the two leaders were finally adjusted, the Goths had taken advantage of the interval to collect new strength; and ten thousand Burgundians, sent to invade Italy by the command of Theodobert, king of the Franks, had stormed and plundered Milan. Soon after, Theodobert passed the Alps in person at the head of one hundred thousand men. The Franks stormed Genoa, and devastated Liguria; but their excesses brought pestilence into their camp, they perished by thousands and Theodobert was induced, by his increasing distresses, to enter into terms of accommodation with the emperor. Delivered from this pressing danger, Belisarius laid siege to Ravenna, which was forced to capitulate (A. D. 539); and thus the Gothic kingdom of Italy was destroyed.

Belisarius returned to Constantinople in triumph, leading with him the captive Vitiges; he was sent to conduct the Persian war, but was soon recalled and disgraced by the ungrateful Justinian. While the conquests of Belisarius were restoring the western provinces to the empire, barbarous hordes ravaged, almost with impunity, the northeastern frontiers. Unable or unwilling to meet the Gepidæ in the field, Justinian entered into alliance with the Longobardi or Lombards (so called from their long *barts* or lances), who had just thrown off the yoke of the Heruli, and gave them settlements in Pannonia. A war of forty years' duration, between the Lombards and Gepidæ, protected the empire from the invasions of both hordes; but it was still exposed to the incursions of the Sclavonians and Bulgarians, who annually purchased a passage through the territories of the Gepidæ, and extended their inroads even into southern Greece. Commotions in the remote east brought Europeans, about this time, acquainted with new and more formidable races of barbarians, the Avars and the Turks, whose importance may justify a short digression on their origin.

The Avars, from an unknown age, possessed the mountains and deserts that border on the lake Baïkal in northeastern Asia. Thence they advanced southward under a monarch named Túlún, and extended their empire to the eastern sea, which separates Corea from Japan. The conqueror took the title of Chakan or Chagan, a name still used on the coins of the Turkish sultan. But the prosperity of the Avars was

not of long duration; they were assailed by rival tribes from the north, and at the same time harassed by civil wars; while thus distressed, they were attacked by a new horde, called Thiúkhiú by the Chinese writers, but known to the Europeans as the Turks. The Avars were overthrown by these new competitors for empire, and their power totally destroyed; but their name was taken by a new nation, the Ogors or Varchonites, who after being defeated by the Turks, migrated toward Europe by the route of the Volga. They chose the false designation, because the name of the Avars was still formidable, and they preserved it on account of the terror which they saw it produced.

The Turks first appear in history as the slaves of the original Avars; they inhabited the great Altaian mountains, and were engaged in working the mines and attending the forges of those rich mineral districts. Their skill in fabricating armor and weapons was very great, and they prided themselves upon the excellence of their manufactures so much, that, when they became lords of eastern Asia, their Khakans annually forged a piece of iron in the presence of the heads of the nation. Under the guidance of Thú-men, they asserted their independence, and made slaves of their former masters. So rapid was their progress, that during the reigns of Thú-men and his successor Dizabúl, their empire was extended from the Volga to the sea of Japan. They were thus brought to the frontiers of the Byzantine and Persian dominions, and engaged in commercial relations with both, by their occupation of the countries through which the silk-trade was carried.

The great rival of Justinian was Chosroes or Nushírván, the most celebrated Persian monarch of the Sissanid dynasty; in the early part of his reign he won the affection of his subjects, by extirpating the pernicious system of policy and religion which his predecessor Kobad, seduced by an impostor named Mazdak, had patronised. His next care was to give confidence to the laboring classes by judicious laws securing the rights of industry, and by a sedulous attention to the administration of justice. Having thus secured the tranquillity and prosperity of Persia, he directed his attention to the favorite project of the Sassanides, the re-establishment of the empire of Cyrus, and perceiving that the forces of Justinian were engaged in the west, invaded Syria, at the head of a powerful army (A. D. 540). His victorious career was checked for a brief space by Belisarius, but after the recall and disgrace of that general, he urged forward his conquests with alarming rapidity. Justinian, in his distress, repented of his ingratitude; Belisarius was restored to command, and by his judicious exertions, Nushírván was forced to return across the Euphrates, loaded, however, with the spoils of western Asia. His next enterprise was the conquest of the Caucasian districts, inhabited by the Lazi, the Colchians, and other semi-barbarous tribes, which the Byzantines struggled to prevent, and this led to the tedious Lazic war, in which the strength of both empires was uselessly wasted. In consequence of the Persian war, Justinian entered into a treaty with the Abyssinians, whose monarch had subdued the greater part of Arabia, in the expectation of opening, by his means, a naval communication with China and India; but the design was frustrated by the reluctance of the Ethiopian monarch to engage in a doubtful contest with the power of Persia.

The provinces of Africa and Italy, acquired by the valor of Belisarius, were nearly lost by the incapacity and tyranny of his successors. Their weakness provoked the Moors to take arms; and, though these barbarians were finally reduced, the African province was changed from a fertile and populous country into a savage and silent desert. Still more dangerous was the revolt of the Goths under the gallant Totila (A. D. 541), who in a very brief space recovered the greater part of Italy. Finding his generals successively defeated, Justinian sent Belisarius to the theatre of his former glory; but he neglected to supply the hero with sufficient forces; and Rome was captured by Totila, almost in sight of the imperial army. The city was recovered soon after, and the old general gained some advantages over Totila; but finding himself unsupported, he solicited permission to return, and departed from Italy disgraced, not so much by his failure, as by the plunder he had permitted Antonina to extort from those he was sent to defend (A. D. 548). Totila, after the departure of Belisarius, again made himself master of Rome, but the maritime cities of Italy resisted his assaults, and supported the imperial interests until the eunuch Narses was sent into the peninsula (A. D. 552).

Justinian granted to this favorite what he had denied to Belisarius, a competent supply of the munitions of war; allies were entreated to send contingents, and mercenaries were hired from the principal barbarous tribes. Thus supplied, the eunuch eagerly sought to bring the Goths to an engagement; but Totila showed equal ardor for the combat, and the hostile forces soon met in the vicinity of Rome. In the very commencement of the battle the Gothic cavalry, hurried forward by their impetuosity, advanced so far beyond their infantry, that they were surrounded and cut to pieces before they could receive assistance. Totila, hasting with a chosen troop to remedy the disorder, was struck to the earth mortally wounded, and his followers instantly fled in confusion. Rome opened its gates to the conquerors; but the imperial forces, especially the barbarian mercenaries, treated the city more cruelly than the Gothic conquerors had done, and inflicted on the citizens the mingled horror of lust, rapine, and murder. The bravest of the Goths retired, after their defeat, beyond the Po, and chose Teias for their king. War was of course renewed; but in a fierce battle, which lasted two entire days, Teias was slain, and the power of the Ostrogoths irretrievably ruined. Narses had scarcely time to recover from the fatigues of this campaign, when he was summoned to repel an invasion of the Franks and Allemans; he routed them with great slaughter; and then returning to Rome, gratified its citizens by the semblance of a triumph. Italy was thus reduced to a Byzantine province, governed by the exarchs of Ravenna; and Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, governed the whole peninsula for fifteen years.

In the meantime Belisarius had been summoned to defend the empire from the dangers with which it was menaced, by an invasion of the Bulgarians. He gained a decisive victory over the barbarians, but was prevented from improving his advantages by the intrigues of the courtiers. The Bulgarians were induced to return beyond the Danube, by the payment of a large ransom for their captives; and Justinian

claimed the gratitude of his subjects for accelerating their departure by the threat of placing armed vessels in the Danube. This was the last campaign of Belisarius; he was soon after disgraced and imprisoned, under a false charge of treason: his innocence was subsequently proved, and his freedom restored, but grief and resentment hurried him to the grave; and his treasures were seized by the rapacious emperor. Eight months afterward Justinian sunk into the tomb, scarcely regretted by his subjects. He was a pious and diligent sovereign, but he wanted energy to contend against the vices of his court and the age. His talents as a legislator and statesman were great; had he acted on his own principles, he would have surpassed Augustus, but he yielded his power to the infamous Theodora, and to unworthy ministers who abused his confidence, and oppressed the empire.

Section III.—*The Establishment of the Civil Law.*

Early in his reign, Justinian directed his attention to the state of the law in his empire, and formed the useful project of digesting into a uniform code the vast mass of laws, rules, and judicial maxims, which the various interests of the Romans and Byzantines, their progress in civilization, and the inconstancy of their rulers, had produced, during the course of thirteen hundred years. He saw that the multitude of ordinances occasioned confusion and disorder, and that the heap of inconsistent decisions and regulations, formed a labyrinth in which justice went astray, and iniquity found avenues for escape. The execution of this great plan was not worthy of the design. At the head of the commission appointed to prepare the code was Tribonian, a lawyer of great eminence, but unfortunately an interested flatterer and corrupt judge; accustomed to sell justice, he altered, perverted, or suppressed many excellent laws. He frequently persuaded the emperor to destroy, by supplementary edicts called Novels, the principles of right which had been previously established in the Code and the Digest.

Justinian commenced with the Code. In an edict, dated the 3d of February, A. D. 528, addressed to the senate of Constantinople, he declared his resolution of collecting into a single volume, not merely the laws in the three previous codes of Gregory, Hermogenianus, and Theodosius, but also the laws that had been published by imperial authority since the formation of the Theodosian code. A commission of ten eminent lawyers, with Tribonian at its head, was charged with the execution of this task. They were permitted to suppress repetitions, to remove contradictory or obsolete laws, to add what was necessary for exactness or explanation, and to unite, under one head, what was spread over a great variety of laws. The work went on so rapidly, that in little more than a year the new code, containing, in twelve books, all the imperial laws from the accession of the Emperor Adrian, was ready to appear. Justinian affixed the imperial seal to the new constitution (A. D. 529), and transmitted it, with a suitable edict, to Mennas, the prætorian præfect. In this edict he congratulates himself and the empire on having found commissioners possessing so much zeal, knowledge, and probity; he gives the collection the force of law, ordaining

that the new code alone should be cited in courts of justice; and he commands the præfect to have this made known through the empire.

A more extensive and difficult work remained, to collect the scattered monuments of ancient jurisprudence. Justinian confided this task also to Tribonian, and gave him the power of nominating his fellow commissioners. Tribonian chose one of the magistrates who had already aided in the formation of the Code, four professors of jurisprudence, and eleven advocates of high legal reputation. These seventeen commissioners were instructed to search out, collect, and put in order, all that was really useful in the books of the juriconsults who had been authorized to make or interpret laws by preceding sovereigns; they were permitted, as in the case of the Code, to change, add, or retrench, and to fix doubtful cases by precise definitions. The emperor recommended them in settling any point, to regard neither the number nor the reputation of the juriconsults who had given opinions on the subject, but to be guided solely by reason and equity. Their collection was to be arranged in fifty books, having all the matter arranged under their respective titles, and was to be named the Digest, on account of its orderly classification, or the Pandects, because it was to contain all the ancient jurisprudence.* But the commissioners seem to have executed their task with more zeal and speed than exactness. The emperor himself did not expect that the work could be completed in less than ten years. It was necessary to examine carefully more than two thousand volumes; to discuss, compare, and reduce into order, an innumerable number of decisions; to reform some of them, to reverse others, and to classify the whole. But Tribonian, who knew that in enterprises which engage the vanity of princes, the delay between the design and execution is borne with great impatience, hurried on the work so rapidly that it was completed in three years.

On the 16th of December, 533, Justinian invested this collection with the authority of law, by a constitution of state, addressed to the senate of Constantinople, and all his subjects. In this edict he states, that the enormous chaos of ancient decisions have been reduced to a twentieth part, without the omission of anything essential, so that the order and brevity of this body of jurisprudence, and the facility with which it could be learned, took away every excuse from negligence or ignorance. He declares, that though some errors may have crept into a work of such vast magnitude, their number is very limited; and he asserts, rather too hastily, that it contains none of those inconsistent decisions which lawyers call *antinomies*.† Should any point be found deficient and obscure, he wills that recourse should be had to the imperial authority, which alone has the power to supply or interpret the laws. To prevent the recurrence of the ancient confusion, by diversity of sentiments, he forbids all commentary, permitting only the translation of the laws into Greek, with the addition of titles and paratitles—that is to say, summaries of their contents. He forbids the use of abbreviations in transcribing them, declaring that the copy in which a

* From *παν*, *all*, and *δεχεσθαι*, *to contain*. The fifty books of the Pandects are divided into four hundred and twenty-three titles, which contain nine thousand one hundred and twenty-three laws, each marked with the name of its author.

† From *αντι*, *contrary to*, and *νομος*, *law*.

contraction was found should be held of no authority, and that the transcriber should be punished for forgery. All other laws are declared to be abrogated, and are even forbidden to be cited in the tribunals; and the judges are ordered to conform in all things to the Digest from the day of the date of the edict. The emperor enjoins the three prætorian præfects to publish the Digest in their several governments, and concludes by stating that he was anxious to have this meritorious revolution effected during his third consulate, in order that a year, which heaven had blessed by a peace with Persia, and the conquest of Africa, should witness the completion of this great edifice of the laws, as a holy and august temple, in which justice should pronounce her oracles.

While the commissioners labored at the Digest, the emperor charged Tribonian, and two eminent professors, to prepare an elementary work on jurisprudence, in four books, as an introduction to the study of law. This portion of Justinian's legislation is far the most valuable part; it was finished and published a little before the Digest, and was named the Institutes.

The whole system of ancient jurisprudence was thus simplified, reduced to its essentials, and arranged in the Institutes, the Pandects, and the Code. But, after their publication, Justinian published more than two hundred supplementary edicts; and when the great collections began to be used in the courts, several errors and imperfections were discovered as might reasonably be expected in a work of such magnitude, executed with such unnecessary speed. A new commission was appointed to revise the Code; the result of its labors was a second edition, which received the imperial sanction, November 16, 534, by an edict abrogating the former imperfect Code.

The emperor reserved to himself, in express terms, the right of adding, at a subsequent time, but separately, such constitutions as he should judge necessary. These were called Novels; they limit, extend, and in some instances repeal the Code; and it is this inconsistency that has led to the suspicion of Tribonian and the prince having occasionally been guided by interest and favor, rather than by reason and equity. These Novels are one hundred and sixty-eight in number, but only ninety-eight have the force of law, having been collected into a volume in the last year of Justinian's reign.

This code was supplanted in the east by the Basilica or Greek constitutions of later emperors. In the west, Illyria was the only province by which it was received, until the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy afforded an opportunity for its introduction into Italy. The Code, was, however, superseded by the laws of the Lombards, when their hordes became master of Ravenna. After Charlemagne had overthrown the Lombard monarchy, he searched Italy in vain for a copy of Justinian's legislation; it remained concealed until the twelfth century, when a copy of the Digest was found on the capture of Amalfi by the troops of the emperor Lothaire II., and presented by him to the citizens of Pisa, who had aided the imperialists in this expedition. At a later period, a copy of the Code was discovered at Ravenna, and a collection was made of the Novels which were dispersed throughout Italy. Such were the origin and revolutions of this celebrated body of legislation, the source of the civil law throughout Europe, and the great guide to

the most civilized nations in supplying the defects of their several legal systems.

SECTION IV.—*History of the Silk Trade.—Introduction of the Silkworm into Europe.*

SILK was known as an article of commerce, and extensively used in the western world long before the insect that produces this precious substance, and whose nature was unknown, was brought for the first time to Constantinople. No one before the age of Justinian had even contemplated such an enterprise. It was only by long and painful journeys through the dangerous and difficult wilds of central Asia, that a merchandise could be procured, which the progress of wealth and luxury rendered almost indispensable to the civilized nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that surrounded the Mediterranean. The Assyrians and Medes, in the early ages, had long a monopoly of this commerce; and hence we find that garments of wrought silk are usually called Median robes by the ancient writers. In this traffic they were succeeded by the Persians, who attached great importance to the trade, and neglecting nothing that could keep it exclusively in their hands. From them the Greek and Syrian merchants of Asia purchased the silk which they transported into the western countries. Passing through such a number of hands, it was of course scarce and dear. During Justinian's reign, the Byzantines, or, as they still called themselves, the Romans, were eager to free themselves from their dependance on the Persians for the supply of this article. They tried to lower the price by purchasing from other Asiatic nations, and by making exertions to open a direct communication with the country in which the silk is produced. Their ignorance of geography was a great impediment to their success; they had very vague notions respecting the position of the regions where this desirable commodity was procured. They contented themselves with loosely describing it as part of India, or some very remote country in eastern Asia.

A few modern writers have been misled by the inaccuracy of the Byzantine historians into the belief that the country which supplied the ancient world with silk was the Punjáb, and the districts of northern India adjacent to Persia, regions where silk has never yet been produced in sufficient abundance to form an article of commerce. On the contrary, the circumstances related respecting Serica, the silk-growing country, are manifestly applicable to no place but China, where silk is still produced more plentifully than in any other part of the world. Indeed the very name Seres appears to have been derived from this commodity; for *Se*, or, as it is pronounced in the provincial dialects, Sēr, is the Chinese name for the silkworm. We also find the Sinæ identified with the Seres by the ancient geographers, and we know that *Sín*, or *Chín*, has been always the name given to China by the nations of western Asia. In the preceding pages mention has been made of the embassy sent from the Romans to the Chinese, in the age of the Antonines; and it is only necessary to add, in proof of the commercial relations between this ancient empire and the western

world, that a tolerably accurate account of the revolutions in the Persian and Parthian kingdoms may be found in Chinese histories.*

The silk was imported from China in packages, which caravans of merchants brought across the extreme breadth of Asia, in a journey of two hundred and forty-three days, to the seacoast of Syria. The Persians who supplied the Romans, usually made their purchases from the Sogdians, on the banks of the Oxus, and their traffic was liable to be interrupted by the White Huns and the Turks, who successively conquered that industrious people. But the difficulties of the road between the Sogdian capital, Maracanda (*Samarcand*), and the first Chinese city in the province of Shensí, led to frequent efforts for opening a new and less perilous route, which, however, proved unsuccessful. From the time they passed the Jaxartes, the enterprising Sogdians had to contend, not only with the dangers and difficulties of the intervening deserts, but also against the wandering hordes, who have always considered the citizen and traveller as objects of lawful rapine.

It is recorded as a proof of the vast expense of the magnificent spectacles with which Julius Cæsar sought at once to dazzle and conciliate the populace, that he decorated the actors in his varied pageants with a profusion of silk dresses, which were viewed by the Italians with equal wonder and admiration. In consequence of the difficulties of transit, the vast length of desert which the caravans had to traverse, and, probably, the limited supply of silk in China itself, this article bore a very high price in Rome, and was often sold for its weight in gold. Silken dresses were esteemed too expensive and delicate for men, and were appropriated wholly to ladies of eminent rank and opulence. In the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, a law was passed enacting, that "no man should disgrace himself by wearing a silk dress." This might, however, have been a religious as well as a sumptuary ordinance, for it is a singular circumstance in the history of silk, that, on account of its being the excretion of a worm, several religious bodies in the East, but more especially the Mohammedans, consider it an unclean dress. Indeed, it has been decided by the unanimous consent of all the Sonnite doctors, that a person wearing a garment made entirely of silk, can not offer up the daily prayers enjoined by the Koran.

The profligate and effeminate Heliogabalus was the first of the Roman emperors who wore a garment entirely of silk; and, in consequence of his example, the custom of wearing silk soon became general among the wealthy citizens of Rome, and even extended to the provinces. It seems probable, also, that the price of the article had diminished in consequence of its beginning to be imported by the maritime route through Alexandria, instead of by caravans through the arid deserts of Tartary and Turkestan. Chinese histories inform us, that an

* The Armenians call the Chinese *Jenk*, and China *Jenistán*. Their relations with this country ascend to the beginning of the third century of our era. About that time a Chinese colony was established in Armenia. The chief of this colony was probably one of the imperial dynasty of the Huns: driven from his country by civil wars, he at first sought refuge at the court of Ardeshir, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty in Persia, thence he passed into Persia, where he was received about A. D. 260, by Tiridates, the Armenian sovereign, who gave him the province of Jaron. This personage, whose name was Mamkon, became the founder of the family of the Memigonians, who are justly celebrated in Armenian history.

ambassador from one of the Antonines came to their remote country for the purpose of concluding a commercial treaty, and this is rendered highly probable by the fact that oriental commodities became both plentiful and cheap under and after their dynasty. Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, that in his age (A. D. 370) silk was generally worn even by the lower classes.

After the restoration of a native dynasty in Persia under the Sassanides, and the establishment of the eastern empire at Constantinople, a long series of wars ensued between the Persian sovereigns, who deemed themselves legitimate inheritors of the power of Cyrus, and the Byzantine emperors, who wished themselves to be considered successors of Alexander the Great. The command of the sea of Oman gave the Persians a decided advantage over the Egyptian merchants, who were forced to import oriental commodities by the tedious and dangerous navigation of the Red sea. Until the introduction of steam navigation, the Red sea, or *Yam Suph*,* as it is called by the Orientals, was universally dreaded by voyagers. The strait at its entrance was significantly named by the Arabs *Bab-el-Mandeb*, or, "the gate of tears;" and it was a common proverb with eastern sailors, "Yam Suph is a double-locked sea; there are six months in the year that you can not get into it, and six more that you can not get out of it." But the Persians were not satisfied with this natural superiority; having it in their power to molest or cut off the caravans, which, in order to procure a supply for the Greek empire, travelled by land to China through the northern provinces of their kingdom, they laid such onerous transit duties on foreign merchants, that the Greeks were forced to abandon this branch of commerce, and purchase their silk from the Persians and Sogdians. These, with the usual rapacity of monopolists, raised the price of silk to such an exorbitant height, that the Greek manufacturers, whose looms depended on a supply of this raw material, were thrown out of employment and nearly ruined.

The Emperor Justinian, eager, not only to obtain a full and certain supply of a commodity which was become of indispensable use, but solicitous to deliver the commerce of his subjects from the exactions of his enemies, endeavored, by means of his ally the Christian monarch of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but when he least expected it, he, by an unforeseen event, attained his great object of procuring his subjects an abundant supply of silk, independent both of ships and caravans.

Two Persian monks having been employed as Christian missionaries by some of the churches which had been established in India, pursued their evangelical labors until they had penetrated into the remote country of the Seres, or Chinese (A. D. 551). There they observed the labors of the silkworm, the mode in which these animals were fed on the mulberry-leaf; the care bestowed upon them in the several periods of insect transformation, and the attention necessary to obtaining perfect cocoons. Without such knowledge, the mere possession of the insects would have been useless; for the time that elapses while the silk-caterpillar is undergoing its changes varies according to the temperature and the quantity of nourishment with which it is supplied; the

* That is, "the Sea of Weeds."

health also of the insect and the subsequent perfection of the silk depends upon the mode in which these changes are made, and the intervals between the successive moultings of the skin, which take place before the animal attains its full growth. The Chinese calculate that the same number of insects which would, if they had attained the full size in twenty-three or twenty-four days, produce twenty-five ounces of silk, would produce only twenty ounces if their growth occupied twenty-eight days, and only ten ounces if forty days. In order, therefore, to accelerate their growth, they supply the insects with fresh food every half hour during the first day of their existence, and then gradually reduce the number of meals as the worms grow older. It deserves to be remarked as an unnoticed fact in natural theology, that the substance on which this valuable caterpillar feeds, is the leaf of the mulberry-tree; and Providence, as if to ensure the continuance of this useful species, has so ordained it, that no other insect will partake of the same food; thus ensuring a certain supply for the little spinster.

Having made themselves acquainted with these particulars, the monks repaired to Constantinople, and revealed the information they had acquired to the Emperor Justinian. Encouraged by the liberal promises of that monarch, they undertook to bring to his capital a sufficient number of those wonderful insects to whose labors man is so much indebted. They proceeded to China, and finally accomplished the object of their mission by obtaining a competent supply of the eggs of the silkworm, which they concealed in a hollow cane. Having returned safe to Constantinople, the eggs were, under their direction, hatched by the artificial heat of a dunghill, and the insects were fed on the leaves of the wild mulberry-tree. Such care was bestowed upon them, that they soon multiplied, and worked in the same manner as in those climates where they first became the objects of human attention and care.

Justinian at first attempted to monopolize this source of profit, but the rapid increase of the worms opened the trade. A singular circumstance enables us to appreciate the speedy success of the Greeks in the manufacture of silk. Before the sixth century closed, the Turks, descending from the Altaian mountains, conquered Sogdiana. The conquered people had found the demand for silk rapidly diminishing, which they attributed to the commercial jealousy of the Persians. They complained of their losses to their new master, the Turkish khakan, who sent ambassadors to form a commercial treaty with the Persian monarch, the celebrated Nushirván. It was obviously unwise policy to strengthen the power of the new state which had been formed beyond the Oxus; and Nushirván was, besides, eager to open a direct communication with China, through the Persian gulf. To show his contempt for the offers of the Sogdians, he purchased up all their goods, and committed them to the flames. The khakan next sent ambassadors to Justinian II., who, after a toilsome journey, reached Constantinople (A. D. 571), just twenty years after the introduction of the silkworm; when, to their great astonishment, they found the Byzantines in the possession of silk of their own growth, and so skilled in its use, that their manufactures already rivalled those of China. From this time the Sogdian carrying trade declined; it was totally annihilated about the middle of the ninth century, when a fanatic insurgent, in China, murdered the foreign mer-

chants, and cut down the mulberry-trees, to destroy the silk that enticed strangers to the celestial empire.

For nearly six hundred years, the Greeks were the only Europeans who possessed the silkworm: at length, Roger I., king of Sicily, engaged in war with the Byzantine empire, having captured some persons skilled in the production and manufacture of silk, established factories at Palermo, which rose rapidly into celebrity. Thence the trade spread into Italy, Spain, and France; but in most of these countries the manufacture was long deemed of greater importance than the production of the raw material. France owes her present superiority in the trade to the patriotic exertions of Henry IV., who made extensive nurseries of mulberry plants, and distributed them gratuitously to all desirous of establishing plantations. James I. endeavored to introduce the production of raw silk, as a trade, into England; since his time the experiment has been frequently repeated, but it never has been attended with complete success. Similar trials have also been made in Ireland, but the result has not yet answered the expectations of the patriotic projectors.

Section V.—*The Monarchy of the Franks under the Merovingian Dynasty.*

The history of the Franks properly begins with the establishment of a large body of that nation in Belgic Gaul, under a chief named Merewig,* from whom the dynasty received the name Merovingian.† He was succeeded by his son Hilderik,‡ a brave warrior, but the slave of his passions. An insult that he offered to the wife of one of his officers occasioned a revolt; Hilderik was dethroned, and a Count Egidius, or Giles, proclaimed king. After an exile of eight years, Hilderik was restored, and the remainder of his reign appears to have passed in tranquillity. Hlodowig‖ was the next sovereign: his harsh German name was softened by the Latins into Clodovecus, or Clovis, the origin of the modern Ludovicus, or Louis. At his accession (A. D. 481), Clovis had scarcely reached his twentieth year; the ardor of youth combined with the circumstances of his position to urge him to foreign conquests; for the fertility of the Belgic soil, the purity of its waters, and its atmosphere, continually attracted fresh hordes to the lower Rhine, who sought admission into the Belgic colony. Clovis found it necessary to enlarge his frontiers, and invaded the Roman province. Near Soissons he encountered Syagrius, the son of his father's rival, Egidius, and gained a decisive victory. Syagrius sought refuge with the Visigoths, but that nation had lost much of its martial spirit; Alaric II., unworthy of the name he bore, sent the unfortunate general bound to Clovis, by whom he was beheaded.

The conqueror was now the most powerful monarch of his age, and the neighboring princes eagerly sought his alliance: he chose for his queen, Hlodohilde,§ or Clotilda, whose uncle was king of the Burgundians. Clotilda was a Christian; she labored earnestly to convert her husband, and especially urged him when his crown and life were en-

* Mere-wig, *eminent warrior.*

† The other Franks were named Ripe-Warians; that is, inhabitants of the banks of the Rhine.

‡ Hilde-rik, *bold in combat.*

‖ Hlodo-wig, *famous warrior.*

§ Hlodo-hilde, *brilliant and noble.*

dangered by an invasion of the Germanic confederation of tribes, called the Allemans. Clovis, persuaded that he owed the great victory of Tolbiac to the prayers of Clotilda, became a convert, and received the sacrament of baptism from the bishop of Rheims (A. D. 496). He gave the prelate, as a fee, all the land he could ride round while he himself slept after dinner, a gift very characteristic of a conqueror, who felt that he had only to wake and acquire new dominions. Soon afterward he undertook new conquests. Advancing in the direction of Genabum (*Orleans*), he crossed the Loire, spreading everywhere the terror of his name. The Bretons, long subject to the Romans, consented without reluctance to a change of masters. Clovis, having traversed their country, entered Aquitaine, pillaged the houses, laid waste the fields, plundered the temples, and returned to Paris, "leaving," as the cotemporary historian says, "nothing to the wretched inhabitants but the soil, which the Franks could not take away."

The kingdom established by Clovis extended from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the ocean, but its security was very uncertain. Wherever the conqueror appeared, he met nothing but submission from the various races settled in Gaul; as soon, however, as he passed onward, his nominal subjects closed upon his rear, retaining no more trace of his march than the furrowed wave does of a vessel's keel. Neither was the Frankish monarch absolute over his own soldiers; his army was composed of freemen, who disdained to submit to despotic rule. They gave to their monarch his share of the booty, and nothing more.* When they disapproved of the expedition for which they assembled, they abandoned it without scruple; or if the monarch refused to undertake a war which they deemed advisable, they forced him to comply with their wishes, not merely by menaces, but by actual force.†

On the death of Clovis (A. D. 511), his dominions were divided between his four sons, Hildebert‡ (Childebert), Hlodomer‖ (Chlodomer), Hlodher§ (Clotaire), and Theodoric,¶ who respectively occupied the capitals of Paris, Orleans, Soissons, and Metz. This distribution gave rise to a new geographical division; all the districts between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle, received the name of Oster-rike,** since corrupted into Austrasia; and the country between the Meuse, the Loire, and the ocean, was named Ni-oster-rike,†† or, as it was latinized,

* Gregory of Tours furnishes us with a curious anecdote on this subject. "About this time the army of Clovis pillaged a great number of churches and houses. His soldiers had taken away, from one of the cathedrals, a vase of surprising size and beauty. The bishop of the diocese sent a messenger to reclaim it. To this man, the king said, 'Follow me to Soissons, where the plunder will be shared, and should chance give me the vase, I will do what your prelate requires.' When they reached Soissons, they went to the place where the plunder was piled, and the king said, 'I entreat you, my brave warriors, to give me this vase in addition to my share.' Upon this, a presumptuous soldier exclaimed, 'You shall have nothing but the portion assigned you by lot.'"

† The historian quoted in the preceding note says, "After this, Clotaire and Childebert (sons of Clovis) formed the design of marching against the Burgundians. Their brother, Theodoric, was unwilling to engage in the expedition, but the Franks who followed him, said unanimously, 'If you will not join your brothers, we will quit you, and choose another leader.'"

‡ Hilde-berth, *brilliant warrior.*
‖ Hlodo-mer, *celebrated chief.*
§ Hlod-her, *celebrated and excellent.*
¶ Theod-e-rik, *brave among the people.*
** That is, *Eastern kingdom.*
†† That is, *Northeastern kingdom.*

Neustria. All that was not comprised in this division, belonged not to the Merovingian Franks, but retained its ancient name of Gaul.

Chlodomer and Theodoric engaged in war Gundumer,* king of the Burgundians. In a great battle fought near Vienne (A. D. 522), Chlodomer was slain,† but Theodoric gained a decisive victory, and added the Burgundian kingdom to his own dominions. Clotilda took the guardianship of her infant grandchildren, but the favor she showed to the three sons of Chlodomer provoked the resentment of Childebert, king of Paris. He secretly proposed to his brother Clotaire, that they should secure the persons of the young princes, shave their heads,‡ and divide their dominions. Clotaire readily joined in the project, and put the two eldest of his nephews to death; the third, saved by faithful servants, cut off his hair with his own hands, and entering into a monastery, spent a life of celibacy.‖ Ten years after this event, Theodoric

* Gundu-mer, *pacific and great.*

† "The brothers joined their forces at Veserancia, a place situated in the territory of the city of Vienna, and gave battle to Gundumer. The Burgundian having taken to flight with his army, Chlodomer pursued him, and when he was at a distance from his friends, the Burgundians, imitating the signals of the Franks, exclaimed, 'Come this way, we are thine.' He believed them, and spurred his horse into the midst of the enemy. They surrounded him, cut off his head, and fixing it on a pike, displayed it to their pursuers."—*Gregory of Tours.*

‡ To shave the head was the form of dethroning a sovereign at this period. Among the early Franks, the crown of hair was as much a symbol of royalty as the crown of gold.

‖ The account given of this transaction by Gregory of Tours is too interesting to be omitted. "Clotaire readily adopted his brother's project, and came to Paris. Childebert had already spread a report that he and his brother had agreed to invest their nephews with royalty, and they sent a messenger to Clotilda, then residing in the same city, who said, 'Send your grandchildren, that they may be raised to the throne.' She, joyous, and knowing nothing of the plot, after having made the children eat and drink, sent them to their uncles, saying, 'Go, children, I will believe that my son is not lost, when I see you on the throne.' When the children came to their uncles, they were taken and separated from their servants and governors. Then they shut them up apart, the children in one place, and the attendants in another. When this was done, Childebert and Clotaire sent Arcadius (one of their officers), to the queen, with a scissors and drawn sword. When he came into her presence, showing her these, he said, 'Thy sons, our lords, desire to know thy pleasure, gracious queen, respecting the manner in which they should treat the children. Order either their hair or their throats to be cut.' Astounded by these words, and enraged at beholding the scissors and naked sword, the queen gave vent to her wrath, and, scarcely knowing what she said, so troubled was her mind, imprudently replied, 'If they are not to reign like their father, I would rather see them dead than shaven.' Then Arcadius returned promptly to those who sent him, and said, 'You may persevere; the queen approves what you have begun, and her will is, that you complete your project.' Immediately, Clotaire, taking the eldest of the children by the arm, threw him on the ground, and stabbing him under the shoulder, put him cruelly to death. His brother, terrified at the scene, threw himself at the feet of Childebert, and kissing his knees, exclaimed, 'Help me, my good father, let me not be murdered like my poor brother.' Then, Childebert, melting into tears, said to Clotaire, 'Oh! I entreat you, my very dear brother, have the kindness to spare this child's life; if you consent to spare him, I will give you whatever you may demand.' But Clotaire, overwhelming him with reproaches, said, 'Thrust the child away, or you shall die in his stead, for you were the first to urge me to this deed, though you now shrink from its completion.' Then Childebert, alarmed, pushed the child over to Clotaire, who struck his dagger into the boy's side, and slew him on the body of his brother. Afterward they murdered the servants and tutors. When they were dead, Clotaire mounted his horse, without showing any compunction for the murder of his

died, and was succeeded by his son, Theodobert,* who took the title of king of Austrasia. His uncles attempted to deprive Theodobert of his dominions, but being daunted by the mere display of his power, they turned their arms against Spain, laid waste Arragon, Biscay, and Catalonia, stormed Pampeluna, besieged Saragossa, and were only induced to retire by a present of the tunic of St. Vincent, a relic which, in that superstitious age, was deemed an invaluable treasure.

The fame of Theodobert extended to Constantinople; Justinian endeavored to win his friendship, by the cession of the nominal claims which the empire retained over Provence, but the Austrasian monarch entered into an alliance with Totila, the emperor's enemy, crossed the Alps, and quickly subdued the greater part of northern Italy. After his return, the army he left behind met with some reverses, and the inflated vanity of Justinian led him to issue a medal, on which he styled himself Conqueror of the Franks. Theodobert was so enraged at this arrogance, that he prepared to lead an army through Hungary into Thrace, and assail Justinian in his capital, but this daring enterprise was frustrated by his sudden death; he was killed by the fall of a tree (A. D. 548), while hunting the wild buffalo, a dangerous sport, to which he was passionately addicted.

Theodobald† succeeded to the Austrasian throne, but died after an inglorious reign of seven years. Childebert soon followed him to the tomb, and thus Clotaire acquired the sole, but not the undisturbed possession of Neustria and Austrasia. His own son, Chramnè,‡ headed a revolt of the turbulent Bretons, but he was defeated and barbarously put to death, with his entire family,‖ by command of his cruel father. The chroniclers add, that Clotaire died the next year (A. D. 561), at Compeigne, on the anniversary of his son's death, and at the precise hour of the horrid butchery.

Clotaire left four sons—Charibert,§ Gontram,¶ Chilperic,** and Sigebert,†† who shared his dominions. The turbulent period that followed, is principally remarkable for the troubles occasioned by the crimes of two infamous women, Brunilda and Fredegonda, the wives of Sigebert and Chilperic. Fredegonda had won her way to the throne by murdering Galswintha, the sister of her rival; and the jealousy between

nephews, and retired with Childebert to the suburbs. The queen Clotilda, having placed the bodies on a bier, conducted them, with litanies, sacred songs, and profound grief, to the church of St. Peter's, where they were buried together. One was ten years old, and the other six. The third son, named Clodoald, was saved by the interference of some brave men, called *barons*. Renouncing his earthly kingdom, he became a clerk, and, persisting in good works, finally received priest's orders. The two kings shared among them the inheritance of Clodomer."

* Theode-bert, *very brilliant among the people.*

† Theode-bald, *vigorous above all.* ‡ Hram, *warlike.*

‖ "The two armies having come to an engagement, the count of the Bretons ran away, and was slain in flight; after which Hram (Chramnè) began to fly toward the ships he had prepared on the sea, but, while he was endeavoring to save his wife and children, he was overtaken by his father's army, made prisoner, and bound. When the news was brought to Clotaire, he ordered that the prince, together with his wife and daughters, should be burned. They shut them up in a poor hut, where Hram, extended on a bench, was strangled; they then set fire to the house, and it was consumed with all its inmates."—*Gregory of Tours.*

§ Hari-bert, *glorious in the army.* ¶ Gont-ram, *generous man.*

** Hilpe-rik, *brave in combat.* †† Sighe-bert, *glorious conqueror.*

two ambitious and unprincipled women was aggravated, on one side, by the desire of revenge, and, on the other, by the difficulty of maintaining her dignity, when she was changed from a mistress into a wife. During the long period over which their resentments spread, it is difficult to distinguish anything but murders and assassinations, in the gloomy annals of the time. Fredegonda procured the death of Sigebert, and afterward of Chilperic and his two sons, being chiefly enraged against Merovèe,* who had married Brunilda.

Childebert inherited the kingdom of his father, Sigebert, and that of his uncle, Gontram; aided by his mother, Brunilda, he maintained a long and sanguinary struggle against Fredegonda, and her young son, Clotaire: but he died early, leaving two children to divide his distracted dominions. Both of these were destroyed by Brunilda, whose hatred they had provoked by remonstrating against her crimes, and after a dreary scene of confusion, France was again united into a single monarchy, under Clotaire II., son of Chilperic and Fredegonda (A. D. 613). His first care was to punish Brunilda, the ancient enemy of his mother and his house: she was exhibited for three days, mounted on a camel, to the derision of the army, subjected to the most cruel tortures, and finally fastened to the tail of a wild horse, which tore her wretched carcass to pieces, in the presence of the soldiers.

Clotaire published a code of laws, which enjoys some reputation; but his administration was deficient in vigor, and during his reign several encroachments were made on the royal power, by the ambitious nobles. His son, Dagobert I.,† succeeded (A. D. 628), and had the mortification to see his authority weakened by the growing greatness of the mayors of the palace: he died, after a feeble and dissolute reign (A. D. 638), but was strangely enough canonized as a saint.‡

The successors of Dagobert were mere phantoms of royalty; the entire sovereignty was possessed by the mayors of the palace, who finally acquired absolute possession of half the monarchy, as dukes of Austrasia. Pepin D'Heristal, the greatest of these nominal ministers, and real monarchs, governed France in the name of several successive kings. After his death (A. D. 714), his power descended to his grandson, Theodobald, a child only eight years of age, who was thus singularly appointed guardian to a king that was not yet sixteen. Karl,‖ the

* Mere-wig, *eminent warrior.* † Dago-bert, *brilliant as the day.*

‡ The cause of his canonization is singularly illustrative of the superstitions of the age. Audoald, bishop of Poictiers, while on an embassy in Sicily, was miraculously, as he declared, informed of the king's death by a holy hermit named John. This pious anchoret said, "While I was asleep last night, an old man with a long beard bade me get up, and pray for the soul of King Dagobert, who was on the point of death. I arose, and looking through the window of my hermitage, I saw, in the middle of the sea, a host of devils carrying the king's soul to hell. The unfortunate soul, grievously tormented, invoked the aid of St. Martin, St. Maurice, and St. Denis. At his cries, the spirits of these holy martyrs descended from heaven, in the midst of thunders and lightnings, delivered the king's soul, and bore it up with them through the air, singing the canticle of David, *O Lord, how happy is the man that thou hast chosen.*" Audoald recited this relation to the king's chancellor, on his return, by whom it was entered in the archives of the kingdom, and Dagobert enrolled among the number of saints.—*Gaguin.*

‖ Karl, *robust.*

natural son of Pepin, better known in history by the name of Charles Martel, set aside this absurd arrangement, and succeeded to more than his father's power. His numerous victories over the Saxons, Burgundians, Frisians, &c., have rendered his name illustrious; but he is more justly celebrated for his triumph over the Saracenic invaders of France (A. D. 732), between Tours and Poictiers, by which he delivered Christendom from the imminent danger of being subjected to the Mohammedan yoke. His son, Pepin, finally compelled Chilperic III. to abdicate (A. D. 752), and the crown of France was thus transferred to the Carlovingian dynasty, from the descendants of Clovis.

SECTION VI.—*The Lombard Monarchy.*

THE Lombards were encouraged to settle on the frontiers of the empire by Justinian, who deemed that they would prove a check on the insolence of the Gepidæ. While these barbarous tribes were engaged in war, Thrace enjoyed comparative tranquillity; but when Alboin became head of the Lombard tribes, he entered into alliance with the Avars for the extirpation of the Gepidæ, purchasing their aid by a tithe of his cattle, and a promise of all the conquered lands. The emperor, Justin II., unwisely abandoned the Gepidæ to their fate; Cunimund, their monarch, hasted to encounter Alboin before he could join the Avars, but he fell in the field which proved fatal to the existence of his nation, and his scull was formed into a drinking vessel by his barbarous enemy. Rosamond, the daughter of the slaughtered king, became the prize and spouse of the victor; the bravest of the surviving Gepidæ were incorporated in the army of the Lombards. Though the Avars had contributed but slightly to the success of the war, they received a large share of the spoils; the greater part of ancient Dacia was resigned to them, and in this country their chagans ruled for more than two hundred years. Alboin's ambition was fixed on a higher object; fifteen years before, a body of Lombards had served under Narses in the conquest of Italy, and they still preserved a vivid remembrance of the wealth and fertility of the peninsula. Alboin encouraged them to hope that this fair land might yet own their sway, and to stimulate their ardor, produced some of its finest fruits at a royal feast. When his designs became known, adventurers flocked to his standard from the neighboring Slavonic and German tribes. Having made every preparation for the expedition, the Lombards resigned their lands to the Avars, on the simple promise of receiving them back, if they failed in the conquest of Italy.

As if the court of Constantinople had resolved to aid the projects of the invaders, the brave Narses was contumeliously removed from his post by the Empress Sophia; and Longinus, a person wholly unacquainted with Italy, appointed exarch in his stead. Alboin met no army to oppose him the field; few even of the cities ventured to resist his progress; Ticinum, or, as it began now to be called, Pavia, almost alone closed its gates against the conqueror, and detained him three years before its walls. It was at length forced to yield by the pressure of hunger; Alboin threatened a general massacre, but his horse happening to stumble as he entered the gates, he believed that Heaven had sent this omen to warn him against cruelty, and he assured the trem-

bling multitude of pardon and safety. Before he could regulate the affairs of the kingdom he had so easily won, Alboin fell a victim to the revenge of his wife. One evening, heated with wine, he sent her the skull of her father Cunimund, fashioned, as has been stated, into a goblet, filled to the brim, with an insulting message, that she should rejoice with her sire. Rosamond, stifling her resentment, simply replied, "Let the will of the king be obeyed;" but she secretly resolved on vengeance, and, by infamous means, procured two officers of the household to murder her husband (A. D. 573). She was compelled by the indignation of the people to fly with her paramour to the court of Ravenna, where she was poisoned by a potion which she had prepared for the partner of her guilt.

Clepho, one of the noblest of the Lombard chiefs, was chosen king after the murder of Alboin, by the great council of the nation; but at the end of eighteen months, he was stabbed by a domestic. His cruelty gave the Lombards such a distate for royalty, that after his death, they changed their form of government, and for ten years were ruled by a federation of thirty-six dukes, each of whom was chief of some important city. During this period, they made several efforts to acquire possession of some part of Gaul, but were invariably beaten by the Franks; in Italy, on the contrary, they were generally successful, adding considerably to their territories at the expense of the exarchate of Ravenna, and the other provinces dependant on the Greek empire.

A confederacy between the imperial exarch and Childebert, king of the Franks, so alarmed the Lombards that they chose Autharis, son of Clepho, for their sovereign. He established a perfectly feudal monarchy, assigning their dutchies to the dukes in perpetuity, on the condition of their giving one moiety of their revenue to support the royal dignity; they could not be deprived of their possessions except for high-treason, but they held power only at the sovereign's will. A similar form of government seems to have prevailed among the Franks almost from the foundation of their monarchy; but feudal law first received a complete form among the Lombards, and the rules respecting the succession, acquisition, and investiture of fiefs among other nations, were generally derived from their code. The new monarch gained several victories over the Franks, who had been bribed to invade Italy by the Emperor Maurice, and punished the hostility of the Byzantine by subduing a great part of ancient Samnium, which he formed into the dutchy of Benevento. Autharis died without issue (A. D. 590), after a brief but glorious reign, and the crown was transferred to Agilulf, duke of Turin.

Hitherto the Lombards had been either Arians or pagans; but Agilulf, instigated by his queen, established the Catholic faith throughout his dominions, and chastised several dukes who made this change a pretext for rebellion. His son and successor, Adaluald, completed the triumph of the orthodox faith, a circumstance which tended greatly to reconcile the Italians to the supremacy of the Lombards. The Arian party was, however, sufficiently powerful to raise another to the throne; both the rivals, however, died without issue, and the general assembly chose Rotharis for their sovereign (A. D. 636). This monarch, though tainted with the Arian heresy, won the affection of all his subjects by

the wise laws he enacted; he also wrested some important places from the exarch of Ravenna, and reduced the imperial interests in Italy so low, that it might be said to exist only by the sufferance of the Lombards. On his death (A. D. 652), a scene of weakness and revolution followed, which was only terminated by the accession of Grimvald, duke of Benevento (A. D. 662).

Grimvald was soon involved in war with the Franks, who invaded Italy, but were completely defeated. Scarcely had he repelled this invasion when the Byzantine emperor, Constans, appeared in Italy at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Benevento. But the imperialists, meeting a fierce resistance from the garrison, were soon forced to retreat, and being overtaken on their march, were routed with great slaughter. Constans fled to Sicily with the shattered remnant of his forces, and was murdered in a bath by some of his own servants. Grimvald did not long survive his triumph; he died universally lamented (A. D. 672), and his death was followed by a series of obscure and uninteresting revolutions, which, however, deluged Italy with blood.

The accession of Luitprand (A. D. 711), once more restored the prosperity of the Lombards; he enacted several wise laws, rectified the evils which during the recent disturbances had crept into the administration of justice, and won the favor of the nobles who had opposed his elevation by a judicious display of courage and prudence. Unfortunately, he was prompted by ambition to attempt the complete conquest of Italy; taking advantage of the troubles occasioned by the edicts of the emperor Leo for the destruction of images. The exarchate was invaded, and Ravenna taken; but Luitprand's success provoked the jealousy of the pope, who, though pleased with the punishment of the Iconoclasts,* was by no means gratified with the accession of power of the Lombards. At the pontiff's instigation, the Venetians aided the exarch to recover Ravenna; but the emperor Leo, instead of showing any gratitude to pope Gregory II. for his interference, sent emissaries to arrest him, and he was only saved from prison by the prompt interference of Luitprand. The Italians, provoked at Leo's fierce zeal against images, began to revolt, and several cities voluntarily submitted to the Lombard monarch, who pretended to an extravagant zeal for the Catholic faith. The pope, however, dreaded Luitprand, and sought a protection in Charles Martel against the emperor of Byzantium, who was equally hostile to the Lombards and the pontiff. Italy was now distracted by religious disputes and political jealousies, while the death of Luitprand, at this critical period (A. D. 743), afflicted the Lombards with a new series of revolutionary wars.

After some minor changes, Astulphus was chosen king (A. D. 751); during his reign, the kingdom of the Lombards touched the summit of its greatness; he subdued the exarchate of Ravenna, and changed it into a new dukedom, and then led his forces against Rome, which, nominally subject to the emperor, was really governed by the pope. Alarmed at the danger that threatened him, Pope Stephen first applied for aid to the emperor, but finding that the Byzantine court cared little

* Image-breakers.

for Italy, he appealed to Pepin, the first monarch of the Carlovingian dynasty in France. Pepin immediately crossed the Alps with a powerful army, besieged Astulphus in Pavia, and forced him to purchase peace by the cession not only of the places he had seized in the Roman dukedom, but also of the exarchate and the marches of Ancona, to the Holy See. The Franks had to return a second time to compel the fulfilment of these engagements; Astulphus once more submitted, but secretly resolved to renew the war on a favorable opportunity; before his preparations were completed, however, he was killed by a fall from his horse, and the Lombard kingdom distracted by a disputed succession.

By the aid of the pope, Desiderius prevailed in the contest; but subsequently being exposed to the jealousy of the pontifical power, he tried to secure himself by giving his daughters in marriage to Charles and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin. This alliance was of no long duration; Charles divorced his wife under pretence of her barrenness; and Desiderius, in revenge, endeavored to persuade the pope to anoint Carloman's children monarchs of the Franks. Adrian I., who then filled the pontifical chair, steadily refused; Desiderius invaded his dominions, and the pope unable to make effective resistance, placed himself under the protection of Charles, or, as he is more generally called, Charlemagne. The king of the Franks crossed the Alps, and, after a brief war, put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards by the capture of Pavia (A. D. 774). Desiderius and his family were sent into France, where they died in obscurity; Charlemagne, as conqueror, received the iron crown of Lombardy.

SECTION VII.—*The Anglo-Saxons.*

WHEN Britain was deserted by the Romans, the country remained exposed to the savage incursions of the Picts and Scots; the inhabitants, unable to protect themselves, and refused aid by the emperors, who were oppressed by other barbarians, deserted their habitations, abandoned their fields, and sought shelter in the hills and woods, where they suffered equally from famine and the enemy. When the retreat of the barbarians afforded them a temporary respite, they wasted their energies in theological controversies arising out of the Pelagian heresy; and when the invasions were renewed, domestic rancor prevented their combining for their common defence. Vortigern, prince of Dumnonium, advised his countrymen to seek foreign aid; and they, forgetting prudence in the extremity of their fears, invited the Saxons to their aid from Germany.

The Saxons and Angles, from small beginnings, had gradually extended their sway from the mouth of the Rhine to the coast of Jutland; their piratical vessels scoured the seas of western Europe; and the maritime cities of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, were frequently plundered by their corsairs, or forced to purchase safety by the payment of a large tribute. Among the chiefs of their warlike tribes, none enjoyed greater authority than the two brothers Hengist and Horsa, who claimed to be descended from Woden, the tutelary god of the nation. To these leaders the application of Vortigern was made; they readily accepted his invitation, and, accompanied by about sixteen hundred of their

countrymen, landed in the isle of Thanet. The Picts and Scots were subdued with so much facility, that the adventurers began to reflect how easily they might conquer a nation unable to resist such feeble invaders; instead of returning home, they invited over fresh hordes of their countrymen, and received from Germany a reinforcement of five thousand men. A long and cruel series of wars ensued, in which the Saxons and another barbarous tribe, the Angles, continually supported by crowds of volunteers from Germany, triumphed over the Britons in almost every encounter, and finally drove the miserable remnant of the nation to seek refuge in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall. The struggle lasted nearly one hundred and fifty years, and ended in the division of southern Britain into seven Saxon kingdoms, commonly called the Heptarchy.

The Christian religion was first established in the kingdom of Kent, the earliest and long the most powerful of the Saxon monarchies. Ethelbert, its sovereign, though a pagan, had married a Christian princess, Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, one of the successors of Clovis, and had promised to allow her the free exercise of her religion. Bertha, by the exercise of her conduct, acquired considerable influence over the mind both of her husband and his courtiers; her popularity was probably one of the principal motives that induced Pope Gregory the Great to send missionaries into England.* Augustine, the chief of the mission, was honorably received at the court of Ethelbert (A. D. 597), and began to preach the gospel to the people of Kent. The rigid austerity of his manners, and the severe penances to which he subjected himself, wrought powerfully upon the minds of a barbarous people, and induced them readily to believe the pretended miracles he wrought for their conversion. Ethelbert and the great majority of his subjects were soon received into the church, and Augustine was consecrated the first archbishop of Canterbury.

The petty wars between the princes of the Heptarchy are totally devoid of interest, and the history of the separate kingdoms is little more than a list of obscure names. An exception may be made in favor of Offa, king of Mercia, who zealously labored to extend the power of the Romish see in England, and founded the magnificent monastery of St. Albans. So considerable were his power and fame, that the emperor Charlemagne sought his friendship and alliance; Offa, at his desire, sent the celebrated Alcuin to the court of Charlemagne, and this learned Saxon became the emperor's preceptor in the sciences. To Alcuin, France was indebted for all the polite learning it boasted

* It is said that this prelate, while yet in a private station, beheld some Saxon youths exposed for sale in the slave-market at Rome. Struck with their beauty, he inquired to what country they belonged, and being told that they were Angli, exclaimed "They would not be *Angli*, but *Angeli* (angels), if they were Christians." Continuing his questions, he asked the name of their province; he was told *Deiri* (a district of Northumberland). "*Deiri!*" he exclaimed, "*De ira* (from the wrath of God), they are summoned to his mercy." He further asked the name of their king, and hearing that it was *Ælla*, or *Alla*, he joyously cried out, "*Allelujah!* we must endeavor that the praises of God be sung in that country." Moved by these punning allusions, he designed to visit Britain himself as a missionary, but being detained by the Roman people, he embraced the earliest opportunity of intrusting the task to qualified legates.

of in that and the following ages; the universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soissons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increase; those of which he was not the superior and founder, being at least enlightened by his doctrine and example, and enriched by the benefits he procured them from Charlemagne.

The kingdom of Mercia had nearly obtained the sovereignty of the heptarchy when Egbert ascended the throne of Wessex (A. D. 799), as the kingdom of the West Saxons was called. He broke down the Mercian power, aided not a little by the hatred with which the tyrannical conduct of the Mercians had inspired the subject nations. His policy was as conspicuous as his valor, and both enabled him to unite the realm of England into an orderly monarchy, possessing tranquillity within itself, and secure from foreign invasion. This great event occurred (A. D. 827) nearly four hundred years after the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SARACENIC POWER.

SECTION I.—*Political and Social Condition of the East at the coming of Mohammed.*

THE reign of Justin II., the nephew and successor of Justinian, at Constantinople, was remarkable only for disgrace abroad and misery at home. At his death (A. D. 578), he bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, whose virtues amply justified his choice; but the reign of Tiberius lasted only four years; he was succeeded by Maurice, who inherited many of his predecessor's virtues as well as his crown. Soon after his accession, the attention of the emperor was directed to the unsettled state of Persia, which had been distracted by sanguinary civil wars since the death of the great Nushirván. Hormúz, the son and successor of that monarch, was deposed and slain; Bahram, a brave general but a feeble statesman, usurped the throne, and Khosrú or Chosroes, the legitimate heir, sought shelter in the Byzantine empire. Maurice levied a powerful army to restore the royal exile, and intrusted its command to Narses, a valiant general, who was himself of Persian descent. The expedition was crowned with success; Bahram, driven beyond the Oxus, died by poison, and Khosrú, grateful for his recovered throne, entered into close alliance with the emperor.

Freed from all danger on the side of Persia, Maurice resolved to turn his arms against the Avars; but the incapacity of his generals, and his own avarice, provoked the resentment of the soldiers; they mutinied, and marched to Constantinople under the command of one of their centurions, named Phocas. Had the metropolis continued faithful, this sedition might have been easily quelled; but the licentious populace, disgusted by the parsimony of their sovereign, assaulted him as he walked in a religious procession, and compelled him to seek safety in his palace. The unfortunate emperor was compelled to abdicate; Phocas was tumultuously invested with the purple, and welcomed into Constantinople by the acclamations of a thoughtless people. The tyrant commenced his reign by dragging Maurice from the sanctuary where he had sought refuge, murdering his five sons successively before his eyes, and then putting the deposed monarch to death by torture (A. D. 602). One of the royal nurses attempted to save the prince intrusted to her charge, by presenting her own child to the executioners in his stead; but Maurice refused to sanction the deceit, and as each blow of the axe fell on the

necks of his children, he exclaimed, with pious resignation, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgments!"

The usurpation of Phocas was basely sanctioned by Pope Gregory who received in return for his adulation the title of Universal Bishop. But the pontiff's flatteries could not save the tyrant from the resentment of his subjects, who soon discovered their error in preferring such a miscreant to the virtuous Maurice. Heraclius, exarch of Africa, invited by the unanimous voice of the empire, sailed to Constantinople: scarcely had his fleet appeared in the Hellespont, when the citizens and imperial guards entered the palace, bound Phocas in chains, and sent him a helpless captive to his rival (A. D. 610). Heraclius reproached him with his manifold vices, to which the deposed tyrant simply replied, "Wilt thou govern better?" These were the last words of Phocas: after suffering much variety of insult and torture, he was beheaded, and his mangled body thrown into the sea.

But the death of Phocas did not deliver the empire from the calamities his crimes had produced; Khosrú Parvíz had no sooner learned the sad fate of his benefactor Maurice, than he assembled the entire strength of Persia to avenge his murder. The unwise system of persecution which had been gradually established both by the Byzantine prelates and emperors, supplied the invader with allies in every province: the Jews, the Nestorians, and the Jacobites, believed, with reason, that they would find the worshippers of fire more tolerant than the orthodox Christians; and scarcely had the Persians crossed the Euphrates, when insurrections were raised in their favor throughout Syria. Khosrú, victorious in two decisive battles, was encouraged to undertake the hereditary enterprise of the Sassanid dynasty—the restoration of the Persian empire, as it existed in the age of Cyrus the Great. Heraclius had scarcely ascended the throne, when he received intelligence of the fall of Antioch; and this was soon followed by the account of the storming of Jerusalem, where the Jews, encouraged by the Persians, wreaked dreadful vengeance on the heads of their Christian persecutors (A. D. 614). The fugitives from Palestine sought refuge in Egypt, where they were hospitably entertained by the archbishop of Alexandria. But Egypt itself, where the din of arms had not been heard since the reign of Dioclesian, was invaded, conquered, and for a time annexed to the Persian empire (A. D. 616). Asia Minor was subdued with equal facility; in a single campaign, the armies of the Persians advanced from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, and during ten years their hostile camp was in sight of the towers of Constantinople.

While Khosrú was indulging in the pride that such brilliant conquests inspired, and dazzling his subjects by the display of his magnificent plunder, he received an epistle from the almost unknown city of Mecca, written by an obscure individual, who yet claimed the king's obedience, and demanded to be recognised as the prophet of God. The grandson of Nushirván was indignant at such a claim; he tore the letter to pieces, and flung the fragments to the winds. When this was reported to the writer, Mohammed, then beginning for the first time to taste the sweets of gratified ambition, and to find his prospects enlarging as he ascended the height of power, he exclaimed, "It is thus that God will

rend the kingdom of Khosrú!" a prophecy which, like many others, not a little accelerated its own accomplishment.

While the Asiatic provinces were thus a prey to the Persians, Constantinople itself was so hardly pressed by the Avars, that Heraclius was on the point of abandoning the capital, and seeking refuge with his treasures in Carthage. He was with difficulty dissuaded from this dishonorable measure by the entreaties of the patriarch; but his prospects appeared to become darker every hour; the Avars, by a treacherous attack, had nearly seized the capital, and the ambassadors sent to supplicate pardon and peace from Khosrú, were dismissed with contumely and scorn; the Persian despot declaring that he would not grant peace until either Heraclius was brought bound in chains to his footstool, or had abjured Christianity and embraced the Magian religion.

For about twelve years Heraclius had patiently witnessed the calamities of the empire without making any effort to protect his subjects; but this last insult roused his slumbering energies, and he entered on a career as glorious as his former inactivity had been disgraceful. He did not venture with his raw levies to attack the Persian camp at Chalcedon; but he passed over to the coast of Cilicia, and fortified himself on the ground where Alexander had fought the battle of Issus, not far from the modern town of Scanderoon, whose excellent harbor offered a good station for the imperial fleet. A splendid victory over the Persian cavalry enabled him to establish his winter-quarters in Cappadocia, on the banks of the Halys (*Kizil Irmak*), and to mature his plans for one of the boldest enterprises recorded in history—the invasion of Persia through its northern provinces (A. D. 623). Early in the ensuing spring, Heraclius, with a chosen band of five thousand men, sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond, assembled his forces from the southern regions, and, joined by the Christians of Armenia, entered the province of Atropatene (*Azerbiján*). Tauris (*Tabríz*), the ancient and modern capital of the country, was taken by storm, almost in sight of Khosrú's army, while the Persian monarch had neither the courage to hazard a battle, nor the justice to conclude an equitable peace. Several equally glorious campaigns followed; the greater part of Persia was overrun by the victorious Byzantines; they defeated the Asiatics wherever they encountered them, and marched in one direction as far as the Caspian, in the other to Ispahan, destroying in their progress all Khosrú's splendid palaces, plundering his hoarded treasures, and dispersing in every direction the countless slaves of his pleasure. Khosrú made no effort to stop the mighty work of ruin, and yet he rejected the terms of peace offered him by the humanity of the conqueror. His subjects soon lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country: a conspiracy was formed against him; he was deposed by his eldest son Shiroueh, cast into a dungeon, and put to death by an unnatural prince, who pretended that he was compelled to the parricide by the clamors and importunities of the people and nobles of the empire.

After six glorious campaigns, Heraclius returned to Constantinople, bringing with him the wood of the "True Cross," which Khosrú had taken at Jerusalem—a precious relic, which was deemed a more splendid trophy of his victories than all his spoils and conquests. The

kingdom of Persia, exhausted by the late sanguinary contest, was left to perish under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine, the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles, a succession of weak sovereigns, or rather pageants of power, and the attack of a new and terrible enemy. The flame which Mohammed had kindled in Arabia already began to spread, and to threaten an equal fate to the degraded and decaying monarchies of Byzantium and Persia.

Victory itself was fatal to Heraclius; the best and bravest of his soldiers had perished in the sanguinary war, his treasury was empty, taxes were levied with difficulty in the desolated provinces, and the emperor himself, as if exhausted by his great efforts, sunk into hopeless lethargy. While Heraclius was enjoying the empty honors of a triumph, the Saracens appeared on the confines of Syria: thenceforth the empire sunk rapidly before their fanatic valor; and in the last eight years of his reign, the emperor lost to them all that he had rescued from the the Persians.

Section II.—*State of Arabia at the coming of Mohammed.*

The peninsula of Arabia is in shape a large and irregular triangle, between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia; its extreme length is about fifteen hundred miles, and its mean breadth about seven hundred. Though it contains several lofty ranges of mountains, the greater part of the country consists of level, sandy, and arid plains, which can support but few inhabitants. Water is difficult to be obtained; there is scarcely any wood to shelter from the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun; the winds, instead of being refreshing breezes, frequently come loaded with pestilential vapors, or raise eddying billows of sand that have overwhelmed, not only caravans, but entire armies. The high lands that border on the Indian ocean are distinguished by a superior abundance of wood and water, and hence this part of the peninsula has been called Happy Arabia: but the groves, even of this favored district, are thinly scattered; the streams, though pure, are small, and the country could only be deemed delightful by persons whose eyes were unaccustomed to vegetation, and who had often felt the want of a cooling shade or a refreshing drink. The northern part of Arabia is occupied by ranges of naked, rocky mountains, from which it received the name of Arabia Petræa, or the Stony; but notwithstanding its rugged and desert aspect, it was in ancient times the centre of a flourishing trade, being the great high road of trade between Egypt and southeastern Asia.

The Arabs are an original and unmixed race; they boast that their country has never been subdued, but the greater part of it has little that could tempt the cupidity of a conqueror. In the reign of Trajan, the Romans made Arabia Petræa a province; Yemen, or Arabia Felix, has been frequently subject to Persia, and about the time of Mohammed's appearance, the southern part of the peninsula was ruled by the Najáshí of Ethiopia. The Arab is not very robust, but he is active and well made, able to endure great fatigue, and, both from habit and education, reckless of danger. In his mental constitution, he displays quickness rather than intelligence; his imagination is warm, but his judgment is

not vigorous. In all his pleasures, dangers, and fatigues, he makes the horse and camel of his deserts associates rather than servants, and these animals appear to have obtained an actual superiority in Arabia, from being elevated into the companions of their masters. The horse of Arabia is equally remarkable for speed, temper, and power of endurance; and it is remarkable that the best breeds of this animal in Europe, Asia, and Africa, have been derived from an Arabian stock. The camel and dromedary of the desert are regarded by the Arab as scarcely inferior to his horse. This patient and powerful animal supplies him with milk for his sustenance, transports his property and family from one quarter of the desert to another, and when occasion requires, enables him to pursue or fly from his enemy with almost incredible speed.

The ancient religion of the Arabs was the Sabean form of idolatry, which consisted in the worship of the sun, moon, and planets; but long before the coming of Mohammed, they were distracted by a great variety of creeds; some adhered to the faith of their ancestors, others embraced Judaism, and several tribes became Christians. Unfortunately Christianity, when introduced into the peninsula, had been deeply sullied by man's devices; the different Christian tribes were imbued with a fierce sectarian spirit, and hated each other more bitterly than Jews or pagans. The vivid imaginations of the Arabs led them to investigate questions beyond the powers of man's understanding; and the consequence was so abundant a supply of new doctrines, that one of the early fathers described Arabia as the land most fruitful in heresies.

The principal Arabian cities of ancient times were in Yemen; but their fame was destined to be eclipsed by the glories of Mecca and Medina, both in the Hejaz, the two great sanctuaries of the national religion. Mecca was a place of considerable trade from the earliest stages, being situated at the intersection of two important routes, that between Syria and Arabia Felix, and that between Abyssinia or upper Egypt and southeastern Asia. Commerce flourished under the sanctuary of religion. The temple of Mecca was regarded as the national metropolis of the Arabic faith, before Judaism and Christianity appeared in the peninsula; its custody raised the Koreishites to a rank above the other tribes, and the failure of the attempt made to storm it by the Ethiopians in the very year that Mohammed was born, may be considered the great check that impeded, or rather prevented, the further extension of Christianity in the country. Mecca is built in a winding valley at the foot of three barren mountains; the soil is a rock, and the waters brackish. The pastures are remote from the city, and good fruits can not be procured at a nearer place than the gardens of Tayef, which are about seventy miles distant.

The Arabs believe that Mecca was founded by Adam, and the temple erected by Abraham. Its early prosperity they ascribe to Ishmael, who fixed his residence there, because, as their traditions assert, the brackish well Zemzem was that to which Hagar was directed by the angel. It must have been a very ancient city, if, as commentators suppose, it was the Mesha which Moses mentions as inhabited by the posterity of Joktan.*

* Genesis x. and xxxi.

Medina, called Yatreb before the appearance of Mohammed, enjoys more natural advantages than Mecca; but it is not so conveniently situated for traffic. Its citizens appear to have been always jealous of the supremacy claimed by the Meccans, and this probably induced them to espouse the cause of Mohammed when he was banished by their rivals.

Literature was zealously cultivated by the ancient Arabs; they were enthusiastically attached to eloquence and poetry, for both of which, their rich harmonious language affords peculiar facilities. A meeting of the tribes was held annually, at which the poets recited their compositions, and those which were judged the best, were preserved in the public treasury. The most celebrated of these were seven poems called Moallakat, which were written on Egyptian silk in letters of gold, and suspended in the Kaaba, or temple of Mecca. Science was not similarly valued; their history was merely genealogical tables; their astronomy such a rude knowledge of the stars as served to mark the variation of the seasons; and the mechanical arts were almost wholly neglected. They used to say that God had given them four peculiarities: turbans instead of diadems; tents instead of houses; swords instead of fortresses; and poems instead of written laws.

Section III.—*The Preaching of Mohammed.*

Mohammed, the great legislator of the Arabians, and the founder of a religion which has long prevailed over the fairest portions of the globe, was born at Mecca. His father, Abdallah, was an idolater; but his mother, Emina, was a Jewess, who had been converted to Christianity, and from her early instructions he probably derived the religious impressions for which he was distinguished even in boyhood. Both his parents died while he was yet a child, but their place was supplied by his uncles, Abd-al-Motalleb, and Abu-Taleb, the latter of whom became a tender parent to the orphan. At the age of thirteen he accompanied Abu-Taleb on a mercantile journey into Syria, and soon after made his first campaign against some neighboring tribes of predatory Arabs.

From this time Mohammed appears to have engaged actively in trade. He displayed so much talent, that a rich widow, named Kadijah, appointed him her chief pastor; and after some years, was so pleased with his zeal and industry, that she gave him her hand in marriage, and made him master of her splendid fortune. After his marriage, Mohammed ranked among the first citizens of Mecca, and it must be added that he was not corrupted by good fortune. The earliest use he made of prosperity was to relieve his kind guardian and uncle Abu-Taleb, who had fallen into distress; he placed Abu-Taleb above want, and undertook the education of a portion of his family.

Little is known of Mohammed's history during the next fifteen years, but there is every reason to believe that this interval was spent in maturing his plans for the great revolution he contemplated. Every year he retired for a month to a cave in Mount Hira, near Mecca, where he spent his time in meditation and prayer. His travels as a merchant had made him acquainted with the principal forms of religion that then

prevailed in the east. In Syria he met Christians of various sects, Jews, Magians, and Sabæans; Arabia presented to him countless varieties of idolatry; exiles from the Persian and Byzantine empires informed him of the dangerous doctrines preached by the Mani and Mazdak. A singular dream led him to believe that he was chosen by the Deity to reconcile all these jarring creeds, and to unite mankind in the worship of the one true God. In the solitude of his cave he dreamed that the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and hailed him as a prophet. On his return he announced his mission to Kadijah, who at once recognised his claims. Her example was followed by Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb, by Abu-Beker, Othman, and a few friends accustomed to regard the recluse of Hira with reverence.

These converts were called Mussulmans, that is, persons resigned to the divine will; their faith was confirmed by revelations which Mohammed pretended to receive from Gabriel, and which, as he did not then know how to read and write, or at least but imperfectly, he communicated orally to his disciples. These revelations were preserved by them in a volume, which they called the Koran, or book that ought to be read. The progress of the new religion was slow; many of Mohammed's friends rejected his prophetic claims with something like horror, and three years elapsed before he ventured to announce his mission publicly. Having invited his friends and relatives to a splendid banquet, he declared to them that God had chosen him to preach the doctrine of the divine unity; Ali, with the generous enthusiasm of youth, warmly offered to support the prophet's claims, but many of the other guests doubted or laughed them to scorn.

Undismayed by the imperfect result of his first essay, Mohammed began to preach to the people of Mecca in the market-place. Converts were made slowly; and the guardians of the city opposed doctrines that threatened to subvert the influence they derived from the worship of the Kaaba. Several of the Mussulmans, most remarkable for their zeal, were forced by persecution to abandon their homes, and seek refuge in Abyssinia; but the spirit of Mohammed quailed not; he refused to quit Mecca, and when asked to suspend his preaching for a season, he replied, "Were my enemies to place the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left, they would not reduce me to silence."

At one of the great annual fairs held in Mecca, Mohammed preached his mission to the merchants assembled from all parts of Arabia. Among his auditors were some citizens of Yatreb, or, as it was afterward called, Medina, whom peculiar circumstances rendered attentive to his claims. The Yatrebites had just conquered a Jewish tribe; they heard their captives boast of their speedy liberation on the coming of the Messiah, and supposing that the new prophet might be the expected deliverer, they resolved to conciliate his favor. Mohammed profited by their delusion: and this appears to have been his first direct step in imposture, though in the tangled web of human motives, it is hard to say where enthusiasm ends and fraud begins.

Inspired by his success with the Yatrebites, and some other tribes in the interior of Arabia, Mohammed, who had hitherto preached patience and submission under persecution, directed his disciples to defend themselves when attacked, declaring that all who died in defence of

his person or his creed, would assuredly inherit Paradise. At the same time he averred that he had been taken up into heaven by Gabriel, and admitted to a personal interview with the Omnipotent. The Meccan chiefs, enraged at his hardihood, took measures for his destruction, and he could only save his life by a speedy retreat to Yatreb. This event, called Hejira (the flight), occurred about the fifty-third year of the prophet's age (A. D. 622), and is the era used by all Mahommedan nations.

Mohammed was received in triumph at Yatreb; he changed its name to Medinet al nábi (*the city of the prophet*), or Medina (*the city*), which it still retains. Converts flocked to Medina, and were formed into war-like bands, which infested all the roads to Mecca, and took severe vengeance for the insult offered to their master. The plunder was shared equally among the soldiers; enthusiasm generally insured success; and warriors from all parts of the peninsula were attracted by the hopes of wealth and glory. In one of the frequent encounters between the Meccans and Mussulmans, near the well Bedr, Mohammed was on the point of being defeated, when he stooped down, took up a handful of dust and flung it toward the enemy, exclaiming: "May their faces be confounded!" this simple action revived the courage of his followers; they gained a decisive victory, which he failed not to ascribe to a miraculous interposition.

After this success Mohammed made a great change in the character of his religion; hitherto he had preached patience and toleration; he now began to inculcate the doctrine of propagating the true faith by the sword, and of executing divine vengeance on idolaters and unbelievers. "In the shade of the crossing cimeters," he declared, "Paradise is prefigured," and this sublime orientalism was long the favorite war-cry of his followers. The Jews became special objects of his hatred; he seems to have hoped that they would acknowledge him as their Messiah, but they were too well acquainted with their sacred Scriptures to believe that the liberator of Israel should be descended from the bond-woman. A severe defeat at Ohod increased rather than abated the pride and fanaticism of Mohammed; he ascribed it to the fault of his companions in having granted quarter to their enemies on a former occasion, and thenceforward the war assumed a most murderous and sanguinary character. The Meccans suffered much more severely than their adversaries; depending for their prosperity, and almost for their existence, on commerce, they saw their trade almost annihilated, their caravans plundered, and their flocks swept away. They made one great effort to remove their enemy, and besieged Mohammed in Medina, but were soon forced to retire with great loss. "Hitherto they have sought us," exclaimed the prophet, "it is now our turn to go in search of them."

After this defeat, the Meccans seem to have lost all courage; Mohammed rapidly became the most powerful prince in Arabia, his followers received his words as the inspired oracles of God, nor were they undeceived by the gross licentiousness in which the pretended prophet indulged. At length, he marched against Mecca, but found the defiles which lead to the city too strongly garrisoned to allow of an attack with any prospect of success. Under these circumstances, he concluded a

truce, much against the will of his followers, by which a peaceful admission into the city was secured to him in the ensuing year. Feeling that his power was now established, Mohammed sent ambassadors, inviting the most powerful kings of the earth, especially the emperors of Persia and Constantinople, to become his disciples. Khosrú Parvíz, who then ruled in Irán, was indignant at receiving a letter, in which "a poor lizard-eater," as the Arab was then called by his haughty neighbors, dared to place his name before that of "the king of kings." He tore the paper to pieces, and dismissed the ambassador with insult; when this was told to Mohammed, he exclaimed, "Thus God hath torn his kingdom." The Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, treated the message with respect, though he declined acceding to the invitation. During the year that preceded the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mohammed subdued several of the surrounding tribes that had hitherto spurned his power; but the seeds of mortal disease were sown in his constitution by a dose of poison, which a Jewess administered as a test of his prophetic pretensions.

At length the day arrived which was to consummate the triumph of Islamism; Mohammed made his public entry into Mecca with unparalleled magnificence; he did homage to the national faith by worshipping in the Kaaba; and such was the effect produced by his presence, that many of his former enemies, and among others, the chief guardian of the idolatrous sanctuary, proclaimed themselves his disciples. Soon after this success he began his first foreign war. The ambassador he sent to the Byzantine governor of Bosrah, having been murdered at Muta, a little town south of the Dead sea, an army was sent under the command of Zeid, the freedman of the prophet, to avenge the insult. The Mussulman general, and the two officers that succeeded, were slain; but the command devolving upon Khaled, the son of Walid, he obtained a decisive victory, and returned to Medina laden with booty. This success induced Mohammed to break his truce with the Meccans; disregarding their remonstrances and offers of submission, he marched against the city; an entrance was forced by the fiery Khaled, and the prophet with difficulty prevented his followers from involving his fellow-citizens in one promiscuous massacre. The Kaaba became the property of the conqueror; all traces of idolatry were removed from this national sanctuary; the only emblem of former superstition permitted to remain, was the celebrated Black Stone, an aërolite which the Arabs had venerated from an unknown age, the reverence for which was too deeply graven in their hearts to be easily eradicated. This success led to the subjugation of most of the northern Arabian tribes; ambassadors flocked to congratulate the prophet from every side; the lieutenant Khosrú, at the western side of the Euphrates, became a Mussulman; the governor of the provinces that the Najáshí of Abyssinia held in Arabia, followed the example; and Mohammed might be regarded as the undisputed sovereign of the peninsula. His two great objects seemed thus to be effected; Arabia was liberated from the yoke of foreign powers, and the Arabs began to regard themselves as one nation. A second expedition against the southern provinces of the Byzantine, or, as it was still called, the Roman empire, was crowned with success; and so rapid had been the progress of Islamism, that when

the prophet performed his last pilgrimage to Mecca, his followers amounted to nearly one hundred thousand warriors, independent of women, slaves, and other attendants.

On his return to Medina, the poison which Mohammed had taken from a Jewess, who is said to have taken this means of testing his claim to the title of Messiah, began to show its effects. He was seized with mortal disease ; and, at his own request, was removed to the house of his favorite wife Ayesha, on whose prudence he depended for concealing any incautious avowal he might make under the pressure of sickness. On the 8th of June, 632, he died, declaring with his last breath that he was about " to take his place with his fellow-citizen on high," meaning the angel Gabriel. He made no will, he appointed no successor, owing to the contrivance of Ayesha, who feared that Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, would be nominated the heir of his power ; and that she would thus be inferior to her beautiful step-daughter, Fatima, the wife of Ali.

Section IV.—*Early Progress of the Saracens.*

The fabric of Islamism was shaken to its very foundation after Mohammed's death, by the disputes that arose respecting the choice of a successor. Ali had the best hereditary claims, but his literary tastes, and ascetic manners, rendered him unpopular with the fierce soldiery ; and he had a powerful enemy in Ayesha, whom he had once charged with infidelity. After three days of fierce dispute, the controversy was decided by Omar's proffering the oath of fidelity to Abú Bekr, the father of Ayesha, and one of Mohammed's most faithful followers.

Abú Bekr assumed the title of Khaliph, or vicar, which thenceforth became the designation of the Saracenic emperors. Having superintended the sepulture of his illustrious predecessor at Medina, the khaliph sent an army against Mosseilama, an impostor, who, following the example of Mohammed, attempted to found a new religion. Mosseilama and his followers were exterminated by the gallant Khaled, surnamed from his fiery valor " the sword of God," and Islamism was thenceforward established in Arabia.

Perceiving that it was necessary to find employment for the energetic spirits by which he was surrounded, Abú Bekr prepared to invade the Byzantine and Persian empires, both of which had fallen into a state of deplorable weakness. Osâma, the son of Zeid, ravaged Syria, while the province of Irák, the ancient Babylonia, was subdued by Khaled. The conquest of Syria was a more important enterprise ; circulars announcing the undertaking, were sent to the principal Arabian tribes ; and the army which assembled on the occasion was the most numerous that had yet been raised by the Saracens. The emperor Heraclius, alarmed at the approach of such formidable forces, sent a large detachment to meet the enemy on the frontiers, which was defeated with great slaughter. But the imperialists were more successful at Gaza, where they gained a victory over a Moslem division, commanded by Abu Obeidah. The Khaliph invested Amrú with the supreme command of the expedition, but intrusted Obeidah's division to Khaled.

The latter made himself master of the city of Bosra, and after gaining several other advantages over the Romans, laid siege to Damascus.

Jerusalem was regarded with as much veneration by the Mussulmans as by the Jews or Christians, and Abú Bekr felt that the capture of so holy a city would give immense strength to the cause of Islám. In his celebrated directions to his generals he displays great knowledge of the country as well as much political wisdom. But these directions are still more remarkable for their almost verbal coincidence with a passage in the Book of Revelations (chap. ix. verse 4), which most commentators have regarded as a prophetic description of the Saracens. A reference to the passage will enable the reader to see the striking similarity between the language of the apostle and of the khaliph. When the army was assembled, Abú Bekr addressed the chief commander in the following terms: "Take care, Yezid-Abn-Abu Sofian, to treat your men with tenderness and lenity. Consult with your officers on all pressing occasions, and encourage them to face the enemy with bravery and resolution. If you conquer, spare the aged, the infirm, the women, and the children. Cut down no palm-trees, destroy not the fields of corn. Spare all fruit-trees, slay no cattle but such as are absolutely necessary for food. Always preserve your engagements inviolate; spare the religious persons who dwell in monasteries, and injure not the places in which they worship God. As for those members of the synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns, cleave their sculls, unless they embrace Islamism, or pay tribute."

But Jerusalem was not the only city to which sanctity was ascribed in the Mussulman traditions; it was reported that Mohammed, after viewing the lovely and fertile plains in which Damascus stands, from one of the neighboring heights, proclaimed it to be the earthly paradise designed to be the inheritance of true believers. The fiery Khaled recited this tradition to his enthusiastic followers as he led them before the walls, and thus excited their ardor for the siege to a fury that bordered on insanity.

Heraclius sent an army of 100,000 men to relieve the capital of Syria, but the imperialists were thrice routed; and in the last of these battles more than half their number fell in the field. This calamity led to the fall of Damascus, one side of which was stormed by Khaled, just as the other capitulated to Abu Obeidah. A warm dispute arose between the generals as to the claims of the citizens to the benefit of the capitulation; but mercy finally prevailed, and the lives of the Damascenes were spared. Abú Bekr died on the very day that Damascus was taken (A. D. 634); his memory was justly venerated, not only because he pointed the Saracens the way to conquest beyond Arabia, but because he gave their religion its permanent form, by collecting the scattered passages of the Koran, and arranging them in the order which they hold to the present day.

His character was remarkable for generosity and moderation; he did not reserve for himself any portion of the vast wealth acquired by his victorious armies, but distributed his share to his soldiers and to the poor. He was always easy of access; no petitioner for mercy or claimant of justice went unheard from his presence; both by precept and example he labored to maintain the republican simplicity so remarkable

in the early history of the Saracens; and though the partisans of Ali regard him as a usurper, they still reverence his memory on account of his moderation and his virtue.

Omar was chosen second khaliph by the unanimous consent of the army. Soon after his accession he received the intelligence of the capture of Damascus; but instead of evincing his gratitude, he yielded to the suggestions of petty jealousy, and transferred the command of the army from Khaled to Abu Obeidah. The conquest of Syria was followed by the subjugation of Persia. Yezdijird, the last monarch of the Sassanid dynasty, sent a large army to recover Irák, under the command of Ferokshad, a general of high reputation. Saad-ebn-Wakass, the leader of the Saracens, relying upon the impetuous courage of his soldiers, eagerly sought a general action; and Ferokshad, after many vain efforts to protract the war, was forced to a decisive engagement in the plains of Kadseah, or Kadesia. The battle lasted several days, and ended in the almost total annihilation of the Persian army, while the loss of the Arabs did not exceed three thousand men. The celebrated standard of Persia, originally the apron of the patriotic blacksmith Gávah, but which had been enlarged, by successive monarchs, to the length of twenty-two feet and the breadth of fifteen, enriched with jewels of the highest value, fell into the hands of the conquerors and was broken up for distribution. Nor was this the only rich booty obtained by the "sons of the desert," who were yet ignorant of its value. "I will give any quantity of this yellow metal for a little white," was an exclamation made, after the battle was over, by an Arabian soldier, who desired to exchange gold, which he had never before seen, for silver, which he had learned to appreciate (A. D. 638).

Yezdijird assembled a new army in the northern and eastern provinces, while the khaliph reinforced the invaders with fresh bodies of enthusiasts. The battle which decided the fate of Persia was fought at Navahend (A. D. 641). Noman, the leader of the Saracens, attacked the Persians in their intrenchments; nothing could resist the fury of the onslaught; the Persian lines were completely broken; it was a carnage rather than a battle. For ten years Yezdijird, "a hunted wanderer on the wild," protracted a faint but unyielding resistance; he was at length slain by a miller with whom he had sought refuge (A. D. 651). Thus ended the dynasty of Sassan, which ruled Persia for four hundred and fifty years, and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation, whose ancient glory is associated with the fame of Ardeshír, Shah-púr, and Nushirván.

Nor were the Saracens less successful in Syria; Abu Obeidah's caution tempered the fiery zeal of Khaled, and rendered victory more secure, though less rapid. City after city yielded to the Moslems, and the army which Heraclius sent to the defence of his unfortunate subjects was irretrievably ruined in the battle of Yermûk. Inspired by this victory, Abu Obeidah laid seige to Jerusalem, and in four months reduced the garrison to such distress, that a surrender was unavoidable. The Khaliph Omar came in person to receive the submission of the holy city. His equipage was a singular characteristic of the simplicity that still prevailed among the Saracens. He rode upon a red camel, with a sack of corn and water-bag slung from the saddle, to supply his

wants during the journey. A wooden platter was the only utensil he brought with him; his dress was of camel's hair, coarse and torn; a single slave constituted his attendance and escort. In this guise he reached the Moslem camp, where he recited the public prayers, and preached a sermon to his troops. He then signed the capitulation, securing to the Christians of Jerusalem protection in person, property, and religious worship, on the payment of a moderate tribute, and entered the city in triumph (A. D. 637). In his triumphal entry the khaliph marched at the head of his troops, in familiar conversation with Sophronius, the Christian patriarch of Jerusalem, whom he hoped to protect from the fanaticism of his followers by this exhibition of confidence. Nor was this the only proof of good faith displayed by Omar; he refused to pray in any of the Christian churches, lest the Mussulmans should take advantage of his example and convert it into a mosque. He chose the ground on which the temple of Solomon anciently stood for the foundation of the mosque which bears his name; and as it was covered with filth of every kind, he set the example of clearing the spot, to his soldiers, by removing some of the rubbish in his robe.

Aleppo, the ancient Berœa, was the next city besieged by the Saracens; it was valiantly defended for four months, but was finally taken by assault, and its governor, Gukinna, with several of his principal officers, embraced the Mohammedan faith. Antioch and Cæsarea were taken with less difficulty; the emperor Heraclius fled from the province, and his son, after a few unsuccessful efforts, followed him to Constantinople. In six years from their first appearance in Syria, the Saracens completed the conquest of that province, and of Palestine, and secured their acquisitions by occupying the mountain-fortresses on the borders of Cilicia. Egypt was next attacked by Amrú, and subdued without much difficulty. Alexandria alone made a vigorous defence; but it was finally taken by storm, and its valuable library consigned to the flames, through the fanaticism of Omar, who was ignorant of literature and science. In the midst of these triumphs the Khaliph Omar was assassinated by a slave (A. D. 643). During his reign of ten years and a half, the Saracens could boast that they had subdued Syria, Chaldæa, Persia, and Egypt; taken thirty-six thousand cities, towns, and castles; destroyed four thousand Christian churches, fire and idol temples, and built fourteen hundred mosques.

Omar's memory is held in the highest veneration by the Soonnees, and is eqally execrated by the Sheeahs. His severity and simplicity, which bordered on barbarism, are strikingly contrasted with the luxury and magnificence of his successors. He had no state or pomp, he lived in a mean house; his mornings were spent in preaching or praying at the mosque, and during the rest of the day he was to be found in the public market-place, where, clothed in a tattered robe, he administered justice to all comers, directed the affairs of his increasing empire, and received ambassadors from the most powerful princes of the east. To him the Arabs are indebted for the era of the Hejira; before his reign they counted their years from such epochs as wars, famines, plagues, remarkable tempests, or harvests of unusual plenty. He was the first to establish a police in Medina and the other great cities of the empire. Before his reign, the Arabs, accustomed to lawless independence, would

admit of no restraint, and the immense conquests of the Saracens had caused such a concourse of strangers in the seats of government, that cities became nearly as insecure places of residence as the open country. Omar also established a regular system of pay for soldiers in the field, and he also instituted pensions for the wounded and disabled soldiers; indeed the old companions of Mohammed, those who had borne the dangers and difficulties that beset the prophet in the earlier part of his career, having been rendered incapable of acquiring fresh plunder by wounds and age, would have perished miserably but for the provision which Omar made for their support in their declining years.

Omar, by his will, appointed six commissioners to elect a new khaliph, and their choice fell on Othman-ebn-Affán, whose pliancy of disposition appears to have been his chief recommendation. The change of their sovereign did not abate the rage for conquest among the Saracens. They ceased to limit their exertions to land; a fleet fitted out by Moawiyáh, the governor of Syria, subdued the island of Cyprus (A. D. 647), while the Syrian and Egyptian armies penetrated into Armenia and Nubia. The island of Rhodes was a still more important acquisition: it yielded to Moawiyáh almost without a struggle; its celebrated Colossus was broken to pieces and sold to a Jew, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal that it contained. Othman's weakness soon rendered him odious to his warlike subjects. The Egyptian army revolted, and marched to besiege him in Medina; their discontents were appeased for a time by the exertions of Ali, but the insurgents having reason to suspect that the khaliph meditated vengeance, retraced their steps, and murdered him in his palace (A. D. 656). The Koran, stained with the blood of Othman, is said to be still preserved at Damascus.

Immediately after the murder of Othman, Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, was proclaimed khaliph. His accession was the signal for disorders, which threatened the speedy ruin of the Saracenic empire. His old enemy Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, excited a revolt in Arabia, affecting to avenge the murder of Othman, though she had more than consented to his death; Moawiyáh headed a revolt in Syria; and the turbulent army of Egypt set their sovereign's authority at defiance. The first combat was against the partisans of Ayesha, who were routed with great slaughter, and she herself made prisoner. Ali not only spared the life of this turbulent woman, but assigned her a large pension.

Moawiyáh was a far more dangerous enemy. By his affected zeal for religion, he had won the friendship of many of the companions of the prophet, while his descent from the ancient chiefs of Mecca procured the support of many who had yielded reluctantly to the sway of Mohammed. The rival armies met in the plains of Saffein, on the western bank of the Euphrates, and more than ninety days were spent in undecisive skirmishes. At length Moawiyáh, finding his forces rapidly diminishing, adopted the following singular expedient, on the recommendation of Amrú; he ordered a copy of the Koran to be fixed on the top of a pike, and directed a herald to proclaim, in the presence of both armies, that he was willing to decide all differences by this sacred code. Ali's soldiers forced him to consent to a truce; two commissioners were

chosen to regulate the articles of peace; and Amrú, who appeared on the part of Moawiyáh, contrived to have his friend proclaimed khaliph. The war was renewed, but no decisive battle was fought. At length some enthusiasts met accidentally at Mecca and began to discuss the calamities that threatened the ruin of Islamism. One of them remarked that no one of the claimants of the throne deserved to reign, since they had jointly and severally inflicted great sufferings on the faithful, and brought religion into jeopardy. Three of them then agreed to devote themselves for the public good, and on the same day to assassinate Amrú, Moawiyáh, and Ali. The two former escaped; Ali became a victim (A. D. 661), and Moawiyáh, without much resistance, became chief of the Saracenic empire, and founded the Ommiade dynasty of khaliphs.

There is a tradition that Mohammed, a little before his last illness, declared, "The khaliphate will not last more than thirty years after my death;" if this prediction was not devised after the event, it was singularly fulfilled by the murder of his nephew and son-in-law. Ali's memory is justly venerated by the Mussulmans; he was inferior in statesmanship to his predecessors, but he was certainly the most amiable of the khaliphs. His mildness, placidity, and yielding disposition, which rendered him so beloved in private life, were however fatal to him in an age of distraction and civil warfare. His family continued to be revered long after his death; but their popularity excited the jealousy of succeeding khaliphs, and most of them perished by open violence or secret assassination. The martyrdom of Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, is yearly celebrated by the Sheeahs of India and Persia with great solemnity; and on these occasions the affecting incidents of these events are so vividly represented, that travellers would suppose the bursts of grief they witness, to be caused by some recent and overwhelming calamity.

During these commotions the career of Saracenic conquest had been suspended; but under the Ommiade dynasty the military spirit of the Arabs was restored to its former strength. Egypt furnished an excellent key to southern Europe and western Africa. Thrice the Saracens were compelled to abandon their enterprise against the countries west of Egypt; but at length their perseverance was crowned with success, and the creed of Mohammed was extended through northern Africa to the shores of the Atlantic.

Count Julian, a Gothic noble, irritated by the treatment he had received from his sovereign, Roderic, invited the Saracens into Spain (A. D. 710). A numerous army of adventurers crossed the straits, and, aided by the resentment of the persecuted Jews, subdued the entire peninsula, with the exception of a small district in the Asturian mountains. Not content with this success, the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees, and advanced through France to the Loire: they even meditated a plan of conquest, which would have subjected all Christendom to their yoke; they proposed to conquer France, Italy, and Germany, and then descending the Danube to exterminate the Greek empire, whose capital they had already twice assailed. The valor of Charles Martel, who completely defeated the Saracens in a memorable battle, that lasted seven days (A. D. 732), rescued Europe from the Mohammedan yoke. His grandson, Charlemagne, drove the Saracens back to the Ebro; and

though they subsequently recovered their Spanish provinces, they were forced to respect the Pyrenees as the bulwark of Christendom.

The revolution which transferred the khaliphate from the descendants of Moawiyáh to the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, led to the dismemberment of the empire. Mohammed, the grandson of Abbas, had long been engaged in forming a party to support the rights of his house, and from his obscure residence in Syria, sent emissaries into the remotest parts of the empire, to secure partisans for an approaching struggle. On the death of Mohammed, his son, Ibrahim, succeeded to his influence and his claims; he sent Abu Moslem as the representative of his party into Khorassan, and there that intrepid warrior for the first time raised the black standard of the house of Abbas. From this time the parties that rent the Saracenic empire were distinguished by the colors chosen as their cognizance; black was the ominous badge of the Abbassides, white of the Ommiades, and green of the Fatimites, who claimed to be descended from Mohammed, through Fatima, the daughter of the prophet and the wife of Ali. Abúl Abbas, surnamed Al Saffah, or the Sanguinary, overthrew the last of the Ommiade line near the river Jab, and not only put him to death, but massacred all the princes of his family whom he could seize, broke open the sepulchres of all the khaliphs from Moawiyáh downward, burned their mouldering contents, and scattered the ashes to the winds.

Ninety members of the Ommiade family were living at Damascus after their submission, under what they believed the safe protection of Abdallah-Ebn-Ali, the uncle of the khaliph. One day, when they were all assembled at a feast to which they had been invited by the governor, a poet, according to a preconcerted arrangement, presented himself before Abdallah and recited some verses enumerating the crimes of the house of Moawiyáh, calling for vengeance on their devoted heads, and pointing out the dangers to which their existence exposed the house of Abbas. "God has cast them down," he exclaimed; "why dost not thou trample upon them?"

This abominable exhortation fell upon willing ears; Abdallah gave the signal to the executioners whom he had already prepared, and ordered the ninety guests to be beaten to death with clubs in his presence. When the last had fainted under the hands of the executioner, he ordered the bodies of the dead and dying to be piled together, and carpets to be thrown over the ghastly heap. He then, with the rest of his guests, ascended this horrible platform, and there they revelled in a gorgeous banquet, careless of the groans and agony below!

Abd-er-rahman, the youngest son of the late khaliph, alone escaped from this indiscriminate massacre. After a series of almost incredible adventures, he reached Spain, where the Saracens, fondly attached to the memory of Moawiyáh, chose him for their sovereign, and he thus became the founder of the second dynasty of the Ommiade khaliphs.

This example of separation was followed by the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the Fatimites and Aglabites of eastern Africa. Bagdad, founded by Almansúr, became the capital of the Abbasside dynasty. The khaliphs of this line were generous patrons of science, literature, and the arts, especially Harún-al-Rashid, the hero of the Arabian Nights, and his son Al Mamún. The love of learning spread from Bag-

dad into the other Saracenic countries; the Ommiade khaliphs founded several universities in Spain, the Fatimites established schools in Egypt, and the Mahommedan nations were distinguished for their attainments in physical science, while Europe remained sunk in barbarism. The Saracenic empire gradually passed from splendor into weakness; the Turkish mercenaries employed by the later khaliphs became the masters of their sovereign; and the dignity, after being long an empty title, was finally abolished (A. D. 1258).

CHAPTER III.

RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

SECTION I.—*The Life of Charlemagne.*

WHEN the last of the feeble descendants of Clovis was dethroned by Pepin, France, by being brought into close connexion with the See of Rome, became the most prominent state in Europe, and the foundation was laid for the system of policy which has since prevailed in Europe, by the union of the highest ecclesiastical authority with the most extensive civil power. Many circumstances had previously conspired to give the popes, as the bishops of Rome were called from an unknown period, great and commanding authority over the Christian nations of the West. Among the most influential, was the extravagant claim to the ancient sway of the Cæsars, gravely urged by the Byzantine emperors, when they had neither means nor ability to support their pretensions. Wearied by the pride and cruelty of the Greeks, the Italians supported the papal power as a counterpoise to the imperial, and were eager to have the bishop of Rome recognised as head of the Christian church, to prevent the title from being usurped by the patriarch of Constantinople. The recognition of Pepin's elevation to the throne of France was something more than a mere form: it was a ratification of his claims by the only authority that was respected by the nations of western Europe. In return, Pepin gave military aid to the popes, in their wars with the Lombards, and openly proclaimed himself the champion of the church. The French king intrusted the command of the armies he employed in Italy to his youthful son, Karl, better known by his French name, Charlemagne. The prince, thus early brought into public life, displayed more than ordinary abilities, both as a general and a statesman; he acted a distinguished part in the subjugation of Aquitaine, and deservedly obtained the fame of adding that fine province to the dominions of the Franks.

Pepin did not long survive this acquisition; pursuing the pernicious policy which had already proved so destructive to the preceding dynasty, he divided his dominions between his sons Charles and Carloman. Their mutual jealousies would have exploded in civil war, but for the judicious interference of their mother Bertha. At length Carloman died suddenly; his wife and children fled to the Lombards, his subjects, with one accord, resolved to have Charlemagne for their sovereign, and thus the French monarchy was again reunited under a single head. The protection granted to the family of Carloman was not the only ground of hostility between Charlemagne and the Lombard king Desiderius; Charlemagne had married, and afterward repudiated, that mon-

arch's daughter; Desiderius menaced war, but had not the means of executing his threats; Charlemagne was prevented from crossing the Alps, by the appearance of a more formidable enemy on his eastern frontiers.

The Saxons, and other Germanic tribes, were still sunk in idolatry: they frequently devastated the frontier provinces of the Christian Franks, and showed particular animosity to the churches and ministers of religion. A missionary, St. Libuinus, had vainly endeavored to convert the Saxons by denouncing the vengeance of Heaven against their idolatry; irritated by his reproaches, they expelled him from their country, burned the church erected at Daventer, and slew the Christians. The general convocation of the Franks, called from the time of meeting the Champ de Maï, was at the time assembled at Worms under the presidency of Charles; its members regarded the massacre at Daventer as a just provocation, and war was declared against the Saxons. As the assembly of the Champ de Maï was at once a convention of the estates and a review of the military power of the Franks, an army was in immediate readiness: Charlemagne crossed the Rhine, captured their principal fortresses, destroyed their national idol, and compelled them to give hostages for their future good conduct. He had scarcely returned home, when he was summoned into Italy, to rescue the pope from the wrath of Desiderius, who, enraged at the pontiff's refusal to recognise the claims of the sons of Carloman, had actually laid siege to Rome. Like Hannibal in ancient, and Napoleon in modern times, Charlemagne forced a passage over the Alps, and was actually descending from the mountains before the Lombards knew of his having commenced his march. Desiderius, after vainly attempting to check the Franks in the defiles, abandoned the field, and shut himself up in Pavia. The city was taken after a year's siege: during the interval, Charlemagne visited Rome, and was received with great enthusiasm by the pope and the citizens. Soon after his return to his camp Pavia surrendered, Desiderius and his queen were confined in separate monasteries, and the iron crown, usually worn by the kings of Lombardy, was placed upon the head of the French monarch.

The Saxons and Lombards made several vigorous efforts to shake off the yoke, but their insurrections were easily suppressed; while, however, alarming discontents prevailed in both nations, Charlemagne was involved in a new and perilous war. A Saracenic prince sought refuge in the French court, and persuaded the monarch to lead an army over the Pyrenees. The frontier provinces were easily subdued, owing to the disputes that divided the Mohammedans in Spain. Charlemagne gained a decisive victory over the Saracens at Saragossa, but before he could complete his conquest, he was recalled home by a new and more dangerous revolt of the Saxons. The rear-guard of the French, commanded by the gallant Roland, was treacherously assailed on its return, by the Gascons, in the defiles of Roncesvalles, and almost wholly destroyed. The celebrated valley of Roncesvalles is the line of communication between France and Navarre; the road through it is rugged and tortuous, with narrow gorges between steep mountains. While the Franks were toiling through these defiles, the Gascons and Navarrese formed ambuscades on the summits of the mountains, concealed by the

thick forests with which they abound. After the greater part of the army had passed, the mountaineers suddenly rushed down the steeps, fell upon the rear-guard, and the divisions intrusted with the charge of the baggage. The Franks were surprised but not disheartened; they made a desperate resistance, and vainly tried to cut their way to the main body; but the assailants had the advantage of a light equipment and a favorable position; the whole of the rear-guard was cut off, and the baggage plundered before Charlemagne knew that they were endangered; and the mountaineers disappeared so rapidly with their booty that all pursuit was unavailing. Such was the battle of Roncesvalles, which has been strangely exaggerated and misrepresented by writers of romance.

But though the legendary account of Roncesvalles contains a very small portion of truth, it is not devoid of historical importance, because there never was a history which possessed wider influence than this romantic tale. It was by singing the song of Roland that the Normans were encouraged at the battle of Hastings, and the French inspired to their most glorious deeds. We must therefore give an abstract of the ancient tradition.

According to the legend, Charlemagne, in a war which lasted more than seven years, had nearly completed the conquest of Spain. The Moorish monarch, whom the romancers are pleased to designate Marsiles, in dread of total ruin held a council of his principal emirs and nobles, who unanimously recommended him to conciliate Charles by immediate submission. A Saracen ambassador, with the usual inconsistency of romance, is said to have been pitched close to the Spanish marches, and he addressed the monarch in the following words: "God protect you! Behold here are presents which my master sends; and he engages if you withdraw from Spain to come and do you homage at Aix-la-Chapelle."

Charlemagne summoned his twelve paladins to council, to deliberate on this offer. Roland strenuously opposed entering into any terms with an infidel, and declared that it was their duty to rescue Spain from the dominion of the crescent, and place it under the banner of the cross. Two of the paladins, however, Ganelon and the duke Naimes, maintained that it was contrary to the rules of chivalry to refuse grace to a conquered enemy. Charlemagne, who in the romances is represented as a perfect model of knightly courtesy, yielded to the arguments of the friends of peace, and inquired which of his peers would undertake to return with the ambassador, and bear back a suitable reply to the king Marsiles. Ganelon proffered his services, but Roland contemptuously declared him unfit for such a duty, and offered himself in his stead.

A warm debate arose in the council; Ganelon, irritated by the scorn with which Roland treated his pretensions, and indignant at some imputations on his fidelity and courage, said angrily to his rival, "Take care that some mischief does not overtake you." Roland, among whose virtuous qualities moderation can not be enumerated, replied, "Go to, you speak like a fool! We want men of sense to carry our messages; if the emperor pleases, I will go in your place." In great irritation Ganelon replied, "Charles is commander here; I submit myself to his will." At these words Roland burst into an immoderate fit of laughter;

but this act of discourtesy so offended the rest of the paladins, that with one voice they recommended Ganelon as the most suitable ambassador to be sent to Marsiles.

The Saracenic ambassador had received private information of the angry discussion which had taken place in the imperial council. As he returned to his court, he took every opportunity of reminding Ganelon of the insult he had received, and though he did not immediately succeed, he certainly weakened the paladin's loyalty, and led him secretly to deliberate on the possibility of obtaining revenge by means of treason. At his first interview with Marsiles, he maintained the pride and dignity of a French chevalier. "Charles is now old," said the Moorish monarch, "he must be close upon a hundred years of age; does he not think of taking some repose?" Ganelon firmly replied, "No! no! Charles is ever powerful; so long as he has round him the twelve peers of France, but particularly Oliver and Roland, Charles need not fear a living man." Subsequent conversations, however, enabled the Moorish monarch to work upon Ganelon's cupidity, and his jealousy of Roland, so effectually, that he agreed to supply him with such information as would enable him to cut off the rear of the Christian army, when it returned to Roncesvalles, according to the terms of the treaty.

Ganelon returned to the Christian camp, and informed the emperor that Marsiles had consented to become his vassal, and pay him tribute. Charles immediately gave orders that the army should return to France; he took the command of the van in person; the rear-guard intrusted with the care of the baggage and plunder, followed at a little distance through the passes of Roncesvalles.

In the meantime Marsiles had collected an immense army, consisting not merely of his own subjects, but of numerous auxiliaries from Barbary, Morocco, and the wild tribes in the interior of Africa. According to the instructions of Ganelon, he sent large detachments of his men to occupy the woods and mountains which overhung "the gloomy Roncesvalles' strait."

When the Christians were involved in the pass, they were suddenly attacked, at the same moment, in front, flank, and rear. Oliver clambered up a tree in order to discover the number of the enemy. Perceiving that their hosts were vastly superior to the French, he called out to Roland, "Brother in arms! the pagans are very numerous, and we Christians are few; if you sounded your horn the emperor Charles would bring us succor." Roland replied, "God forbid that my lineage should be dishonored by such a deed! I will strike with my good sword Durandel; and the pagans falling beneath my blows, will discover that they have been led hither by their evil fate." "Sound your horn, companion in arms!" reiterated Oliver; "the enemies hem us in on every side." "No!" repeated Roland, our Franks are gallant warriors; they will strike heavy blows, and cut through the host of the foul paynim." He then prepared his troops for action. Archbishop Turpin, perceiving that the fight would be desperate and bloody, commanded all the soldiers to kneel, and join in a general confession of faith, after which he bestowed upon them absolution, and his episcopal benediction.

The Christians made a gallant defence; but numbers finally tri-

umphed over valor. "Down went many a noble crest; cloven was many a plumed helmet. The lances were shivered in the grasp of Christendom's knights, and the swords dropped from their wearied arms." Turpin, Oliver, and Roland, still survived, and faintly maintained the fight. At length, Roland turning to Oliver, exclaimed, "I will sound my horn, Charles will hear us, and we may yet hope again to see our beloved France." "Oh! shame and disgrace," answered Oliver, "why did you not sound when first I asked you? The best warriors of France have been sacrificed to your temerity: we must die with them!" Turpin, however, insisted that the horn should be blown as a signal to the emperor; and Roland blew such a blast, that the blood spurted from his mouth, and his wounds, opened afresh, poured forth torrents. Charles, though thirty leagues distant, heard the sound, and said, "Our men are engaged at disadvantage; we must haste to their assistance." "I do not believe it," replied the traitor Ganelon, and dissuaded the emperor. Roland once more, with his dying breath, rung a wailing blast from the horn. Charles knew the character of the sound. "Evil has come upon us," he exclaimed; "those are the dying notes of my nephew Roland!" He hastily returned to Roncesvalles; but Roland, and all his companions, lay dead upon the plain, and the emperor could only honor their corpses with Christian burial.

Such are the salient points in the old romance, on which the song of Roland is founded. So late as the close of the fifteenth century the narrative was received as an historical fact; and when John, king of France, a little before the fatal battle of Poictiers, reproached his nobles that there were no Rolands to be found in his army, an aged knight replied, "Sire, Rolands would not be wanting, if we could find a Charlemagne."

The devastations of the Saxons, which recalled Charlemagne from Spain, exceeded anything which Europe had witnessed since the days of Attila. Witikind, prince of Westphalia, was the leader of this dangerous revolt; he had united his countrymen into one great national confederacy, and long maintained a desperate struggle against the whole strength of the French monarchy. He was at length irretrievably routed, and submitting to the conqueror, became a Christian. Several minor revolts in his extensive dominions troubled the reign of Charlemagne, but he quelled them all, and secured the tranquillity of Germany, both by subduing the Saxons, and destroying the last remnant of the barbarous Avars who had settled in Hungary. The brief intervals of tranquillity were spent by this wise monarch in extending the blessings of civilization to his subjects, by establishing schools, and patronising science and literature. In these labors he was assisted by Alcuin, an English monk, the most accomplished scholar of his age. Such was the fame of the French monarchy at this time, that embassies came to the court from the most distant contemporary sovereigns. The most remarkable was that sent from the renowned Harún-er-Rashíd, khaliph of Bagdad; among the presents they brought were some beautiful pieces of clock-work, which were regarded as something almost miraculous in western Europe, where the mechanical arts were still in their infancy.

But in the midst of these glories, Charlemagne was alarmed by the

appearance of a new enemy on the coasts of France, whose incursions, though repelled, filled the monarch's prescient mind with sad bodings of future danger. These were the Northmen, or Normans, pirates, from the distant shores of Scandinavia, whose thirst of plunder was stimulated by the desire of revenging the wrongs that their idolatrous brethren, the Saxons, had endured. At their first landing in France, they had scarcely time to commit any ravages, for they fled on the news of the dreaded king's approach. Charlemagne saw their departing ships without exultation; he burst into tears,* and predicted that these "sea-kings" would soon prove a dreadful scourge to southern Europe.

Probably about the same time that Charles was excited by the appearance of these pirates, whose ferocity and courage he had learned to dread during his expeditions into the north of Germany, three ships of a similar character to those described, entered one of the harbors on the southeastern coast of Britain, about a century and a half after the Anglo-Saxons had established their dominion over the southern part of the island, and given it the name of Angle-Land, or England.

Here the sight of the strange ships produced the same doubts as in France. The Saxon graf, or magistrate of the district, proceeded to the shore to inquire who these strangers were, and what they wanted. The foreigners, who had just disembarked, attacked him and his escort without provocation, slew them on the spot, pillaged the neighboring houses, and then returned to their vessels. Some time elapsed before it was discovered that these pirates were the Danes, or Normans, names with which the ears of Anglo-Saxons were destined soon to form a terrible familiarity.

Soon after the retreat of the Normans, Charlemagne was induced to visit Italy, both to quell the rebellion of the duke of Beneventum, and to rescue Pope Leo from his insurgent subjects. He succeeded in both enterprises, and the grateful pontiff solemnly crowned his benefactor Emperor of the West. A project was soon after formed for re-establishing the ancient Roman empire, by uniting Charlemagne to the Byzantine empress, Irene, but this was prevented by the factions of Constantinople; the degraded Greeks dreaded nothing so much as the vigorous administration of such a sovereign as the restorer of the Western Empire.

Charlemagne intended to divide his dominions equally between his three sons; but two of them died while the arrangements were in progress, and Louis, the weakest in mind and body, became sole heir to the empire. His claims were solemnly recognised in a national assembly of the Frank nobility, at Aix-la-Chapelle; soon after which, the emperor died, in the seventy-second year of his age, universally lamented throughout his extensive dominions.

* The monk of St. Gall tells us, that when Charlemagne was asked the cause of these tears, he replied, "My faithful friends, do you inquire why I weep thus bitterly? Assuredly it is not that I dread any annoyance to myself from the piracy of those wretches; but I am deeply affected to find that they have dared to visit these coasts even in my lifetime; and violent grief overwhelms me, when I look forward to the evils they will inflict on my subjects."

Section II.—*Decline and Fall of the Carlovingian Dynasty.*

The Western Empire, established by Charlemagne, extended from the Ebro in the west to the Elbe and Raab in the east, and from the dutchy of Beneventum and the Adriatic sea to the river Eyder, which separated the Germanic tribes from the Scandinavian hordes, or, as they began about this time to be called, the Danes and Normans. It consequently included all ancient Gaul, a great portion of Spain and Italy, several islands in the Mediterranean, especially Corsica, Sardinia, and the Baleares, western and northern Germany, with a considerable part of Pannonia, or Hungary. No other European power could compete with that of the Franks; the monarchies of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Russia, were not yet founded; England was still divided by the Heptarchy; the Saracenic empire in Spain was distracted by civil commotions, and the Christian kingdom of the Asturias was barely struggling into existence; finally, the Byzantine empire was sunk into hopeless lethargy, and owed its continued existence only to the decay of the spirit of enterprise among the Arabs, after the seat of the Khaliphate was removed to Bagdad. But the continuation of an empire including so many nations essentially different in interests, habits, and feelings, required a superior genius in the sovereign. Louis the Debonnaire, the son and successor of Charlemagne, was deficient in every quality that a ruler should possess; foolish, weak, and superstitious, he could not make himself beloved, and he failed to inspire fear. Yielding to the suggestions of his queen, Hermengarde, Louis sanctioned the murder of his nephew Bernard, and forced the three natural sons of Charlemagne to assume the clerical tonsure, by which they were for ever prevented from taking a share in temporal affairs. These crimes had scarcely been committed when Louis became the victim of remorse. Unable to stifle the reproaches of conscience, he appeared before the general assembly of his subjects, and publicly confessed that he had been deeply criminal in consenting to the murder of Bernard, and in forcing his brothers to enter religious orders; he humbly besought pardon from all present, solicited the aid of their prayers, and undertook a solemn penance. This strange scene rendered Louis contemptible in the eyes of his subjects; some doubted his sincerity, others questioned his motives, but all believed this public confession a needless sacrifice of the royal dignity.

Louis chose for his second wife, Judith, the daughter of a Bavarian count. His three sons were indignant at a marriage which threatened to produce new sharers in their inheritance, but nearly four years elapsed without any appearance of such an event. At length the empress gave birth to a child, afterward known as Charles the Bald, who was popularly said to be the son of her unworthy favorite, Bernard, count of Barcelona. The three former sons of Louis not only refused to acknowledge their new brother, but took up arms to force their father to dismiss his ministers and divorce his wife. After a desultory war Louis prevailed over his rebellious children, but the fatigues of campaigning broke down his feeble constitution, and put an end to his inglorious life. The seeds of discord were thickly sown during his life,

they were forced into maturity after his death by his unwise distribution of his dominions between his three sons.

Scarcely had Louis been laid in the grave, when his sons Louis the Germanic and Charles the Bald took up arms against their elder brother Lothaire, and engaged him in a general battle at Fontenay, which proved fatal to the flower of the ancient Frank nobility (A. D. 841). After a desultory war, the brothers finally agreed on a partition of the empire, by which Lothaire obtained Italy, and the eastern provinces of France; Louis received his father's Germanic dominions; and to Charles were assigned the provinces of France west of the Saône and the Rhone, together with the Spanish marches (A. D. 843). Thus Charles the Bald may be considered as the founder of the French monarchy properly so called, for hitherto the sovereigns of the Franks were Germans in language, customs, country, and blood. It is unnecessary to detail the petty revolutions in the family of Charlemagne; it is sufficient to say, that the empire was momentarily reunited under Charles the Fat, younger son of Louis the Germanic (A. D. 884), but he being deposed by his subjects, its dissolution became inevitable; from its fragments were formed the kingdoms of Italy, France, and Germany, with the states of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Navarre.

These new states owed their origin less to the disputes that convulsed the Carlovingian family than to the exorbitant power of the nobles, which had been increasing rapidly from the death of Charlemagne. The titles of duke and count were not in that age merely honorary; they conferred nearly despotic sway over the provinces. The great feudatories of the crown were invested, not merely with the administration of justice and regulation of police in their respective districts, but had also the command of the army and the direction of the revenue. It is easy to see that the union of such different and important departments of government in a single person must necessarily have been dangerous to royal authority, and constantly tempted ambitious nobles to proclaim their independence. Charlemagne saw this evil, and endeavored to abate the danger by dividing the great dutchies into several counties; but in the civil wars among his posterity, rival competitors, to secure the support of powerful feudatories, offered the restored dutchies as tempting bribes, and further weakened themselves by alienating the royal domains to secure the favor of the church. Taking advantage of this impolicy, the dukes and counts contrived to make their dignities hereditary; and this dangerous innovation was not only sanctioned by Charles the Bald, but extended to all fiefs (A. D. 877), in a parliament held at Chiersi, toward the close of his reign. The principle of inheritance, thus introduced, may be regarded as the foundation of the feudal system, and the source of the calamitous wars between rival nobles which convulsed all central and southwestern Europe.

The Normans, like the Saxons and Franks, were a branch of the great Teutonic race; but the conversion of the latter to Christianity was viewed by their brethren of the north as an act of treason against the national religion of Germany, and their indignation was still farther exasperated, by the tales of wrong and suffering related by the crowds of idolatrous Saxons, who fled to the isles of the Baltic from the merci-

less persecutions of Charlemagne. The maritime Teutones from the earliest ages were distinguished by their hardihood, their ardent passion for adventure, and their contempt of death. They navigated the dangerous seas of the north with more courage and freedom, than the Greeks and Romans exhibited in the Mediterranean; they did not despair when they lost sight of land; they did not come to anchor when clouds obscured the stars. On board every vessel there was a cast of hawks or ravens, and when the adventurers were uncertain in what direction the land lay, they let loose one of the birds, knowing that he would make with instinctive sagacity for the nearest coast, and by his flight they steered their course. Toward the close of the eighth century the Normans became formidable as pirates to western Europe: they particularly infested the coast of Britain, Ireland, and France. Their leaders assumed the proud title of sea-kings, though the limits of each royalty did not extend beyond the deck of a single vessel, and all superiority was at an end when the expedition was over. A sea-king had only to announce his intention of undertaking some buccaneering enterprise, and he was sure to find crowds of adventurous youth ready to volunteer their services as his associates. Whither the adventurous sea-king would steer, provided that there appeared a reasonable chance of plunder, was a matter of perfect indifference to him and his associates. They effected a landing when least expected; no mercy was shown to age or sex, the fate of those who submitted or resisted was alike, but the special objects of their vengeance were the clergy and the churches, because they regarded themselves as the avengers of the insults offered to Odin, and of the persecutions with which Christian sovereigns afflicted their worshippers in their dominions. Sir Walter Scott has drawn the character of an ancient sea-king with so much poetic force and historic truth, that the extract will supersede the necessity of further description.

"Count Witikind came of a regal strain,
And roved with his Norsemen the land and the main;
Wo to the realms which he coasted! for there
Was shedding of blood and rending of hair,
Rape of maiden and slaughter of priest,
Gathering of ravens and wolves to the feast!
When he hoisted his standard black,
Before him was battle, behind him wrack:
And he burned the churches, that heathen Dane,
To light his band to their barks again.

On Erin's shores was his outrage known,
The winds of France had his banners blown;
Little was there to plunder, yet still
His pirates had forayed on Scottish hill;
But upon merry England's coast,
More frequent he sailed, for he won the most.
So far and wide his ravage they knew,
If a sail but gleamed white 'gainst the welkin blue
Trumpet and bugles to arms did call,
Burghers hastened to man the wall;
Peasants fled inland his fury to scape,
Beacons were lighted on headland and cape;
Bells were tolled out, and aye as they rung
Fearful and faintly the gray brothers sung,
'Save us, St. Mary, from flood and from fire,
From famine and pest, and Count Witikind's ire.'"

Thierry has collected the principal characteristics of a sea-king from the Icelandic sagas. "He could govern a vessel as the good rider manages his horse, running over the oars while they were in motion. He would throw three javelins to the mast-head and catch them alternately in his hand without once missing. Equal under such a chief, supporting lightly their voluntary submission, and the weight of their coat-of-mail, which they promised themselves would soon be exchanged for an equal weight of gold, the pirates held their course gayly, as their old songs express it, along the track of the swans. Often were their fragile barks wrecked and dispersed by the north sea-storm, often did the rallying sign remain unanswered, but this neither increased the cares nor diminished the confidence of the survivors, who laughed at the wind and waves from which they had escaped unhurt. Their song in the midst of the tempest was:—

"The force of the storm helps the arms of our rowers,
The hurricane is carrying us the way which we should go."

Nearly all the information which we possess respecting these formidable pirates is derived from the *sagas*, or songs of the Skalds; these singular compositions are unlike any other form of literature, they are records of adventure in verse or measured prose, in which no notice is taken of historical events, and no regard paid to chronology.

The Skalds, or bards, were more honored by the Scandinavians than their priests; indeed it is doubtful whether they had any regular sacerdotal caste, or order. Some of their heroes prided themselves on defying the gods themselves; thus Gauthakor, when asked his religion, by Olaf the saint, who was anxious to introduce Christianity among his countrymen, replied: "My brothers in arms and I are neither Christians nor pagans. We have no faith but in our arms, and our strength to vanquish our enemies, and those we have ever found sufficient." So far was the character of a pirate or Vikingar from being disgraceful, that it was eagerly sought by men of the highest rank, and was only accorded to those who had given distinguished proofs both of their bravery in battle and their skill in navigation. An ancient law enacted, that a man in order to acquire glory for bravery, should attack a single enemy, defend himself against two, and not yield to three, but that he might without disgrace fly from four.

Every king, whether of sea or land, had a chosen band of champions, called Kempe; warriors pledged to the personal service of their chief, and whose only hope of advancement arose from the performance of some exploit, which common fame, and the songs of the Skalds, might spread over the north.

Each sea-king laid down the rules for the government of his own champions, and fame was assigned to him whose regulations were the most strict and rigorous. Thus we are told, that Half, and Hiorolf, the sons of a Norwegian king, both devoted themselves to maritime adventure, or, in plain terms, to piracy.

Hiorolf collected a great number for ships, which he manned with volunteers of every kind both of serfs and freemen; he was defeated in all his expeditions. On the other hand his brother Half had only one ship, but his crew were all picked men. They were at first but twenty-

three in number, all descended from kings; the troop was subsequently increased to sixty.

To obtain admission into the company, it was necessary that the champion should lift up a large stone which lay in the front of Half's residence, and which could not be moved by the force of twelve ordinary men. These champions were forbidden to take women and children, to seek a refuge during a tempest, or to dress their wounds before the battle was ended. Eighteen years Half's band carried terror to all the shores of western Europe. Finally, when the sea-king was returning to enjoy the wealth he had acquired, his vessel, overladen with plunder, appeared on the point of sinking within sight of the Norwegian shore. The brave crew immediately drew lots to determine who should throw themselves into the sea, for the purpose of saving their chief and the cargo; those on whom the lot fell, instantly jumped overboard and swam to shore, while the vessel relieved of the weight reached the harbor in safety.

Sometimes these warriors, like the Malays in Java, were seized with a kind of phrensy, either arising from an excited imagination, or from the use of stimulating liquors. In this state they were called "*berserker*," a word of frequent occurrence in the sagas. While under the influence of this madness, the champions committed the wildest extravagances; they danced about, foamed at the mouth, struck indiscriminately at friends and foes, destroyed their own property, and like the mad Orlando waged war against inanimate nature, tearing up rocks and trees. Sivald, king of Sweden, had five sons, all of whom became *berserker;* when the fit was on them they used to swallow burning coals and throw themselves into the fire. They and their father were slain by Halfdan, whom Sivald had previously dethroned, the nation having become impatient of the extravagances of the frantic princes. Halfdan had a contest with another berserker, named Hartben, who came to attack him accompanied by twelve champions. Hartben was a formidable pirate, but when the fit was on him it was as much as his twelve companions could do to prevent him devastating everything around him. Halfdan challenged the pirate and his entire crew. Such an insult so inflamed Hartben, that he was immediately seized with a fit of phrensy, during which he killed six of his companions; he rushed against the king with the remaining six, but the pirates were slain, by the irresistible blows of the mace of Halfdan.

The sons of Arngrim, king of Helegoland, the most celebrated pirates of their age, are described as suffering severely from the *berserk* madness; when under its influence they slaughtered their crews and destroyed their shipping: sometimes they landed on desert places and vented their fury on the stocks and stones. After the fit was over they lay quite senseless from sheer exhaustion.

A sea-king rarely condescended to the blandishments of courtship. If he heard of any noble or royal damsel celebrated for beauty, he at once demanded her from her father, and if refused, equipped a vessel to take her away by force. He generally brought away, if successful, her dowry at the same time, and thus could boast of a double victory.

A Swedish pirate named Gunnar, having heard the Skalds celebrate

the charms of Moalda, a Norwegian princess, sent to her father Regnald a peremptory demand for the fair lady's hand. Regnald rejected such a suitor with scorn, but aware of the consequences of a refusal, he made instant preparations for defence. Before marching against the pirates, he had a cavern hollowed out in the mountains, within which he concealed the princess and his choicest treasures, leaving her a proper supply of provisions. Scarcely were his arrangements completed than the fierce Gunnar appeared off the coast; Regnald met the pirates on the shore, a desperate battle ensued, and the king was slain. After his victory Gunnar sought out the place where Moalda was concealed, and carried away the princess with her treasures to Sweden. A second and a third conquest of this kind often followed the first, for polygamy was sufficiently common among these adventurers. The ladies themselves could not view with indifference heroes who risked their lives to obtain their hands, and whose exploits, immortalized by the Skalds, were sung in all the islands and in all families.

France suffered most severely from their hostilities; their light barks ascended the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone, carrying fire and sword into the very centre of the kingdom. Most of the principal cities were laid waste; Paris itself was thrice taken and pillaged; and the French, at length losing all courage, refused to meet the northern warriors in the field, but purchased their retreat with large bribes. This remedy was necessarily as inefficacious as it was disgraceful, for it stimulated the barbarians to fresh incursions in the assured hope of gain. Nor were the Normans regardless of permanent conquests; Ruric, a leader of their adventurous bands, founded the Russian monarchy toward the close of the ninth century; Iceland was colonized, and the greater part of Ireland subdued, at a still earlier period; and the northern and western islands of Scotland were successively occupied as convenient stations for their piratical navies. Finally, they obtained fixed establishments in France; the province of Neustria, now called Normandy, was ceded to Rolf or Rollo, the chief of a large horde of these northern pirates, by Charles the Simple (A. D. 912); the province gained great advantages by the exchange, for Rollo becoming a Christian, was baptized by the name of Robert, and applied himself with equeal diligence and success to improve the condition of his new subjects.

Charles also ceded to Rollo all the pretensions of the crown to that part of Brittany which no longer recognised the sovereignty of the kings of France, and Rollo came to the borders of his new province to perform liege homage and confirm the articles of peace. The Norman swore allegiance to Charles, who in return presented his daughter to the adventurer, and gave him the investiture of Neustria. The French prelates, who assumed the regulation of the ceremonials employed on all solemn occasions, had introduced the degrading prostrations of the Orientals into the forms of European homage; they now informed Rollo that after receiving a gift of so much value, he should on his bended knees kiss the feet of the king. "Never," replied the haughty barbarian, "will I bend my knees before another mortal—never will I kiss the foot of man." As the prelates, however, were urgent, he ordered one of his soldiers to perform the ceremony in his stead. The

soldier advancing, rudely seized the foot of Charles, and by a sudden jerk threw the monarch on the ground. The Normans who witnessed the transaction, applauded their comrade's insolence, while the French nobles deemed it prudent to conceal their indignation. The ceremony was continued as if nothing had happened; the several Norman lords took the usual oaths of allegiance, after which the king returned to Laon. He had chosen this city for his capital, because Paris was included in the fief of one of the great vassals of the crown.

The establishment of the Normans in Neustria put an end to the system of piracy and plunder which for more than a century had devastated western Europe; the repetition of pillage had so wasted Germany, Gaul, and Britain, that the plunder to be acquired no longer repaid the hazards of an expedition, and as war was no longer profitable, Rollo resolved to cultivate the arts of peace. To prevent the future incursions of his countrymen, he fortified the mouths of the rivers, restored the walls of the cities, and kept his subjects in constant military training. Under Rollo the feudal system, which had been slowly forming, received its full development; immediately after his baptism, he divided the lands of Neustria among his principal followers, to each of whom he gave the title of count, and these counts subdivided the land among their soldiers. The Normans displayed the same ardor in cultivating their new estates which they had formerly shown in devastating them; the peasants resumed the cultivation of their fields; the priests restored their ruined churches; the citizens resumed their trading occupations; strangers were invited from every country to cultivate the waste lands: and the most rigorous laws were enacted for the protection of person and property. Robberies were so efficiently checked, that Rollo, as a bravado, hung up a golden bracelet in a forest near the Seine, which remained untouched for three years.

While the Normans devastated the coasts, central Europe was devastated by the Hungarians, or, as they called themselves, the Magyars, who extended their ravages into Greece and Italy. Germany suffered most from their hostilities, and was the longest exposed to their fury. These incursions, to which must be added occasional enterprises of the Sclavonians and Saracens, destroyed the political institutions that Charlemagne had formed, and threw Christendom back into the barbarism from which it had just begun to emerge. England, under the government of Alfred, for a brief space preserved the elements of civilization; he expelled the Normans from the island (A. D. 887), restored the ancient seminaries of learning, and founded new schools. But his glorious reign was followed by fresh calamities; the Danish-Normans reappeared in England, and spread trouble and desolation throughout the country.

From the reign of Charles the Bald, the royal authority rapidly declined in France, while the power of the feudal lords constantly increased. The dukes and counts, usurping regal rights, raised, on the slightest, or without any provocation, the standard of revolt: the kings, to gain some, and secure the allegiance of others, abandoned to them successively the most valuable royal domains and privileges, until the Carlovingian monarchs, so far from being able to counterbalance the power of the nobility, were unable to support the expenses of their own

courts. A change of dynasty was thus rendered inevitable, and the throne was certain to fall to the lot of the most powerful or most daring of the nominal vassals. This event, which had been long foreseen, took place on the death of Louis the Sluggard, the last of the Carlovingian dynasty, who died without issue at the early age of twenty (A. D. 987). Hugh Capet possessed already the centre of the kingdom; he was count of Paris, duke of France and Neustria, while his brother Henry held the dutchy of Burgundy. It was not difficult for so powerful a noble to form a party, by whose favor he was invested with the title, after having long enjoyed the power of royalty (A. D. 987). Charles of Lorraine, the late king's uncle, took up arms in defence of his hereditary rights; but he was betrayed to his rival by the bishop of Laon, and ended his days in prison. Hugh became the founder of the Capetian dynasty in France, a branch of which still retains possession of that crown. But for many years after the accession of Hugh Capet, France was an aristocratic republic rather than a monarchy, for the royal authority was merely nominal. The domains of the count of Paris were indeed annexed to the crown, and thus the Capetians had greater territorial possessions, and consequently greater influence, than the Carlovingians. But the peers of France, as the great feudatories were called, still preserved their independence: and their tacit assent to Hugh's usurpation was anything rather than a recognition of his authority. In the south of France, Languedoc, no notice was taken of Hugh's elevation; and the inhabitants for many years dated their public acts by the nominal reigns of the children of Charles of Lorraine.

SECTION III.—*The Foundation of the Germanic Empire.*

FROM the first foundation of the Germanic empire by the treaty of Verdun, the royal authority was extremely limited, and Louis, its monarch, was obliged to swear in a national assembly, held at Marone (A. D. 851), that "he would maintain the states in all their rights and privileges." His youngest son, Charles the Fat, was deposed by his subjects; and Arnold, the natural son of Prince Carloman, was elected to the vacant throne. The custom of electing emperors was thus established in Germany, and it continued almost to our own times. Arnold was succeeded by his son Louis; the states chose Conrad, duke of Franconia, as his successor, to the exclusion of Charles the Simple, king of France, the legitimate heir male of the Carlovingians. On the death of Conrad, the states elected Henry, surnamed the Fowler, as his successor (A. D. 919), the first of the Saxon dynasty of kings and emperors.

Henry I., by his civil and military institutions, raised Germany to the highest rank among the states of Europe. Profiting by the intestine commotions of France, he conquered the province of Lorraine, which he divided into two dutchies, that of Upper Lorraine, or the Moselle, and that of Lower Lorraine, or Brabant. The former retained the name of Lorraine; it was long governed by the family of Gerard, duke of Alsace, whose descendants obtained the Germanic empire in the eighteenth century. Brabant was assigned to Godfrey, count of Louvain, whose descendants retained it, with the title of duke, until, on

the failure of male heirs, it passed by marriage into the hands of the dukes of Burgundy, who thus found means to render themselves masters of a great portion of the Netherlands. Henry successfully repelled the invasions of the Sclavonians and Hungarians; by the defeat of the latter he freed the Germans from the disgraceful tribute with which they had been compelled to purchase the forbearance of these barbarians, and the memory of his victory was annually commemorated by a grateful people for several succeeding centuries.

The great merits of Henry secured the election of his son Otho to the Germanic throne. His reign was disturbed by frequent revolts of the powerful feudatories; their faction and insubordination effectually prevented him from giving his subjects a code of laws, the great object of his ambition; he was forced to yield to the turbulent spirit of the times, and leave some more fortunate sovereign to gather the laurels of a legislator. One incident will serve to mark the character of the age better than any labored dissertation. During one of the national assemblies or diets, it was debated "whether children could inherit the property of their fathers during the lifetime of their grandfathers." After a long discussion, in which the point became more obscure than ever, it was gravely resolved to leave the matter to the decision of a duel. An equal number of combatants, chosen on both sides, entered the lists; the champions of the children prevailed, and thenceforward the law of inheritance was considered to be fixed.

Italy had been raised into a kingdom after the partition of the Carlovingian dynasty, and several of its princes had taken the imperial title; but the government of these feeble rulers exposed the peninsula to dreadful calamities; it was harassed by the private wars of the nobles, and devastated by invasions of the Hungarians and Saracens. Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, king of Italy, menaced with the loss of her dominions by Berenger, or Berengarius the Younger, supplicated the aid of Otho, and her request was strenuously supported by Pope John XII. (A. D. 951). Otho passed into Italy, conquered several of the strongest cities, and gave his hand in marriage to the queen whom he had come to protect. Berenger was permitted to retain the crown of Italy on condition of doing homage to Otho; but the tyranny and faithlessness of this prince excited such commotions, that the German sovereign was once more summoned to cross the Alps by the united entreaties of the Italian princes and prelates. Otho entered Italy at the head of an army which his rival could not resist; he marched directly to Rome, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm (A. D. 962). The pope revived in his favor the imperial title, which had been thirty-eight years in abeyance, proclaimed him Augustus, crowned him emperor of the Romans, and acknowledged him Supreme Head of the Church. But the pontiff's gratitude was not of long duration; enraged by the emperor's remonstrances against his vicious courses, he took advantage of Otho's absence in pursuit of Berenger to enter into alliance with Adelbert, the son of his ancient enemy, to form a secret league for the expulsion of the Germans from Italy.

Otho heard the intelligence of John's treachery with great indignation; he returned to Rome, held a council, in which the pope was accused of the most scandalous immoralities, and on his refusal to

appear, he was condemned as contumacious, deposed, and a new pontiff, Leo VIII., elected in his stead. All Italy, as far as the ancient kingdom of the Lombards extended, thus fell under the sway of the Germans; there were only some maritime places in Lower Italy which, with Apulia and Calabria, still remained subject to the Greeks. Otho transmitted this kingdom, with the imperial dignity, to his successors on the German throne; but from his reign to that of Maximilian I., no prince took the title of emperor until he had been consecrated by the pope. Maximilian designated himself "Emperor Elect" (A. D. 1508), and his example was followed by his successors down to our times.

Otho I. died after a prosperous reign (A. D. 975), and was succeeded by his son Otho II. His reign was occupied in sanguinary wars, which harassed Germany and Italy. Otho having married the Greek princess Theophano, claimed the provinces of Apulia and Calabria as her dowry. After a tedious struggle, the emperor was mortally wounded by a poisoned javelin in a battle with the Greeks (A. D. 983). His death is said to have been accelerated by indignation at the joy which Theophano showed for the victory of her countrymen, though it was obtained over her own husband.

Otho III., when elected successor to his father, was only twelve years of age; ambitious rivals prepared to dispute his title, but the affection of the Germans for his family enabled him to triumph over all opposition. His authority was more fiercely questioned in Italy, where Crescentius, an ambitious noble, became such a favorite with the Roman populace, that he deposed Pope Gregory, and gave the pontifical dignity to John XVI. Otho hastened to Italy, captured Rome, and put both Crescentius and John to death. These severities did not quell the turbulence of the Italians; fresh insurrections soon compelled the emperor to return to the peninsula, where he was poisoned by the widow of Crescentius, whom he had seduced under a promise of marriage (A. D. 1002). He died without issue.

After some competition, the electors chose Henry, duke of Bavaria, descended from the Othos in the female line, emperor of the West. His reign was disturbed by repeated insurrections, both in Germany and Italy; he succeeded in quelling them, but was so wearied by these repeated troubles, that he seriously designed to abdicate and retire into a monastery. The clergy took advantage of his piety and liberality to extort from him several rich donations, which proved, in an after age, the cause of much evil. His death (A. D. 1024) put an end to the Saxon dynasty.

Conrad II., duke of Franconia, being chosen by the electors, united the kingdom of Burgundy, or, as it was called, Arles, to the empire. But this was an acquisition of little real value; the great vassals of the kingdom, the counts and bishops, preserved the authority they had usurped in their respective districts, leaving the emperors a merely nominal sovereignty. It is even probable that the high authority possessed by the Burgundian lords, induced the German nobles to arrogate to themselves the same prerogatives. The power of the clergy was increasing even more rapidly than that of the nobles, for they extorted fresh privileges and grants from every successive sovereign; Conrad,

who was naturally of a generous disposition,* impoverished the state by imitating the unwise liberality of his predecessors. Italy, during this reign and that of Conrad's son and successor, Henry III., continued to be distracted by rival factions; but Henry was an energetic supporter of the imperial authority; he deposed three rival popes, who claimed succession to St. Peter at the same time, and gave the pontifical chair to a German prelate, Clement II. He even exacted an oath from the Romans, that they would never elect a pope without having previously received the imperial sanction. The imperial power, wielded by an energetic monarch like Henry, was still formidable, but its resources were exhausted; and when a feebler sovereign attempted to exercise the sway over the church which his father had held, he found the papacy stronger than the empire.

The great struggle between the papal and imperial power began in the reign of Henry IV., whose long minority, for he succeeded his father when only five years old, necessarily weakened the influence of the sovereign. On the other hand, the circumstances of Europe, at this crisis, were peculiarly favorable to the policy of the popes. The Saxon line, restored in England by Edward the Confessor, had lost its nationality: Edward conferred the chief ecclesiastical dignities of his kingdom on foreigners, or persons remarkable for their foreign attachments; and thus those who wielded the power of the church in the island, were more like missionaries, laboring for the benefit of a distant see, than clergymen, attentive only to their flocks. In Spain, the new provinces wrested from the Moors, when the unity of their empire was destroyed by the subversion of the Ommiade khaliphs, became closely attached to the Roman see. The spread of Christianity in Norway, Poland, Russia, and the other northern states, gave additional vigor to the papal power; for the Northerns, with all the zeal of new converts, became eager to prove their sincerity by some enterprise in support of the pontiff, whom they regarded as the great director of their faith.

But the most potent allies obtained by the church were the Normans of England and Italy. William, the natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy, had been nominated heir of the English throne by Edward the Confessor, who had no right to make any such appointment. Harold, the son of Godwin, earl of Kent, was the favorite of the English people, and it was generally known that he would be elected to the throne on the death of the confessor. Unfortunately Harold's brother was detained as a hostage in Normandy, and in spite of the warnings of King Edward, he crossed the sea in order to obtain his deliverance. The vessel in which the Saxon chief crossed the channel was wrecked near the mouth of the Somme, and, according to the barbarous custom of the age, the court of Ponthieu seized upon the shipwrecked strangers, and threw them into prison, for the purpose of obtaining large ransom. Harold and his companions appealed to Duke William, who procured their liberation, and invited them to his court. A grand council of the Norman prelates and nobles was then convoked, in whose presence

* Many remarkable anecdotes are related of Conrad's generosity; one deserves to be recorded. A gentleman having lost his leg in the imperial service, Conrad ordered that his boot should be filled with gold coins, to defray the expenses of his cure.

William required Harold to swear that he would support with all his might William's succession to the crown of England, so soon as a vacancy should be created by the death of Edward. Harold's life was in the duke's power, and he consented to take the oath, secretly resolving to violate its obligations. But an artifice was employed, which, in that superstitious age, was supposed to give the oath such sanctity as to render its violation an inexpiable crime. By the duke's orders, a chest was secretly conveyed into the place of meeting, filled with the bones and relics of the saints most honored in the surrounding country, and covered with a cloth of gold. A missal was laid upon the cloth, and at William's summons Harold came forward and took the required oath, the whole assembly joining in the imprecation, "So help you God, at his holy doom." When the ceremony was concluded, the cloth of gold was removed, and Harold shuddered with superstitious horror when he found that his oath had been taken on the relics of saints and martyrs.

On Edward's death, Harold, notwithstanding his oath, allowed himself to be elected king by the English nobles and people; but the papal clergy refused to recognise his title, the pope issued a bull excommunicating Harold and his adherents, which he sent to Duke William, accompanied by a consecrated banner, and a ring, said to have contained one of St. Peter's hairs, set under a valuable diamond. Thus supported by the superstitious feelings of the period, William found no difficulty in levying a numerous army, with which he passed over into England. The fate of the kingdom was decided by the battle of Hastings, in which Harold and his bravest soldiers fell. William found little difficulty in completing the conquest of England, into which he introduced the inheritance of fiefs, and the severities of the feudal law. He deprived the native English nobles of their estates, which he shared among his own needy and rapacious followers, and he treated his new subjects with more than the cruelty that barbarous conquerors usually display toward the vanquished.

About the same time, some Norman adventurers laid the foundation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in southern Europe. The provinces that compose it were shared among the Lombard feudatories of the empire, the Greeks, and the Saracens, who harassed each other with mutual wars. About a hundred Normans landing on the coast (A. D. 1016), offered their services to the Lombard princes, and displayed so much valor, that they obtained from the duke of Naples a grant of territory, where they built the city of Aversa. Encouraged by their success, Tancred, with another body of Norman adventurers, undertook the conquest of Apulia, which was completed by his son, Robert Guiscard. This warrior subdued Calabria also, and took the title of duke of both provinces. To secure his possessions, he entered into alliance with the pope, securing to the pontiff homage, and an annual tribute, on condition of receiving investiture. Nicholas II., who then filled the chair of St. Peter, willingly ratified a treaty by which the papacy gained important advantages, at the price of an empty title; he stimulated Guiscard to undertake the conquest of Sicily also, an enterprise in which that adventurer completely succeeded. Thus, at the moment that the papacy was about to struggle for power with the empire, the former had been strengthened by the accession of powerful

allies and vassals, while the latter had given away the greater part of its strength by the alienation of its domains, to gratify the church, or to win the favor of feudatories whose influence was already formidable.

SECTION IV.—*State of the East from the Establishment to the Overthrow of the Khaliphate.*

THE history of the Byzantine empire, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, is little better than a tissue of usurpation, fanaticism, and perfidy. "Externally surrounded by foes, superior in numbers, in discipline, and in valor, it seemed as if its safety was guarantied by cowardice, and its security confirmed by defeat. Internally were at work all the causes that usually effect the destruction of states: dishonor and profligacy triumphant in the palace; ferocious bigotry, based at once on enthusiasm and hypocrisy, ruling the church; civil dissensions, equally senseless and bloody, distracting the state; complete demoralization pervading every rank, from the court to the cottage; so that its existence seemed owing to the antagonising effect of the causes that singly produce the ruin of empires." In the tenth century these causes seemed to have reached their consummation; emperor after emperor perished by poison, or the dagger of the assassin; parricide and fratricide were crimes of such ordinary occurrence, that they ceased to excite feelings of horror or disgust. Theological disputes, about questions that pass the limits of human knowledge, and a jealous rivalry between the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome, produced a division between the eastern and western churches, which the disputes respecting the Bulgarians aggravated into a formal schism. These barbarians were converted to Christianity by Greek and Latin missionaries; the patriarch and the pope contended for the patronage of the new ecclesiastical establishments; the Greeks prevailed in the contest, and forthwith banished their Latin adversaries, while the court of Rome took revenge by describing the Greeks as worse than the worst of the heathen. A brief display of vigor by Nicephorus, Phocus, and John Zimisces, arrested the progress of the Saracens, who were forming permanent establishments within sight of Constantinople. But Zimisces was poisoned at the very moment when his piety, courage, and moderation, had averted impending ruin, and promised to restore some portion of the empire's former strength and former glory. His feeble successors swayed the sceptre with unsteady hands, at a time when the empire was attacked by the fiercest enemies it had yet encountered, the Normans in Sicily, and the Seljukian Turks in Asia Minor.

The names Turk and Tartar are loosely given to the inhabitants of those regions which ancient authors included under the designation of Scythia. Their uncivilized tribes possessed the countries north of the Caucasus and east of the Caspian, from the river Oxus to the wall of China: hordes issuing from these wide plains had frequently devastated the empire of Persia, and more than once placed a new race of sovereigns on the throne. It was not, however, until the eighth century that they were themselves invaded in turn; the Saracens, in the first burst of their enthusiasm, passed the Oxus, subdued Kharasm and Transoxiana, and imposed the religion and law of Mohammed on a race of

warriors more fiery and zealous than themselves. Soon after the establishment of the khaliphate at Bagdad, the Saracenic empire began to be dismembered, as we have already stated, and the khaliphs, alarmed by the revolt of their armies, and surrounded only by subjects devoted to the arts of peace, began to intrust the guard of their persons and their capital to foreign mercenaries. Al Moutassem was the first who levied a Turkish army to protect his states (A. D. 833); and even during his reign, much inconvenience was felt from the pride and insolence of soldiers unconnected with the soil they were employed to defend. The evil went on daily increasing, until the emirs, or Turkish commanders, usurped all the real authority of the state, leaving to the khaliphs the outward show and gewgaws of sovereignty, with empty titles, whose pomp was increased as the authority they pretended to represent was diminished. The revolution was completed in the reign of Al Khadi (A. D. 936); hoping to arrest the progress of the revolution, he created a new minister, called the Emir-al-Omra,* to whom far greater powers were given than had been intrusted to the ancient viziers. This, as might have been expected, aggravated the evil it was designed to prevent. The family of the Bowides, so called from their ancestor Buyáh, usurped this high office and the sovereignty of Bagdad; the khaliph was deprived of all temporal authority, and was regarded simply as the chief Imán, or pontiff of the Mohammedan faith.

Such was the state of the khaliphate, when a new horde from the interior of Turkestán appeared to change the entire face of Asia. This horde, deriving its name from Seljúk, one of its most renowned chiefs, was invited to cross the Oxus by the Ghaznevid† sultans,‡ who had already established a powerful kingdom in the east of Persia, and subdued the north of Hindostan. The Seljukians finding the pasturages of Khorassan far superior to those of their native country, invited new colonies to the fertile land; they soon became so powerful that Togrul Beg proclaimed himself a sultan, and seized several of the best provinces belonging to the khaliphate. Finally, having taken Bagdad, he became master of the khaliph's person (A. D. 1055) and succeeded to the power which had formerly been possessed by the Bowides. Togrul transmitted his authority to his nephew and heir, the formidable Alp Arslan.§ This prince renewed the war against the Greek empire, obtained a signal victory over its forces in Armenia, and took the emperor,

* "Lord of the lords," or "Commander of the commanders."

† The Ghaznevid dynasty was founded by Sebektagén, who is said to have been originally a slave (A. D. 977). But his fame is eclipsed by that of his son Mahmúd, whose conquests in northern India rival those of a hero of romance. His desire of conquest was rendered more terrible to those he attacked by his cruel bigotry, for in every country that he subdued, the horrors of war were increased by those of religious persecution. At his death, the empire of Ghizni included a great part of Persia, Afghanistan, and northern India, to the provinces of Bengal and the Deccan. But the rise of this great dynasty was not more rapid than its downfall, which we may date from the death of that monarch, to whom it owes all its lustre in the page of history (A. D. 1028). Little more than a century after Mohammed's death, the last of the Ghaznevids was deposed by Mohammed Gourí, the founder of a new dynasty, equally transitory as that which it displaced.

‡ The title of sultan, which in the Chaldaic and Arabic languages signifies a sovereign, was first assumed by the Ghaznevid princes.

§ His name signifies the Conquering Lion.

Romanus Diogenes, prisoner (A. D. 1070). The distractions produced by this event in the Byzantine dominions, enabled the Turks not only to expel the Greeks from Syria, but also to seize some of the finest provinces in Asia Minor.

Under Malek Shah, the son and successor of Alp Arslan, the Seljukian monarchy touched the summit of its greatness. This wise prince extended his dominions from the Mediterranean to the wall of China. Guided by the wise counsels of the vizier, Nezam-al-Mulk, the sultan ruled this mighty empire with great justice and moderation, Asia enjoyed tranquillity, to which it had been long unaccustomed, and learning and civilization began to revive.

In the midst of this prosperity, a circumstance occurred, which, though little noticed at the time, became the source of unparalleled misfortunes to the east. This was the seizure of the mountain-castle of Alamút, and the foundation of the order of the Assassins, by Hassan Sabah. This formidable enthusiast had become a convert to the Ismaëlian doctrines, in which the creed of Islam was mingled with the darker and more gloomy superstitions of Asiatic paganism. His followers, persuaded that obedience to the commands of their chief would ensure their eternal felicity, never hesitated to encounter any danger in order to remove his enemies. Emissaries from the formidable Sheikh al Jebal* went in disguise to palaces and private houses, watching the favorable opportunity of striking the blow, to those who had provoked the hostility of their grand master. So dreadful was this scourge that oriental historians, during a long period of their annals, terminate their account of each year with a list of the men of note who had fallen victims during its course to the daggers of the assassins. After the death of Malek Shah (A. D. 1092), disputes arose between his sons, which led to sanguinary civil wars, and the dismemberment of the empire. Three powerful sultanies were formed from its fragments, namely, Iran, Kerman, and Rúm, or Iconium. That of Iran was the most powerful, for it possessed the rich provinces of Upper Asia, but its greatness soon declined. The emirs, or governors of cities and provinces, threw off their allegiance, and under the modest title of Atta-begs,† exercised sovereign authority. The Seljukians of Rúm, known to the crusaders as the Sultans of Nice, or Iconium,‡ were first raised into notice by Soleiman. Their history is important only from its connexion with that of the crusades. These divisions were the cause of the success which attended the early wars of the Christians in Palestine, and of the qualified independence of the late khaliphs, who shook off the Seljúkian yoke, and established themselves in the sovereignty of Irak Arabi, or the province of Bagdad.

* "Lord of the Mountain;" from the equivocal sense of the Arabic word *Sheikh*, the name is commonly translated "Old Man of the Mountain."

† *Atta-beg* is a Turkish word, and signifies "father or guardian of the prince."

‡ Cogni, or Iconium, is a city of Lycaonia, which these sultans made their capital, after Nice had been taken by the crusaders.

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH OF THE PAPAL POWER.

Section I.—*The Origin of the Papacy.*

There is nothing more remarkable in the clerical organization of Christianity at its first institution, than its adaptation to all times and all circumstances. Without entering into any controverted question, we may generally state, that in the infant church provision was made for self-government on the one hand, and general superintendence on the other; and that, before the gospel was preached beyond the bounds of Judæa, the two great principles of the independence of national churches, and the authority of a council to ensure the unity of the faith, were fully recognised. Infidels have endeavored to trace the form of church government to Constantine, though the slightest glance at the history of the preceding age suffices to prove that the ecclesiastical constitution was, long before that emperor's accession, perfected in all its parts. The management belonged to the local priesthood, the government to the bishops, the superintendence of all to the council. This is the general outline of the apostolic model, and we may see in it one mark, at least, of a more than human origin, its capability of unlimited expansion.

The best institutions are open to abuse, and the Christian clergy were exposed to two different lines of temptation, both, however, tending to the same point, acquisition of power. The emperors of Constantinople endeavored to make the clergy their instruments in establishing a perfect despotism, while the people looked upon their spiritual guides as their natural protectors against the oppressions of their temporal rulers. Under these circumstances, episcopacy formed a new power in the empire, a power continually extending, because it was soon obvious that a common faith was the only bond which would hold together nations differing in language, institutions, and blood. But this political use of Christianity naturally suggested a gross and dangerous perversion of its first principles; when unity of faith appeared to be of such great value, it was natural that toleration should be refused to any great difference of opinion, and consequently, persecuting edicts were issued against paganism and heresy. This false step led to a still more dangerous confusion between spiritual and temporal power; when ecclesiastical censures produced civil consequences, the priest was identified with the magistrate, and every hour it became more difficult to separate their functions. In the decline of the empire also, the

temporal power was deservedly hated and despised; a profligate court, a venal magistracy, and a cowardly soldiery, constituted the ordinary materials of the imperial government; and, compared with these, the sacerdotal body, in the worst stage of its degradation, had powerful claims to respect, if not to esteem.

It is of importance to remember that the corruption of the episcopal power was produced by the general corruption of the empire, and consequently, instead of furnishing an argument against episcopacy as an institution, it may rather be urged as a proof of its excellence. The church had fallen, indeed, from its original purity, but the state was a mass of unmixed evils; ecclesiastical power was frequently abused, but the temporal authorities scarcely went right by accident; whatever principles of justice and rectitude remained in the world, owed their conservation to the Christian clergy; and to the examples of ecclesiastical traffic there might easily be opposed a longer and more honorable list of instances, in which bishops supported the dignity of their order, by protecting the interests of morality against the craft of courtiers and the vices of sovereigns.

While the discipline of the church was injured by the clergy having temporal power forced upon them—in the first instance at least—without their solicitation, the doctrines of Christianity were corrupted by a practice arising from the best feelings of our nature. The saints and martyrs who had faced danger, torture, and death, to promulgate Christianity, were remembered with just gratitude, when that religion became triumphant. Their bones were removed from unhonored graves to tombs more worthy of their virtues, and a generation enjoying the advantages that their toils and their blood had purchased, testified its thankfulness by rich offerings at their shrines. Thus the avaricious and the designing were tempted to multiply the number of relics, and to exaggerate their importance, until the feeling of thankful reverence was gradually changed into one of religious adoration. These steps in the progress of error were easy, they were likewise profitable; crafty men propagated stories of miracles wrought at the tombs of the martyrs, prayers were soon addressed to persons supposed to be possessed of such supernatural powers, the invocation of saints and the worship of relics naturally led to the introduction of images and pictures, and to the revival of many pagan ceremonies, which had, perhaps, never fallen into complete oblivion.

But an ecclesiastical establishment must not bear the entire blame of the introduction of image-worship into the Christian church. The desire of possessing representations of those whom we venerate is natural to the human mind; and in an age of ignorance, the symbols of a creed were found useful aids in teaching the multitude the historical facts of Christianity. It must, however, be observed, that the ignorance and credulity of the laity had a far greater share in leading to a corrupt use of images, than the craft of the clergy: the perversion was in many, perhaps in most instances, forced upon the priesthood by the flock, and it was still further supported by the monastic bodies, which have in every age been the most prominent among the originators and supporters of every superstition.

The monastics were the first who introduced what is called the

voluntary principle, into the Christian church; they were also the first to allow self-ordained instructers to interfere with the duties of the proper pastors. Fanaticism and superstition were the necessary results of these disturbing forces, and by none was the progress of evil more seriously lamented than by the parochial clergy and the regular bishops.

The charge of idolatry was justly urged against the Christian church in the beginning of the eighth century, both by the Jews and the Mohammedans. The latter were far the more formidable, for to the arguments of truth they added the weight of victory. There was scarcely an eastern city which was not fortified by the possession of some miraculous image, supposed to be the palladium of its safety; but in spite of this protection they had fallen, one after the other, into the hands of the Mussulmans. Ashamed of the reproaches they encountered, and convinced practically of the insufficiency of these objects of their devotion, many of the eastern bishops began to oppose the worship of images, but their exertions were rendered unavailing, by the influence and obstinacy of the monks, until Leo the Isaurian ascended the throne of Constantinople.

A fierce struggle ensued: the Iconoclasts, as the opposers of images were called, made a vigorous effort to restore the purity of the Christian worship, and at the synod of Constantinople (A. D. 754) three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed a unanimous decree, that "all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a revival of paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to give up the objects of their private superstition, should be deemed guilty of disobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor."

The enemies of the Iconoclasts have spared no terms of reproach in denouncing the proceedings of this synod, but an impartial view of the authentic relics of its proceedings, which have been preserved, proves that its members displayed more of reason and piety than could have been expected in their age. They seem, indeed, to have felt that they were fighting the battle of episcopacy against monachism, and that the safety of their order was compromised by the assumptions of volunteer instructers; but they made no direct attack upon monastic institutions, and only assailed the abuses which they encouraged.

Six successive emperors supported the cause of reason and religion against idolatry in the eastern church, but the worshippers of images finally triumphed. Still, down to a very late period, there were prelates in the East who resisted the corruption, and the Armenians especially refused to admit images into their churches even in the twelfth century. But the contest was decided much sooner in western Europe, by the promptitude with which Pope Gregory II. appealed to arms against his sovereign and the Iconoclasts. The ambitious pontiff found sufficient support in the national enmity between the Greeks and Latins; he had the art to persuade the Italians that there was some connexion between the new superstition and their hereditary glory; and that, while they supported the worship of images, they were imposing a necessary re-

straint on Byzantine tyranny. The Lombards embraced the religious pretext to expel the Greeks from Italy; but the pope, finding that the conquerors were anxious to impose a yoke upon him more grievous than that which had just been shaken off, invoked the assistance of the Franks. Supported by the arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, the popes maintained the independence of the Roman territories, and were thus raised to the rank of temporal princes. Grateful for the aid they received, the pontiffs, as has been already mentioned, decided that it was lawful for the Franks to depose an imbecile sovereign, and substitute in his place one who had proved an able protector of the state, and a generous benefactor to the church; and in consequence of this sentence, Pepin was solemnly crowned at Paris.

The proper history of the papacy begins at this union of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. Three transactions combined to give it form: the revolt against Leo, the establishment of the Roman principality, and the coronation of Pepin. In the first of these, the popes were hurried forward by circumstances to lengths which they had not anticipated; neither the second nor third Gregory wished to destroy completely the power of the Byzantine emperor, and they continued to acknowledge the successors of Constantine as their rulers, until the Lombards subverted the exarchate of Ravenna. But in spite of their moderation, real or affected, they had established to some extent the dangerous precedent, that the heresy of a sovereign justifies a withdrawal of allegiance in his subjects, though they themselves never asserted such a principle, and indeed seem never to have contemplated it.

The independence of the Roman principality, and the establishment of the pope as a temporal sovereign, necessarily resulted from the dread which the Latins, but especially the Romans, had of the Lombards. It was impossible to revert to the sovereigns of Constantinople; independent of the unpopularity produced by their Iconoclast propensities, they wanted the power of retaining the Italian provinces, even if the government had been offered them; there was no choice between the assertion of independence and submission to the Lombards; there were no materials for constructing a national government outside the precincts of the church, and the popes consequently became princes by the pressure of a necessity which was confessed by the unanimous consent of their subjects.

In sanctioning the usurpation of Pepin, Pope Zachary pronounced his opinion more as a statesman than a prelate. There was an obvious expediency for dethroning the weak Chilperic, and giving the title of king to him who really exercised the functions of royalty. There was nothing authoritative in the sentence—it did not command the Franks to dethrone one king and elect another—it merely declared that considerations of public safety justified a people in changing its rulers: it did nothing new, but it ratified what had been done already. But the new dynasty eagerly sought in the proceeding for a confirmation of their defective title; it was Pepin and his friends, rather than the pontiff, who perverted the opinion of a casuist into the sentence of a judge and the oracle of a prophet.

Thus popery, like most human institutions, was founded on opinions in which truth and falsehood were strangely mixed; and it is fortunately

easy to separate the parts. In rejecting the Byzantine yoke, the popes asserted a right to resist, but not to depose, sovereigns; in becoming temporal princes, they declared that there could be a union between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, but not that they were necessarily connected, and still less that they were inherited of right by the successors of St. Peter: finally, in the most equivocal case, the sanction of Pepin's election, the pope put forward the expediency of having an intelligent umpire to decide in cases of a dispute, not that he was necessarily that umpire; and still less that he had authority to act as supreme judge in a court of appeal. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that the truths are easily capable of being perverted into the falsehoods, and that there were strong temptations to the change. Ere a generation had passed away, the truths sank into oblivion, and the falsehoods were everywhere proclaimed as the true foundations of the papal system.

Section II.—*The early Development of the Political System of the Papacy.*

The Iconoclast controversy, and the mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family, form the important links between ancient and modern history, as well as between civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Pepin recognised the pope's arbitration as an authoritative act, though, as we have seen, it was merely an opinion founded on expediency, and furthermore might have been justified on constitutional grounds, for the monarchy of the Franks was originally elective, and the principle of hereditary right was an innovation gradually introduced by the successors of Clovis. But Pepin naturally felt that he would weaken the title of his sons to the succession, if he rested his claims on popular election; and he was therefore anxious to invest his dynasty with the mysterious sanction of religion. It is doubtful whether the Roman pontiffs foresaw the importance of the measures they adopted, but prudence and prophecy united could scarcely have suggested better means for extending the papal power. They revived the Jewish ceremonial of anointing kings; and Pepin, as well as his successors, regarded this ceremony as an assertion of a divine right to the crown; while the popes represented it, not as a simple recognition, but almost an appointment of the sovereign. Both the kings and the pontiffs shared in a profitable fraud, which gave security to the one, and power to the other; the Frank nobles murmured, without being able to discover the exact nature of the principles which destroyed for the future their ancient rights of election, though these principles were very intelligibly expressed by a new effort of Pope Stephen to gratify the new dynasty. Pressed by his enemies in Italy, Stephen III. sought Pepin's court to obtain aid, and gratified the monarch by solemnly crowning both his sons. In Pepin's case, the coronation had followed the election; and thus the popular rights were abolished almost at the moment that they were most strongly asserted. Royalty and popery gained, but not in equal proportions: for though the principles of divine right and inheritance by descent were established for kings, the higher power of pronouncing on these rights was reserved for the pontiffs.

The Carlovingians, grateful for the security thus given to their title,

enlarged the papal dominions by territories wrested from the Lombard kingdom—the Greek exarchate. To secure these acquisitions, the pontiffs had recourse to a more daring fraud than any they had yet perpetrated: a forged deed was produced, purporting to be a donation from the first Christian emperor, Constantine, to the successors of St. Peter, of the sovereignty over Rome, Italy, and the western provinces. Thus the gift of the French monarch was made to appear the restitution of ancient possessions, and the temporal power of the popes, while yet in its infancy, was invested with the sanction of remote antiquity. It is useless to expose the falsehood of this audacious forgery, which is now condemned by even the most bigoted writers of the Romish church; but in its day it was universally received as valid, and was long regarded as the legal instrument by which the papal power was established.

Adrian I. was the pontiff who first combined the elements of the papacy into a system. He was startled at the very outset by a difficulty which seemed to threaten the foundation of his power. The Greek emperess, Irene, who administered the government during the reign of her son, Constantine the Porphyrogennete, re-established the worship of images, and persecuted the Iconoclasts. Adrian, however, was naturally reluctant to return under the Byzantine yoke, and were he even so inclined, he would probably have been prevented by the Romans; the popes had tasted the pleasures of sovereignty, and the people of freedom; neither, therefore, would sacrifice such advantages to the Greeks. A closer union was made with the Franks, though Charles and his bishops had stigmatized the worship of images, and declared they should be regarded only as objects of reverence. But the pope foresaw that the use of images would soon lead to their adoration, and he courted Charlemagne as a friend and protector.

Leo III., who succeeded Adrian, sent to Charlemagne the standard of Rome, requesting him to send delegates to receive the allegiance of the Romans. From the latter circumstance, it has been rather hastily inferred that the popes acknowledged the sovereignty of Charles; but, in truth, the relations between the pontiffs and the Frank monarchs were purposely left indefinite; any attempt to state them would have shown that the claims of both were irreconcilable, but their mutual interests required that they should combine, and each avoided explanations that might provoke a contest.

Leo soon experienced the benefits of his moderation; driven from Rome by the relatives of the late pope, he sought refuge among the Franks; and Charlemagne not only sent him back with a powerful escort to his capital, but went thither in person to do him justice. Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge, and, in gratitude for his acquittal, he solemnly crowned Charles, Emperor of the West. The ceremony was performed on the festival of Christmas, in the last year of the eighth century; and the pontiff who had so recently stood before his sovereign as a criminal making his defence, now appeared as his superior, conferring on him the highest earthly title by the authority of Heaven.

There was obvious danger to papal ambition in the establishment of an empire; the successors of the Cæsars must of necessity have been

formidable rivals to the successors of St. Peter; but there were many important advantages to be gained, which did not escape the notice of the crafty pontiffs. The secure enjoyment of their temporal dominions, as the most honorable species of fief or benefice, was obviously an immediate result, but there was a remote one of much greater importance, the change of the precedence, universally conceded to the Romish see, into an acknowledgment of its supremacy.

It is not easy to discover at what time the papacy directly fixed its attention upon destroying the independence of national churches, but assuredly the period was not very remote from that which we have been considering. The contests between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, like those of more modern times between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, were struggles for dignity rather than power. The primacy which Boniface III. assumed, by taking the title of universal bishop, was nothing more than presidency: this was a good foundation for a future claim to supremacy, but there is no proof that any such claim was contemplated by Boniface, and every probability is against the supposition.

But when the independence of nations was compromised by the establishment of an empire, it was very natural that the independence of national churches should also be endangered. In the age of Charlemagne, law, order, and intelligence, had no sure support but religion: the popular opinion identified with ecclesiastical influence all that society enjoyed or hoped for; it was the bond that held the discordant parts of the empire together, and the emperor joined with the pope in giving it strength and unity.

The death of Charlemagne relieved the pontiffs from the pressure of imperial power; his successor, Louis the Debonnaire, had not strength of mind sufficient to support the weight of empire, while the popes stood ready to grasp the reins of power as they slipped from his hands; they began to exercise their pontifical functions immediately after their election, without waiting for the confirmation of their power, and Louis, embarrassed by nearer dangers, was unable to punish the usurpation. Louis divided his empire among his sons; a fatal error, for in their contests for supremacy the sovereign authority was sacrificed to the feudal lords, and to the spiritual power.

It must, however, be confessed, that the usurpations of the church, during the sanguinary wars between the successors of Charlemagne, were almost rendered necessary by the circumstances of the time. The competitors for empire were weak and cruel, the profligacy of the feudal lords was only equalled by their ignorance, and the church alone preserved the semblance of justice. The clergy of all ranks profited by the popular opinion in their favor; usurpation followed usurpation without provoking opposition: Charles the Bald acknowledged the right of the bishops to depose him, and the bishops of his council bound themselves by a canon to remain united, "for the correction of kings, the nobility, and the people." This gross assumption was applauded by the laity, at once ignorant, wicked, and devout: it was felt by all parties that supreme power should exist somewhere; kings, nobles, and commons, equally felt the want, and, in a greater or less degree, the consciousness that it could not safely be intrusted to them-

selves. Nicholas I., more bold than any of his predecessors, constituted himself the judge of bishops and kings: he deposed the archbishop of Ravenna for asserting his independence, and would not permit him to be restored until he acknowledged himself a vassal of the holy see: he even cited the king of Lorraine to appear before his tribunal (A. D. 860). Lothaire, king of Lorraine, had divorced his first wife, Theutberga, on a charge of adultery, and, by the advice of his council, chosen a beautiful young lady, called Valdrade, for his second queen. The pope annulled the second marriage, and compelled Lothaire to take back his first wife; he persevered in enforcing his edict, even after Theutberga herself had submitted to the pretensions of her rival.

Adrian II. was chosen successor to Nicholas; the imperial ambassadors were excluded from the election, and their remonstrances treated with neglect. He interfered on the side of justice, to secure the inheritance of Lorraine for the emperor Louis II., but the pontiff was foiled by the firmness of Charles the Bald, and his claims to decide between the competitors refuted by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. Adrian resolved to conciliate the prince whom he could not subdue, and won Charles to submission by promising him the succession to the empire. This project was executed by Adrian's successor, John VIII.; finding that the king of France was determined to have the title of emperor on any terms, he made him stipulate to acknowledge the independence of Rome and its territory, and to confess that he only held the empire by the gift of the pope.

In an assembly held at Pavia (A. D. 878), Charles was recognised by the Italian prelates and nobles in the following memorable words: "Since the Divine favor, through the merits of the holy apostles and of their vicar Pope John, has raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously for our protector and lord." The pontiff by no means suffered Charles to forget that the empire was his gift: when the Saracens invaded Italy, he wrote to Charles, reproaching him for his delay in affording succor, and desiring him, "to remember the hand that had given him the empire, lest, if driven to despair, we should change our opinion."

But while the popes were thus triumphant over the emperors, they were severely harassed by the turbulent feudal lords, who had taken advantage of the weakness of their sovereign, to establish a virtual independence. They interfered in the pontifical elections, and generally controlled them; they insulted, imprisoned, and murdered the pontiffs; while the claims of the apostolic see to complete supremacy were tacitly acknowledged throughout Europe, it was itself held in disgraceful servitude by petty tyrants. Two infamous prostitutes, by their influence with the profligate nobles, procured the throne of St. Peter for their paramours, and their illegitimate children; and the disorders of the church finally attained such a height that the imperial power was once more raised above the papal, and Pope John XII. deposed by the emperor Otho.

The vices of this dark period are not justly attributable to popery; they were the result of feudalism, and so far as the papal system was able to exert any influence, it was employed in counteracting these evils. The great error of the pontiffs was, that they did not arrange a

judicious plan for elections; they left their power thus exposed to the disturbances of a disputed succession which had already proved fatal to the imperial power: had the arrangements been such as to prevent any lay interference, ecclesiastical influence would have gone on increasing without interruption. But the vice and violence of the Roman nobles rendered popery, as a system, for a time inoperative, and prevented a Nicholas from anticipating a Hildebrand.

SECTION III.—*The Struggle for Supremacy between the Popes and Emperors.*

OTHO, deservedly called the Great, was the third emperor of Germany, elected by the suffrage of the German princes. His high character pointed him out to Pope John XII. as a proper protector for the church and the republic, against the fierce nobles of Lombardy, but especially against Berengarius, who claimed the kingdom of Italy. Otho crossed the Alps, tranquillized Italy, and was rewarded with the iron crown of Lombardy, and the revived title of Emperor of the West. But both the pope and the Romans were jealous of their benefactor, and even during the ceremony of his coronation, Otho had to take precautions against the daggers of assassins. John soon found that the German emperor was not content with an empty title; enraged at the progress of the imperial authority, he entered into a secret compact with Adelbert, the son of his ancient enemy, to expel foreigners from Italy, and, at the same time, he invited the Hungarians to invade Germany.

Otho promptly returned to Italy, and having entered Rome, he compelled the nobles and people to renew their oath of allegiance. He then summoned a council for the trial of Pope John, whose immoralities were flagrant and notorious. The charges against the pontiff contained a dreadful catalogue of crimes, but we can not vouch for the integrity of the witnesses, or the impartiality of the court. There is, however, no doubt that John was a licentious profligate, whose vices not only disgraced his station, but were shocking to humanity. The pope refusing to appear before the tribunal, was condemned as contumacious, after having been twice summoned in vain. Leo VIII. was elected to the papacy, in the room of John, and he not only took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the emperor, but issued a bull, ordaining that Otho and his successors should have a right of appointing the popes, and investing bishops and archbishops; and that none should dare to consecrate a bishop without the permission of the emperor.

This fatal blow to the papacy was unpopular with the bishops; they complained that Leo had subverted, at one blow, the structure which his predecessors had toiled to raise during two centuries. When John, after the emperor's departure, returned to Rome, he easily procured the deposition of Leo, and the acknowledgment of his own claims. The restored pope began to exercise great cruelties against his opponents; but in the midst of his career, he was assassinated by a young nobleman, whom he had rivalled in the affections of his mistress. Such horror had this pontiff's crimes inspired, that many of the Romans believed that Satan in proper person had struck the fatal blow which sent him to his dread account, "with all his imperfections on his head."

The adherents of John still refused to acknowledge Leo, and without consulting the emperor, they chose Benedict to succeed the murdered pontiff. But the return of Otho threw them into confusion: Benedict hastily tendered his submission to Leo, by whom he was banished; and the Roman nobility and clergy promised the emperor that they would never confer the papal dignity on any but a native of Germany. On the death of Leo, the electors, obedient to their promise, chose John XIII. by the emperor's permission. The pope was too grateful to his sovereign, to resist the encroachments of the imperial power on the city and the church: the turbulent Romans revolted and threw John into prison, but Otho soon came to suppress these disturbances. He restored John, and severely punished the authors of the revolt. Thus the political system of popery seemed utterly ruined, the pontiff ruled the Roman states as a lieutenant instead of a prince, and, far from being regarded as the supreme umpire of monarchs, he was reduced to the condition of a subject.

We have seen that the papacy owed its first success to the national hatred between the Latins and the Byzantines; strength for a new struggle to retrieve its fortunes was derived from the animosity with which the Germans were regarded by the Italians. The death of Otho (A. D. 973), was the signal for new convulsions in Italy; the feudal lords aimed at independence, the cities tried to establish freedom; Pope John tried to uphold the imperial cause, but he was arrested by Cincius, the head of the popular party, and strangled in prison.

Cincius and his faction chose Boniface VII. for their spiritual head; the aristocratic party, headed by the counts of Tuscany, elected Benedict VII.*; the former was soon driven from the capital; he sought shelter at Constantinople, where he strenuously urged the Greek emperors to invade Italy. These princes took his advice, and, uniting themselves with the Saracens, subdued Apulia and Calabria. Otho II. vanquished these enemies; but when he returned to Germany, Boniface came back to Italy, made himself master of Rome, and threw his rival into prison, where he was starved to death. Four months afterward the murderer died suddenly, and was succeeded by John XV.

So low had the papacy now sunk, that the entire of John's reign was occupied by a struggle for the government of the city of Rome. Crescentius, an ambitious noble, eager to establish his own despotism under the name of freedom, persuaded the citizens to reject the authority both of the pope and the emperor. Otho II. crushed the revolt, and so firmly established the imperial authority, that he was enabled to nominate one of his creatures successor to John; and the cardinals received as their head Bruno, a Saxon stranger, who took the title of Gregory V.*

Crescentius had little trouble in exciting a new insurrection; but the Italians were too feeble to contend with the entire strength of the empire; they were defeated with ruinous loss; their leader was captured and beheaded. On the death of Gregory, Otho nominated Gerbert to the papal dignity, and he was installed under the title of Sylvester II. Although he did not foresee the consequences, Sylvester may be re-

* Every pope changes his name on his accession, in imitation of St. Peter, whom our Lord called Cephas, or Peter, instead of Simon.

garded as the first who made any progress in restoring the power of popery. His personal virtues removed the scandal which had long weakened the influence of his see, his patronage of learning restored to the church its superiority in intelligence, and, through his intimacy with the emperor, he obtained a renewal of the temporal grants which Charlemagne and Pepin had made to his predecessors. The popes now began to support the imperial cause against the turbulent nobles of Italy; in return they were aided by the emperors in their struggles with the Roman princes and citizens; but by this alliance the pontiffs were the principal gainers, for the emperor's attention was distracted by various objects while the popes were always on the spot to secure the fruit of every victory. So rapidly had their power been retrieved, that when Benedict VIII. crowned the emperor Henry, to whom he owed the preservation of his dignity, he demanded of his benefactor, before he entered the church: "Will you observe your fidelity to me and my successors in everything?" and the emperor had the weakness to answer in the affirmative.

But the factions of the Roman nobles and citizens prevented the papal power from being consolidated; three rival popes, each remarkable for his scandalous life, shared the revenues of the church between them (A. D. 1045); they were finally persuaded to resign by John Gratian, a priest of piety and learning, and he was elected to the vacant throne by the title of Gregory VI. The emperor Henry procured the deposition of Gregory, and the election of Clement II.

The most remarkable of the deposed popes was Benedict IX.; he was the son of a Tusculan count, and was raised to the chair of St. Peter at the early age of ten years. His vices induced the Romans to raise rivals against him; but, supported by the aristocratic faction, he would probably have held his place, had he not been bribed to resign in favor of Gregory. The agent in this transaction was Hildebrand, the son of humble parents, who had raised himself by the force of his abilities and his reputation for piety to high rank in the church, and commanding influence in the state. Gregory was undoubtedly a better ruler than his immediate predecessors; he expelled the robbers and freebooters who infested the roads around Rome; he opened a secure passage for the pilgrims who wished to visit the shrine of St. Peter, and he vigorously exerted himself to reform the administration of justice. It was imprudent in the emperor Henry to depose such a man at the instigation of the enemies of order; Clement II. felt great aversion to the proceeding, and very reluctantly consented to his own elevation.

Gregory and Hildebrand, to the great regret of the Italian people, and especially the citizens of Rome, were driven into exile; they retired to the celebrated monastery of Clugni, where Gregory died of vexation, leaving Hildebrand the heir of his wealth and his resentment. Clement was poisoned by an emissary of Benedict nine months after his consecration; and his successor, Damasus II., shared the same fate. When the news reached Hildebrand, he immediately departed from the imperial court, hoping to have some influence in the nomination of the next pope, but on the road he learned that the Diet of Worms, directed by the emperor, had elected Bruno, bishop of Toul, under the title of Leo IX.

We have now reached an important crisis in the struggle between the papal and the imperial power; the latter had touched the highest point of its greatness, and was destined to fall by the dauntless energies of one man, Hildebrand, the humble monk of Soano by birth, the controller of the destiny of nations by talent and position.

Section IV.—*Revival of the Papal Power.*

from a. d. 1048 to a. d. 1070.

We have seen that papal usurpation began by an attack on the power of the Greek empire, and prevailed over the Byzantine court, because it was supported by the public opinion of western Europe. To secure its acquisitions, the papacy entered into alliance with the Carlovingian dynasty on terms favorable to both; but in the struggle that followed the partition of Charlemagne's empire, it was shorn of its strength, for the growth of its greatness was too rapid to be permanent. When the nobles of Italy had attained the rank of petty princes, the territorial possessions of the church, naturally excited their cupidity, and when the German emperors had extended their sway beyond the Alps, they felt that a controlling influence in the papal elections was necessary to the permanence of their power. Had both combined, the papacy would have been annihilated, the pope would have been a mere vassal of the emperor, and his temporal dominions would have been rent in sunder by rival princes. But even when the papacy was enslaved, either to aristocratic factions, or to despotic autocrats, it was secretly collecting materials for its liberation and future triumph. It was generating an opinion which gave the papacy, as an institution, greater strength and surer permanence than it possessed in the days of its former prosperity.

It was under the pressure of the feudal system that the organization of popery was completed and defined; opposed both to princes and emperors, it was thrown for support entirely on the people. By its numerous gradations of rank, the church of the middle ages linked itself with every class of the community: its bishops were the companions of princes; its priests claimed reverence in the baronial hall; its preaching friars and monks brought consolation to the cottage of the suffering peasant. Great as were the vices of individuals, the organization of the clerical body continued to be respectable, and this was an immense advantage when every other portion of civilized society was a mass of confusion. When the distinction of caste was rigidly established in all the political forms of social life, the church scarcely knew any aristocracy but that of talent; once received into holy orders, the serf lost all traces of his bondage; he was not merely raised to an equality with the former lord, but he could aspire to dignities which threw those of temporal princes into the shade. The clerical was thus identified with the popular cause, and the bulk of the laity not only received the claims of the priesthood, but gave them additional extension.

Hildebrand was the first who perceived the tendency and the strength of this current, and he probably was sincere in his belief that the church supplied the only means by which the regeneration of Europe could be effected. Feudalism, the worst of foes to social order, stood opposed to the sovereignty of the monarch and the liberty of the

subject; the emperors were too weak, the people too ignorant, to struggle against it; and the wise arrangements of Providence, by which good has been so frequently wrought out of evil, made the revival of popery the instrument by which Europe was rescued from barbarism. Hildebrand's personal character is really a matter of no importance; his measures in the present age would justly subject him to the charge of extravagant ambition and blundering tyranny; but in the eleventh century, every one of these measures was necessary to counteract some evil principle, and milder or more justifiable means would not have been adequate to the occasion. We must not pass sentence on an institution without examining the opinion on which it is founded; and before we judge of the opinion, we must estimate the circumstances by which it was engendered. The disorganized state of Europe produced a strong opinion that some power for appeal and protection should be constituted; a power with intelligence to guide its decisions, and sanctity to enforce respect for them: the revived papacy seemed an institution suited to these conditions, and under the circumstances it was capable of being rendered the great instrument for reforming civil society.

Hildebrand's own writings prove that his design was to render the papacy such an institution as we have described; it was indeed a beautiful theory to base power upon intelligence, and concentrate both in the church. But Hildebrand did not make a discovery which too often has eluded reformers and legislators, that his plan was suited only to peculiar circumstances, that it was only applicable to a period when state power was corrupt and popular intelligence restricted, and that to give it permanence was to extend its duration beyond the period of its utility, and consequently prepare the way for its becoming just as mischievous as the evils it had been devised to counteract.

This general view of the state of society will enable us to form a better judgment of the struggle in which Hildebrand engaged than could be done if we confined ourselves to a simple narrative; we shall now proceed to relate the course adopted by the enterprising monk to exalt the spiritual power.

Leo IX., on whom the emperor, as we have said, conferred the papacy, was a prelate of virtuous principles and strict integrity, but he was a man infirm of purpose, and weak in understanding. Hildebrand was well aware of the advantages that might be derived from the pope's character, and in his first interview he gained such an ascendency over Leo's mind, that henceforth the pope was a passive instrument in the hands of his adviser. The pontiff naturally dreaded that the circumstance of his having been nominated by the emperor, and elected by a German diet, would render him unpopular in Italy; but Hildebrand smoothed the way, and by his personal influence secured Leo a favorable reception at Rome. This service was rewarded by an accumulation of dignities; Hildebrand soon united in his person the titles and offices of cardinal, sub-deacon, abbot of St. Paul, and keeper of the altar and treasury of St. Peter. The clergy and people of Rome applauded these proceedings, because the favorite had induced Leo to gratify the national vanity, by submitting to the form of a new election immediately after his arrival in the city.

Leo made unremitting exertions to reform the clergy and the monas-

tic orders; but, in the fifth year of his reign he marched against the Normans, who were ravaging the south of Italy, and was unfortunately taken prisoner. Though the conquerors showed every respect to their captive, the misfortune weighed heavily on his proud spirit; and his grief was aggravated by the reproaches of some of his clergy, who condemned him for desecrating his holy office by appearing in arms. He died of a broken heart soon after his liberation, and the deposed Benedict IX. seized the opportunity of reascending the papal throne.

Hildebrand was opposed to the imperial influence, but he hated more intensely the nearer and more dangerous power of the Italian nobles, and therefore he became an active and energetic opponent of their creature, Benedict. The monastic orders supported one whom they justly regarded as the pride and ornament of their body, and by their means Hildebrand gained such a commanding influence over the Roman people, that he could truly represent himself to the emperor as their delegate in choosing a new pope. Henry nominated a German bishop to the dignity, who took the name of Victor II., and the cardinal-monk hoped to exercise the same authority in the new reign that he had possessed under Leo IX. The pope, however, soon became weary of having "a viceroy over him;" he sent his ambitious minister into France with the title of legate, under the honorable pretext of correcting the abuses that had crept into the Gallican church. Hildebrand performed his task with more rigor than it would have been prudent for a less popular minister to display; he excommunicated several immoral priests and bishops, and even sentenced some monks to death for a breach of their monastic vows. After a year's absence he returned to Rome more powerful than ever, and Victor was content to receive him as his chief adviser and director.

In the meantime the emperor Henry died, and was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was yet an infant. Hildebrand was too sagacious not to discover the advantage with which the papal power would struggle against the imperial during a minority, and he secretly prepared for the contest. The death of Victor, speedily followed by that of his successor, Stephen IX., delayed, but did not alter, the cardinal-monk's intentions, for circumstances compelled him to appear as an advocate of the imperial authority.

On the death of Stephen, the aristocratic faction, presuming on the minority of the emperor, rushed at night, with a body of armed men, into the Vatican church, where they declared John, bishop of Velitri, one of their body, pope, with the title of Benedict X. Hildebrand received this intelligence as he returned from Germany; it was brought to him by the terrified cardinals and bishops who had fled from Rome; he assembled the fugitives at Sienna, and prevailed upon them to elect the bishop of Florence, who took the name Nicholas II. The emperor's sanction was easily procured for the latter election, and the imperial court was persuaded that it was supporting its own interests when it placed Nicholas upon the papal throne.

Circumstances soon occurred to prove that the Germans had been deluded; Nicholas assembled a council at Rome, in which it was decreed that the cardinals alone should in future have a voice in the election of the pope; but to avoid any open breach with the emperor,

a clause was added, reserving to him all due honor and respect. A less equivocal proceeding soon followed; the Normans, who had settled in the south of Italy, had become more amenable to the church than they had been in the days of Leo. The lust of conquest was abated, and they were now anxious to obtain some security for their possessions; they therefore tendered their alliance and feudal allegiance to the pope, on condition of his confirming their titles. By the advice of Hildebrand, Nicholas gave to Richard Guiscard the principality of Capua, and granted Robert Guiscard the title of duke, with the investiture of all the lands he had conquered, or should conquer, in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria.

The pope readily granted that to which he had no right, a proceeding that might have cost him dear, if the old emperor had survived: the Normans, in return, lent their aid to punish the enemies of Nicholas in the Roman territory. The lands of the turbulent aristocracy were ravaged with unsparing cruelty, and it is to the desolation thus produced, that the depopulation of the country round Rome, even at the present day, must be attributed.

While Hildebrand was maturing his plans for re-establishing the papacy, many circumstances occurred, which proved the expediency of establishing a central controlling power in the church. The ecclesiastics of Milan had been, for nearly two hundred years, independent of the holy see, and their church had become the scandal of Italy. Benefices were openly sold, immoralities flagrantly practised, until at length a respectable portion of the laity requested the interference of the pope. Peter Damian was sent as a legate to Milan, but the populace, incited by the priests, raised a formidable insurrection, and threatened to murder him for menacing their independence. Peter, undismayed, ascended a pulpit in one of their principal churches, and made such an effective discourse, that the rioters not only submitted, but encouraged him to pursue his task of investigation. The inquiry proved, that nearly every priest in Milan had purchased his preferment, and lived with a concubine. The archbishop, after an obstinate resistance, was brought to confess, that he had transgressed the canons; but he was pardoned by the legate, on condition of swearing, with his clergy, to observe the ecclesiastical rules for the future. Scarcely, however, had the legate departed, when the clergy assailed the archbishop for betraying the rights of their church, and compelled him to retract the conditions to which he had so recently sworn. The troubles in Milan burst out afresh, and the profligacy of the clergy seemed to have been increased by the temporary interruption.

Ere Nicholas could make any effort to terminate these disorders, he was seized by a mortal disease; his death made a great change in the political aspect of Italy, for the church party, encouraged by Hildebrand, set both the emperor and the aristocracy at defiance. The cardinals and bishops, without waiting for the imperial sanction, conferred the papacy on Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, who took the title of Alexander II.; on the other hand, the counts of Tuscany, hoping to recover the lands that had been wrested from them by the Normans, declared that they would support the emperor's right of nomination. The Roman nobles had hitherto owed their partial success to their having sup-

ported a national prelate; they soon found that their strength was gone, when they gave their aid to a foreign competitor. Supported by a German and Lombard army, Cadislaus, who had been chosen by the emperor, appeared before the gates of Rome, but the citizens refused him admission. At first the imperialists gained some advantages, but the arrival of Duke Godfrey, with an auxiliary force of Normans, changed the fortunes of the war, and Cadislaus was compelled to make a hasty retreat. He sought refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, where he was closely besieged. Soon afterward, the young emperor, having been removed by a stratagem from the protection of his mother, was placed under the control of the archbishops of Bremen and Cologne; at their instigation he recognised Alexander as the legitimate pope, and Cadislaus, finding himself abandoned by his principal protector, fled in disguise from the castle of St. Angelo to his native diocese, where he died in obscurity.

During the brief reign of Alexander, Hildebrand was the real governor of the church. As soon as the war with Cadislaus was ended, he directed his attention to the affairs of Milan, excommunicating the perjured archbishop, and ordering that all the priests who were married, or who lived in concubinage, should be ejected from their cures. Supported by the populace and a large body of the nobles, the papal legate not only enforced this decree, but obtained from the clergy and people a solemn oath, that, for the future, they would hold no election of a bishop valid, unless it was confirmed by the pope.

The excommunicated archbishop resigned his see, and sent the insignia of his office, the pastoral rod and ring, to the emperor. Godfrey, a deacon of Milan, was appointed to supply the vacancy by the imperial council; but the citizens of Milan refused to receive him, and chose for their archbishop, Atto, a nominee of the pope. A fierce war raged between the rival prelates, and Alexander, indignant at the support that Godfrey received from the emperor, summoned that prince to appear before his tribunal, on a charge of simony, and granting investitures without the approbation of the see of Rome.

Neither the ambition nor the cares of Pope Alexander, or rather his instigator Hildebrand, were confined to the Italian peninsula. By means of the popularity which the pretensions of the mendicant friars had given their order throughout Europe, he established an interest for himself in every part of Christendom. Faithful agents kept a strict watch over the proceedings of the emperor Henry, legates were sent to Denmark and Norway, the allegiance of the king of Bohemia was secured by permission to wear the mitre, and the virtual independence of the Anglo-Saxon church was destroyed by the Norman conquest, to the success of which the interference of the pope and of Hildebrand materially contributed.

The pretexts of the pontiffs are characteristics of the superstitions of the age. Harold, the last Saxon monarch of England, had, during an accidental visit to Normandy, been forced to swear that he would favor the succession of William, whose claims were founded on a real or pretended promise of Edward the Confessor. This compulsory oath, it seems, would not have been considered binding, had not Harold unwittingly sworn it on a chest of relics, collected from all the surround-

ing churches. When, therefore, on the death of Edward, he accepted the crown, proffered to him by the free voice of the Anglo-Saxons, he was regarded, not as a patriot resolved to maintain his country's independence, but as a perjured wretch who had trampled on the most solemn obligations. Hildebrand eagerly seized this opportunity of establishing the papal supremacy over a national church, whose claims to independence had long given offence at Rome. At his instigation, the claims of the Norman duke to the English crown were solemnly recognised by the papal council: a bull containing this decision was sent to William, together with a consecrated standard, and a ring, said to contain a hair from the head of St. Peter, enclosed in a diamond of considerable value. But we learn from a letter, subsequently addressed by Hildebrand to the conqueror, that there were some in the conclave who opposed this iniquitous interference with the rights of nations, and severely reproached the cardinal-monk for advocating the cause of a tyrannical usurper.

But Hildebrand did not extend to the Normans in Italy the same favor that he showed to their brethren in England. Aided by the forces of the countess Matilda, a devoted adherent of the church, and heiress to a considerable territory, he forced them to resign the districts they had wrested from the holy see. Anxious to retain this sovereignty, Hildebrand violently opposed a marriage between the countess and Godfrey Gobbo, a son whom her step-father had by a former wife, before his marriage with her mother. Such a union, indeed, was warranted by the strict letter of the canonical degrees, but still it was, in some degree, revolting to the feelings. Gobbo was excommunicated, but Hildebrand secretly hinted that he might be reconciled to the church, on making proper submissions.

But all these political struggles were cast into the shade, by the daring citation of the emperor Henry: every one regarded it as a declaration of war between the spiritual and temporal authorities, and it must have been obvious to all, that the death of Alexander II. only delayed the contest. More had been done during the reign of this pope to extend the authority of the papacy, than in any former pontificate; but this must not be attributed either to the faults or to the merits of Alexander, who was a mere instrument in the hands of his ambitious minister. The monks, to raise Hildebrand's fame, published tales of the numerous miracles he wrought, which were greedily received by the superstitious populace, and tended greatly to extend his influence: we have taken no notice of these legends; a greater miracle than any they record, is, that rational beings should be found sufficiently credulous to believe and repeat such monstrous absurdities.

Section V.—*Pontificate of Gregory VII.*

from A. D. 1073 to A. D. 1086.

There were few statesmen in any part of Christendom, who did not dread the accession of Hildebrand to the papacy, but there were none prepared to provoke his resentment by interfering to prevent his election. The irregular and precipitate manner in which he was chosen, seems to prove that some opposition was dreaded by his partisans; and

Hildebrand himself found it necessary to disarm hostility, by an affectation of submission to the emperor. He wrote to Henry, that he had been chosen against his will, that he had no wish for the office, and that he would not be consecrated without the imperial sanction. Deceived by this hypocrisy, Henry ratified the irregular election, and Hildebrand was enthroned with the title of Gregory VII.

No sooner was he secured on the throne, than he began to put in execution his favorite plan for securing the independence of the church, by preventing lay interference in the collation of benefices. Before he had been a month elected, he sent a legate into Spain, to reform the ecclesiastical abuses of that kingdom; but principally to claim for the apostolic see all the conquests that had recently been made from the Moors, under the pretence that the Spanish peninsula, before the Saracenic invasion, had been tributary to the successors of St. Peter. Henry was so much daunted by this and similar displays of vigor, that he sent a submissive letter to the pontiff, acknowledging his former errors in his dispute with Alexander, which he attributed to his youth and the influence of evil counsellors, desiring him to arrange the troubles in the church of Milan at his discretion, and promising to assist him in everything with the imperial authority.

The two great objects of the pope were, to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and the papal right to the investiture of bishops. The former of these projects was a matter of discipline, defended on plausible grounds of expediency. Its advocates pleaded that a clergyman unencumbered with the cares of a family could devote his whole attention to the flock intrusted to his charge; and that a bishop without children would be free to exercise his patronage without being warped by domestic affection. On the other hand, men were thus forced to sacrifice the noblest and best of human feelings; they were denaturalized, cut off from the influences of social life: the church became the country and the home of every person who embraced the ecclesiastical profession. After ordination, the priest and the bishop were no longer Germans, Spaniards, or Englishmen; they were Romans—ministers and peers of a mighty empire, that claimed the dominion of the whole globe. Like the envoy or minister of any foreign government, a member of the Romish hierarchy observes the laws of the state in which his master may have placed him, and respects for a time the authority of the local magistrate: but his order is his country, the pontiff is his natural sovereign, and their welfare and their honor are the appropriate objects of his public care. The constant sight of such a sacrifice of the natural feelings of mankind, was obviously calculated to win the respect of the laity, and gain credence for the superior sanctity that was supposed to invest the character of a priest.

The pope's determination to destroy the practice of lay investitures, was defended on more plausible grounds. The administration of ecclesiastical patronage by the emperor and other temporal princes, was liable to great abuses, and had actually led to many: they supplied vacancies with the ignorant, the depraved, and the violent; they sought for the qualifications of a soldier or a politician, when they had to elect a bishop. In a dark age, when monarchs and nobles were rarely able to write their own names; when the knowledge of the alphabet, even in

aristocratic families, was so rare, as to be deemed a spell against witchcraft; and when the fierce qualities of a warrior were valued more highly than the Christian virtues, it seemed almost necessary to render appointments in the church independent of the state. But to this obvious expediency, Gregory VII. added a blasphemous claim of right, as Christ's vicar on earth, and inheritor of his visible throne. While, however, we condemn such impious assumptions, we should not refuse to Hildebrand the credit of higher and purer motives than those of personal aggrandizement, mingling in his schemes for extending his own power and that of his successors. It is undeniable that the corporate authority he procured for the church became, in many European countries, a source of much benefit during the middle ages, overawing the violent, protecting the forlorn, mitigating the prevailing ferocity of manners, and supplying in various ways the defects of civil institutions.

Gregory having assembled a general council at Rome, ordained, by consent of the bishops present, that if any one should accept investiture from a layman, both the giver and the receiver should be excommunicated; that the prelates and nobles who advised the emperor to claim the collation of benefices should be excommunicated; and that all married priests should dismiss their wives, or be deposed. These decrees were communicated to the sovereigns of Europe by Gregory himself, in letters that must ever remain a monument of his consummate abilities. His monstrous claims for the universal supremacy of the church and of the Romish see, are proposed in a tone of humility and candor, well calculated to win the unthinking and unwary; his dictations assume the form of affectionate suggestions, and his remonstrances resemble those of a tender and affectionate father.

But the pope did not confine his exertions to mere words; he obliged the Normans to quit their conquests in Campania, proposed a crusade against the Saracens, who were menacing Constantinople, and offered a province in Italy to Sweno, king of Denmark, under the pretence that the inhabitants were heretics. The emperor Henry was not deceived by Gregory's professions; he hated the pontiff in his heart, and had good reason to believe that the enmity was reciprocal. It was therefore with mingled jealousy and indignation that he saw a new power established which more than rivalled his own, and he entered into a secret alliance with the Normans against their common enemy. In the meantime, a conspiracy was formed against the pope in Rome itself by some of the aristocracy, whose privileges he had invaded. Cincius, the prefect of the city, arrested the pontiff while he was celebrating mass on Christmas day, and threw him into prison; but the populace soon rescued their favorite, Cincius would have been torn to pieces but for Gregory's interference, and all who had shared in this act of violence were banished from the city. Soon afterward, Gregory cited the emperor to appear before the council at Rome, to answer to the charge of protecting excommunicated bishops, and granting investitures without the sanction of the holy see. Henry, enraged by the insult, and relieved from his anxieties in Germany by a recent victory over the Saxons, resolved to temporize no longer. He assembled a synod at Worms, of the princes and prelates devoted to his cause, and procured sentence

of deposition against Gregory, on a charge of simony, murder, and atheism.

Gregory was far from being disheartened by the emperor's violence; he assembled a council at Rome, solemnly excommunicated Henry, absolved his subjects in Germany and Italy from their oath of allegiance, deposed several prelates in Germany, France, and Lombardy, and published a series of papal constitutions, in which the claims of the Roman pontiffs to supremacy over all the sovereigns of the earth were asserted in the plainest terms.

The most important of these resolutions, which form the basis of the political system of popery, were—

That the Roman pontiff alone can be called universal.

That he alone has a right to depose bishops.

That his legates have a right to preside over all bishops assembled in a general council.

That the pope can depose absent prelates.

That he alone has a right to use imperial ornaments.

That princes are bound to kiss his feet, and his only.

That he has a right to depose emperors.

That no synod or council summoned without his commission can be called general.

That no book can be called canonical without his authority.

That his sentence can be annulled by none, but that he may annul the decrees of all.

That the Roman church has been, is, and will continue, infallible.

That whoever dissents from the Romish church ceases to be a catholic Christian.

And, that subjects may be absolved from their allegiance to wicked princes.

Some cautious prelates advised Gregory not to be too hasty in excommunicating his sovereign; to their remonstrances he made the following memorable reply: "When Christ trusted his flock to St. Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep,' did he except kings? Or when he gave him the power to bind and loose, did he withdraw any one from his visitation? He, therefore, who says that he can not be bound by the bonds of the church, must confess that he can not be absolved by it; and he who denies that doctrine, separates himself from Christ and his church."

Both parties now prepared for war, but all the advantages were on the side of Gregory At the very commencement of the struggle, Gobbo, the most vigorous supporter of the emperor, died, and his widow, the countess Matilda, placed all her resources at the disposal of the pontiff. So completely, indeed, did this princess devote herself to support the interests of Gregory, that their mutual attachment was suspected of having transgressed the limits of innocence. The duke of Dalmatia, gratified by the title of king, and the Norman monarch of Sicily, proffered aid to the pontiff; even the Mohammedan emperor of Morocco courted his favor, and presented him with the liberty of the Christian slaves in his dominions.

Henry, on the contrary, knew not where to look for support; in every quarter of his dominions monks and friars preached against their

sovereign, and the prelates by whom he had been supported; the Saxon nobles eagerly embraced a religious pretext to renew their insurrection; the dukes of Suabia and Carinthia demanded a change of dynasty; even the prelates who had been most zealous in urging Henry forward, terrified by threats of excommunication, abandoned his cause. A diet was assembled at Tribur, attended by two papal legates, in which it was resolved that Henry should be deposed, unless within a limited period he presented himself before the pope and obtained absolution.

The prelates and nobles of Lombardy alone maintained their courage, and boldly retorted the excommunications of Gregory. Animated by the hope of obtaining their efficient aid, Henry resolved to cross the Alps instead of waiting for Gregory's arrival in Germany. The hardships which the unfortunate monarch underwent during this journey, in the depth of a severe winter—the dangers to which he was exposed from the active malice of his enemies—the sight of the sufferings of his queen and child, who could only travel by being enclosed in the hides of oxen, and thus dragged through the Alpine passes—would have broken a sterner spirit than Henry's. He entered Lombardy completely disheartened, and, though joined by considerable forces, he thought only of conciliating his powerful enemy by submission. Having obtained a conference with the countess Matilda, Henry prevailed upon her to intercede for him with the pope; and her intercession, supported by the principal nobles of Italy, induced Gregory to grant an interview to his sovereign.

On the 21st of January, 1077, Henry proceeded to Canosa, where the pope resided, and was forced to submit to the greatest indignities that were ever heaped upon imperial majesty. At the first barrier, he was compelled to dismiss his attendants; when he reached the second, he was obliged to lay aside his imperial robes, and assume the habit of a penitent. For three entire days he was forced to stand barefooted and fasting, from morning till night, in the outer court of the castle, during one of the severest winters that had ever been known in northern Italy, imploring pardon of his transgressions from God and the pope. He was at length admitted into the presence of the haughty pontiff, and, after all his submissions, obtained, not the removal, but the suspension of the excommunication.

Such harsh treatment sank deep into Henry's mind; and his hostility to Gregory was exasperated by the pontiff accepting a grant of the countess Matilda's possessions for the use of the church, which would legally revert to the empire after her decease. The reproaches of the Lombards also induced him to repent of his degradation, and he renewed the war by a dishonorable and ineffectual attempt to arrest Gregory and Matilda. In the meantime the discontented nobles of Germany had assembled a diet at Fercheim, deposed their sovereign, and elected Rodolph, duke of Suabia, to the empire. This proceeding greatly embarrassed the pope; he dared not declare against Henry, who was powerful in Italy, and if he abandoned Rodolph, he would ruin his own party in Germany. He resolved to preserve a neutrality in the contest, and in the meantime he directed his attention to the internal state of the church, which had for some time been distracted by the controversy respecting the eucharist.

It is not easy to determine by whom the doctrine of transubstantiation was first broached: Selden very justly says, "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic," and it is easy to see how the spiritual presence of our Savior in the holy communion might, in a dark and ignorant age, be represented as an actual change of the consecrated elements into his material substance. We are not concerned with the theological errors of this doctrine; our subject only requires us to notice the political purposes to which it was applied. No article of faith was better calculated to exalt the power of the priesthood; it represented them as daily working a miracle equally stupendous and mysterious; true, its nature was incomprehensible, but this circumstance, instead of exciting a suspicion of its absurdity, only increased the reverence with which it was regarded. We must not then be surprised at the zeal that the Romish priesthood has ever manifested in defending an opinion which has so materially strengthened its influence. The confessor to the queen of Spain is said to have rebuked the opposition of a nobleman, by saying, "You should respect the man who every day has your God in his hands and your queen at his feet." In this brief sentence, the purpose of the doctrine is distinctly stated; it conferred political power, and was therefore to be defended at all hazards. But common sense frequently revolted at a doctrine contracted by sight, feeling, and taste; in the eleventh century it was ably exposed by Berengarius, a priest of Tours, who assailed it at once with ridicule and with argument. But in his eightieth year, Berengarius was prevailed upon by Gregory to renounce his former opinions, and transubstantiation was generally received as an article of faith.

A victory obtained by Rodolph induced Gregory to depart from his cautious policy; he excommunicated Henry, and sent a crown of gold to his rival. The indignant emperor summoned a council in the mountains of the Tyrol, pronounced Gregory's deposition, and proclaimed Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, pope, by the name of Clement III. Gregory immediately made peace with the Normans, and, supported by them and the Countess Matilda, he bade his enemies defiance. But in the meantime, Rodolph was defeated and slain, the discontented Germans were forced to submit to the imperial authority, and Henry, at the head of a victorious army, crossed the Alps. The Norman dukes, engaged in war with the Greek emperors, neglected their ally, and the forces of the countess Matilda were unable to cope with the imperialists. Twice was Henry driven from before the walls of Rome; but the third time he gained an entrance, by a lavish distribution of bribes, and procured the solemn installation of Clement. The emperor's departure left his partisans exposed to the vengeance of Gregory; the pontiff returned at the head of a Norman army, and gave the city to be pillaged by his barbarous auxiliaries. Having reduced Rome almost to a mass of ruins, Gregory retired to Salerno, where he was seized with a mortal disease. He died unconquered, repeating with his latest breath the excommunications which he had hurled against Henry, the antipope, and their adherents. He viewed his own conduct in the struggle with complacency, and frequently boasted of the goodness of his cause. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity," he exclaimed, "and it is therefore I die an exile."

Gregory may be regarded as the great founder of the political system of popery; and therefore, while he is extolled by some historians as a saint, others have described him as a disgrace to humanity. But the character of this remarkable man was formed by his age, and developed by the circumstances that surrounded him. He was the representative both of popery and democracy, principles apparently inconsistent, but which in ancient and modern times have frequently been found in close alliance. With the sanctity of the church he shielded the people; with the strength of the people he gave stability to the church. In the course of his long career as the secret and as the acknowledged ruler of the papacy, he displayed unquestionable abilities of the highest order; his pretensions to ascetic piety gained him the enthusiastic admiration of the multitude; the soldiers regarded him as a brave warrior and successful general; the higher ranks of the clergy yielded in the council to his fervid eloquence and political skill. His very faults became elements of his success: he was severe, vindictive, and inexorable: he knew not what it was to forgive; none of his enemies could elude the patient search and the incessant vigilance with which he pursued those against whom he treasured wrath. It was his custom to witness the execution of those whose death he decreed; and it was awful to contemplate the serenity of his countenance and the placidity of his manners while he presided over tortures and massacres. It can not, therefore, be a matter of wonder that the power of such a man should have swept over Christendom like a torrent, and hurried everything into the vortex of his new and gigantic institutions.

Section VI.—*The War of Investitures.*

from A. D. 1086 to A. D. 1152.

Henry gained only a brief respite by the death of his formidable and inveterate antagonist. Victor III. was elected by the cardinals, and during his brief reign he gained several advantages over the imperial party. He was succeeded by Urban II., the friend and pupil of Gregory, who commenced his pontificate by sending an encyclical letter to the Christian churches, declaring his resolution to adhere to the political system of his deceased master. Supported by the Normans, Urban entered Rome, and assembled a council of one hundred and fifteen bishops, in which the emperor, the antipope, and their adherents, were solemnly excommunicated. At the same time he negotiated a marriage between Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria, a distinguished supporter of the papal cause in Germany, and the countess Matilda. From this union, the present dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and the reigning family of England, trace their descent. Henry marched into Italy, and though vigorously opposed by Guelph, gained several important advantages; but the papal intrigues raised enemies against him in the bosom of his family; his eldest son Conrad rebelled, and was crowned king of Italy by Urban. This revolt compelled Henry to abandon his recent acquisitions, and retire toward the Alps.

A council was summoned to meet at Placentia, and so large a number of bishops assembled, that no church could contain them, and they were forced to deliberate in the open air. Most of Gregory's decrees

were re-enacted; but, in addition to the affair of investitures, the attention of the council was directed to the rapid progress of the Mohammedans in the east, and the dangers that threatened the empire of Constantinople (A. D. 1095). The tales of the persecutions to which the Christian pilgrims were exposed by the ferocious Turks, who had become masters of the Holy Land, had excited general indignation throughout Europe. Peter the Hermit, a wild fanatic, preached everywhere the necessity of rescuing the faithful from the infidel Saracens, as he ignorantly called the Turks, and such a flame was kindled by his exertions, that a decree was issued by the council of Clermont, authorizing the first crusade; and at the same time the king of France, in whose dominions the council met, was excommunicated, and could only obtain absolution by humiliating submissions.

The general insanity diffused through Europe by the preaching of the first crusade, the multitudes that abandoned their homes to follow Walter the Pennyless or Godescald the Fanatic, the massacres of the Jews, the sufferings and exploits of the disciplined adventurers that marched under the banners of Godfrey, will form the subject of the next section; it is enough here to say that the general fanaticism proved of essential service to the papal cause, and that the partisans of Henry suffered severely from the fury of the crusaders in their passage through Italy.

Paschal II. was the successor of Urban, and, like him, steadfastly pursued the policy of Gregory; he easily triumphed over the antipope, who died of a broken heart, and he urged a second general crusade, which the reverses of the Christians in the Holy Land rendered necessary. To consolidate the papal structure, he assembled a council at Rome, and procured the enactment of a new oath, to be taken by all ranks of the clergy. By this oath they abjured all heresy, they promised implicit obedience to the pope and his successors, to affirm what the holy and universal church confirms, and to condemn what she condemns (A. D. 1104). Soon after, the old emperor, Henry, was treacherously arrested by his own son Henry V., and deprived of his imperial dignity: he subsequently escaped, but before hostilities made any progress, he died of a broken heart. The bishop of Liege honorably interred the body of his unfortunate sovereign, but papal enmity pursued Henry beyond the grave; the benevolent prelate was excommunicated, and could only obtain absolution by disinterring the corpse.

Though Henry V. owed his throne to papal influence, he would not yield the imperial right to granting investitures, and his example was followed by the kings of England and France. The form in which monarchs gave investiture by bestowing a pastoral ring and staff, was regarded by the popes as an interference with their spiritual jurisdiction, and when the form was altered, they gave no further trouble to the English and French monarchs, but, in their disputes with the emperors, they not only forbade ecclesiastics to receive investiture from laymen, but even to take an oath of allegiance to them.

The fifth Henry proved a more formidable enemy to the papacy than his father; he led an army into Italy, made Paschal prisoner, compelled him to perform the ceremony of his coronation, and to issue a bull securing the right of investiture to the emperor and his successors. But

the remonstrances of the cardinals induced the pope to annul the treaty, and he permitted Henry to be excommunicated by several provincial councils. The pontiff, however, did not ratify the sentence until the death of the countess Matilda, and the disputes about her inheritance created fresh animosities between the empire and the holy see.

The death of Paschal prevented an immediate war. His successors, Gelasius II. and Calixtus II., however, supported his policy, and, after a long struggle, the emperor was forced to resign his claim to episcopal investitures, but he was permitted to retain the investiture of the temporal rights belonging to the sees.

During the pontificate of Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus, the church of Ireland, for the first time, was brought under the supremacy of the pope by the exertions of St. Malachi, a monk of great influence and reputation. The greater part of the reign of Honorius was spent in a contest with the Normans in southern Italy, whom he forced to continue in their allegiance.

Innocent II. and Anacletus, elected by rival factions, were both enthroned the same day, and the papacy was consequently rent by a schism. Anacletus was the grandson of a converted Jew; he possessed great wealth, was a favorite with the Roman populace, and had an undoubted majority of the cardinals in his favor, yet he is stigmatized as an antipope. This was principally owing to the exertions of the celebrated St. Bernard, who warmly espoused the cause of Innocent, and procured him the support of the king of France and the German emperor. On the death of Anacletus, his party elected another antipope, but he soon made his submission to Innocent, and the schism was appeased.

A general council was soon afterward assembled at Rome (A. D. 1139), at which no less than a thousand bishops were present; several ordinances were made for completing the ecclesiastical organization of the church. The opinions of Arnold of Brescia were condemned at this council; they were derived from the celebrated Abelard, whose controversy with St. Bernard began to excite universal attention.

Abelard was generally regarded as the most accomplished scholar and the best logician in Europe; crowds of disciples flocked to hear his lectures, and though he did not break through the trammels of scholastic philosophy, he gave an impulse to the spirit of inquiry which, in a future age, produced beneficial effects. St. Bernard, whose opinions were invested by the bishops with a kind of apostolic authority, accused Abelard of teaching heretical opinions respecting the doctrine of the trinity. Abelard denied the imputation, and the dispute turned on metaphysical subtleties, to which neither party affixed a definite meaning. Abelard's opinions were condemned by a council at Sens, but he was permitted to retire into the monastery of Clugny, where he died in peace.

This obscure controversy was the first symptom of the struggle between scholastic divinity and philosophy. Abelard was subdued, but he bequeathed his cause to a succession of faithful disciples, who gradually emancipated knowledge from the confinement of the cloister, and liberated the human mind from the thraldom of popery. Abelard's opinions were purely theological; his disciple, Arnold of Brescia, abandoning his master's mysticism, directed his attention to the reform of the

church and of the government. He declared that the political power and wealth of the clergy were inconsistent with the sanctity of their profession, and he began to preach these doctrines in Italy and Germany; so great was his influence, that he was invited to Rome, in order to revive the republic. Innocent II., Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., had to struggle with "the politicians," as the followers of Arnold were called, for the maintenance of their domestic power; and during this period the aggressions of popery on the rights of kings and nations were suspended. Rome set the example of resistance to the pontiffs; Italy, for a brief space, furnished the boldest opponents to the papal usurpations; but when Europe began to profit by the example, the Italians discovered that the overthrow of the papacy would diminish the profits which they derived from the payments made by superstition and ignorance to the Roman exchequer; and they lent their aid to the support of the lucrative delusion they had been the first to expose, and even yielded their liberties to the pontiffs, on condition of sharing in their unhallowed gains.

The claims of the popes to spiritual and temporal power, the means they employed to effect their object, their struggle against royal power on the one side, and national independence on the other, form the most important part of European history during several centuries. A calm and careful examination of the origin and growth of the papal system is therefore necessary to a right understanding of the social condition of Europe in the ages preceding the Reformation. To render this portion of history satisfactory to the student, it is necessary to trace back the early history of Christianity, and point out some of the corruptions by which its purity was early disfigured.

Section VII.—*The Crusades.*

The wars undertaken by the crusaders for the conquest of Palestine, at the instigation of the popes, form an essential part of the history of the great struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers. To understand aright the influence they exercised, it will be necessary to cast a retrospective glance at their origin, and at the state of society in the eastern and western world, when first this great movement began.

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and the localities that had been hallowed by our blessed Savior's presence, were common in the earliest ages of the church. They began to multiply very rapidly at the beginning of the eleventh century, in consequence of an opinion very generally diffused, that the end of the world was at hand; many persons sold their estates, and migrated to the Holy Land, to wait there the coming of the Lord. While the Saracens remained masters of Palestine, they encouraged and protected visiters whose arrival brought them considerable profit, but when the Seljúkian Turks wrested the country from the khaliphs of Egypt, the pilgrims were subjected to every extortion and outrage that fanaticism and ignorance could dictate. Their sad recital of the calamities they were forced to endure excited universal indignation, and Gregory VII. was the first to propose a general arming throughout Christendom, for the purpose of driving the Turks beyond the Euphrates. The time was not propitious for such an undertaking; the wars of the

empire engaged the attention and employed the arms of the chief military leaders. But when the Normans had completed the conquest of England and the two Sicilies, when the imperial power had sunk before the popes in Italy and the feudal princes in Germany, vast hordes of military adventurers who remained without employment, ready to embrace any cause that promised to gratify their love of glory and plunder. At this moment an enthusiastic monk, usually called Peter the Hermit, indignant at the oppression of the Christians, which he had witnessed in Palestine, began to preach the duty of expelling the infidels from the patrimony of Christ, and by his energetic labors, widely diffused his own fanaticism.

Peter's zeal was vigorously seconded by Pope Urban II.; the pontiff went personally to France, and held a council at Clermont (A. D. 1095), where the war was sanctioned with great enthusiasm, and multitudes assumed the badge of the cross, as the symbol of their enlistment. The first hordes of crusaders were ignorant fanatics, guided by men of no note or experience. They marched without order or discipline, pillaging, burning, and plundering the countries that they traversed. So great was the delusion that whole families joined in these wild expeditions; farmers were seen driving carts containing their wives and children in the line of march, while boys bearing mimic implements of war, sported round, mistaking every stranger for a Turk, and every new town for Jerusalem. Most of these wretches perished by fatigue, famine, disease, or the swords of the people they had outraged, but not before their excesses had indelibly stigmatized the cause in which they were engaged. The Jews along the Rhine suffered most severely from these fanatics, who were persuaded that the sacrifice of this unfortunate race would be the best propitiation for the success of their expedition. Myriads of the hapless Jews were massacred with every torture and indignity that malice could suggest; whole families committed suicide by mutual agreement; a few submitted to be baptized, and purchased safety by apostacy. The archbishop of Mayence exerted all the means in his power to protect the wretched victims, but had the mortification to witness the murder of those who sought refuge in his own palace.

At length a regular army was organized, under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, one of the most celebrated generals of the age. No sovereign joined his standard, but the leading nobility of Christendom were enrolled among his followers, among whom may be mentioned, Robert, duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror, Hugh, brother of the king of France, Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and Raymond, count of Toulouse. When the divisions of this formidable army arrived near Constantinople, Alexis, who then ruled the Byzantine empire, was naturally terrified by the appearance of hosts too powerful to be received as auxiliaries, and too formidable to be rejected as enemies. The crafty Greek had recourse to treachery and dissimulation; after a disgusting train of fraudulent negotiations, the Latin warriors passed into Asia, leaving behind them worse enemies in the Christians of the Byzantine empire, whom it was part of their object to protect, than the Turks they had come to assail. Their early career in Asia was glorious, but purchased at an enormous expenditure of life. Nicea, the capital of the sultany of Rúm, was

taken; a great victory over the sultan Soleiman opened a passage into Syria; Antioch was captured after a seige of unparalleled difficulty, and finally, Jerusalem, which had been recently wrested from the Turks by the Egyptians, fell before the arms of the crusaders, and became the capital of a new kingdom (A. D. 1099).

Jerusalem was obstinately defended by the Mussulmans; they hurled beams and stones on the heads of those who tried to scale the walls, and flung burning oil and sulphur on the moveable towers and bridges employed by the assailants. The crusaders displayed equal energy, but on the second day of assault, just as they were sinking under the united effects of weariness and a burning sun, Godfrey declared that he saw a celestial messenger on the Mount of Olives, cheering the Christians to the combat. The enthusiasm awakened by such a declaration bore down every obstacle; the crusaders made good their lodgement on the wall, and the Mohammedans fled into the city. Amid the most rapturous shouts of triumph the banner of the cross was planted on the towers of Jerusalem, and as it unfurled itself in the wind, many of the bravest warriors wept for joy. But the triumph was sullied by an indiscriminate and unsparing massacre; a helpless crowd sought shelter in the mosque of Omar, but the gates were speedily forced and the fugitives butchered; the knights boasted that they rode in Saracen blood up to the knees of their horses. The massacre lasted all day, but when the shades of evening began to close around, the crusaders suddenly recollected that they were in the midst of those places which had been hallowed by the presence and sufferings of their Savior. As if by some common and supernatural impulse, the savage warriors were suddenly changed into devout pilgrims; each hasted to remove from his person the stains of slaughter; they laid aside their weapons, and in the guise of penitents, with bare heads and feet, streaming eyes and folded hands, they ascended the hill of Calvary and entered the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The services of religion were performed by the clergy of Jerusalem, who hailed their deliverers with enthusiastic gratitude.

Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen sovereign of Palestine; he refused the title of king, declaring that Christ was the true monarch of the Holy Land, and declined to wear a crown of gold, where his Savior had borne a crown of thorns. Baldwin, his brother and successor, was less scrupulous; he assumed the royal ensigns and title, and transmitted the throne to his cousin, Baldwin du Bourg, whose posterity continued to reign in Palestine until the kingdom was overthrown by Saladin (A. D. 1187). Several minor states were established by the crusaders, of which the most remarkable were the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and, at a later period, the kingdom of Cyprus. None of these states had long duration; the Christians of the east, continually assailed by powerful enemies, could not be persuaded to unite cordially for mutual defence; victories were scarcely less calamitous to them than defeats, on account of the difficulty of obtaining reinforcements from Europe; and though the crusading enthusiasm endured for two centuries, its heat gradually abated, and nothing would have kept it alive but the privileges and grants made by the popes, and the principal European potentates, to those who joined in such expedi-

tions. Six principal crusades followed the first great movement; they were all either unsuccessful or productive of advantages as fleeting as they were trivial.

Forty-eight years after Jerusalem had been taken by the Christians, the emperor, Conrad III., and Louis VII., king of France, undertook a second crusade to support the sinking fortunes of their brethren in Palestine (A. D. 1117). The Atta-beg Zenghi, who had, by his superior prowess, obtained the chief command over the Turkish tribes in Irak, attacked the Christian territories beyond the Euphrates, and made himself master of Edessa, justly regarded as the bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Conrad proceeded to Constantinople, without waiting for his ally. He had to encounter the treacherous hostility of the Byzantine emperor, which proved fatal to an army containing the flower of German chivalry, including a troop of noble ladies who served in the attitude and armor of men. Manuel, who then held the throne of Constantinople, gave the sultan secret intelligence of the German line of march, and furnished Conrad with treacherous guides. After a glorious but unsuccessful battle on the banks of the Mæander, Conrad was forced to retreat; he met the French advancing from the Bosphorus, and the contrast of his own condition with the pomp of Louis, led him to desert the cause. The French, undismayed and unwarned, pursued their march with inconsiderate speed; their rear-guard was surprised by the Turkish troops, while the van was at a considerable distance, and the greater part put to the sword. Louis brought the shattered remnant of his forces by sea to Antioch; the Christians of Palestine joined him in an unsuccessful siege of Damascus, after which the monarch returned to Europe, dishonored by a faithless wife, and deserted by ungrateful allies. This disgraceful termination of an expedition from which so much had been expected, diffused feelings of melancholy and surprise throughout Europe. St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, through whose influence the crusade was undertaken, had to encounter the storm of public indignation; he was stigmatized as a lying prophet, who, by pretended inspiration and false miracles, had lured myriads to a miserable doom. But Bernard was not daunted by these reproaches; he replied to those accusations by pointing out the true causes of the failure, the follies and vices of the crusaders themselves; he asserted that a new expedition, undertaken in a spirit of piety, would be crowned with success; and he urged the states of Christendom to combine in one great effort for securing the kingdom of Jerusalem. His efforts to revive the crusading spirit were, however, unavailing, and death surprised him in the midst of his exertions.

Noureddín,* the son of Zenghi, destroyed the dynasty of the Fatimite khaliphs in Egypt. His favorite, Saladin,† usurped the government of Egypt, and, though a Kurd by descent, became the favorite hero both of the Turks and Arabs. On the death of his ancient master, Saladin invaded the Christian territories, and, after a brief siege, made himself master of Jerusalem (A. D. 1187). The loss of the holy city filled all Europe with sorrow; the emperor, Frederic I., the lion-hearted

* Núr-ed-dín signifies "the light of religion."

† Salah-ed-dín signifies "the safety of religion."

Richard of England, Philip Augustus of France, and several minor princes, assumed the cross, while the maritime states of Italy, by sending immediate reinforcements to the garrisons on the coasts of the Mediterranean, arrested the progress of Saladin. Frederic advanced through the Byzantine territories, harassed at every step by Greek fraud and treachery. Having wintered at Adrianople, he crossed the Hellespont, defeated the Turks in several engagements, and stormed the city of Iconium. But in the midst of his glorious career he was drowned in the river Cydnus (A. D. 1190). The army persevered, and joined the eastern Christians in the famous siege of Acre.

While Acre was closely pressed by the Christians, the besiegers were, in their turn, so strictly blockaded by Saladin, that they suffered more than the garrison. The kings of England and France, however, followed by the flower of their dominions, appeared together as companions in arms, and reached Palestine by sea. The siege of Acre was so vigorously prosecuted after the arrival of the English that the town was soon forced to surrender, and the Christians began to indulge the hope of recovering Jerusalem. Their expectations were frustrated by the jealousy which arose between the French and the English; Philip, unable to brook the superiority which Richard acquired by his military prowess, and perhaps, in some degree, by his wealth, returned home, leaving a part of his army under the command of the duke of Burgundy, for the defence of the Holy Land. But the animosity between the French and English parties was increased rather than abated by the departure of Philip; the envy of his companions rendered the valorous exertions of Richard unavailing; he entered into a treaty with Saladin, obtaining for the Christians free access to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, and then hasted home to defend his dominions from the attacks of his ancient rival (A. D. 1192). On his return, the English monarch was seized and imprisoned by the duke of Austria, whom he had grievously insulted in Palestine; he was subsequently resigned to the custody of the emperor of Germany, from whom he had to purchase his liberation by the payment of a large ransom. The illustrious Saladin did not long survive the departure of the royal crusader; he died at Damascus, and the disputes that arose respecting his inheritance, prevented the Mohammedans from completing the destruction of the Latin kingdom of Palestine.

The fourth crusade was undertaken at the instigation of Innocent III. (A. D. 1202), aided by a fanatic preacher, Foulke of Neuilly. The fervor of enthusiasm was now abated; no great sovereign joined in the enterprise, but several of the most potent feudatories offered their services, and Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, was chosen commander-in-chief. The crusaders obtained transports from the Venetians, by conquering Zara, in Dalmatia, for the republic of Venice, in spite of the threats and remonstrances of the pope, who was justly indignant at seeing their first efforts directed against a Christian city. But this departure from their original design was followed by a still more remarkable deviation; instead of proceeding to Palestine, they sailed against Constantinople, to dethrone the usurper, Alexius Angelus. The crusaders succeeded in restoring the lawful emperor, Isaac, to his empire; but the reward they claimed for their services was extravagant, and

Isaac's efforts to comply with the stipulations provoked such resentment, that he was deposed by his subjects, and put to death, together with his son. The crusaders instantly proclaimed war against the usurper, Mourzoufle, laid siege to Constantinople, took the city by storm, pillaged it with remorseless cruelty, and founded a new Latin empire on the ruins of the Byzantine (A. D. 1204). Baldwin, count of Flanders, was chosen sovereign of the new state, which, under five Latin emperors, lasted little more than half a century. Constantinople was recovered by the Greeks (A. D. 1261), and the hopes of uniting the eastern and western churches, which the possession of the Byzantine capital had inspired, were blighted for ever.

The fifth crusade was conducted by the king of Hungary. Two hundred thousand Franks landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile, persuaded that the conquest of Egypt was a necessary preliminary to the recovery and safe possession of Palestine (A. D. 1218). After having obtained some important successes, their cause was ruined by the arrogance and presumption of the papal legate, who assumed the direction of the army. They purchased some trivial concessions, by evacuating all their conquests; and the pope, who at first proposed to come in person to their assistance, was too busily engaged in checking the progress of heresy, to venture on an expedition to Palestine.

Frederic II., emperor of Germany, led a formidable army to Palestine, after having been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. for delaying his expedition, a sentence which was renewed because he ventured to sail without waiting for the papal orders (A. D. 1228). This war exhibited the strange anomaly of a champion of the cross exposed to the bitterest hostility of the church. Frederic was everywhere victorious, but the papal legates and the priests harassed him by constant opposition; a crusade was preached against him in Italy, and efforts were made to weaken his authority in his own hereditary dominions. On receiving this intelligence, Frederic concluded an equitable treaty with the sultan Melek Kamel, crowned himself at Jerusalem, for no ecclesiastic would perform the ceremony, and returned to Europe, after having effected more for the Christians of Palestine than any of their former protectors. Gregory again hurled anathemas against a prince who had made a treaty with the infidels; but Frederic's vigorous exertions soon changed the aspect of affairs; he reduced those who had rebelled during his absence, dispersed the papal and Lombard troops, and won absolution by his victories.

Tranquillity, which endured fifteen years, raised the Latins of Palestine to a prosperous condition; but a new and more formidable enemy, issuing from the deserts of Tartary, subverted the kingdom which had been founded at such an expense of blood and treasure. The Khorasmian Turks, driven from their native deserts by the Mongols, threw themselves upon Palestine, stormed Jerusalem, subverted the Latin principalities, and the small Turkish states in Syria. Jerusalem, and the greater part of Palestine, was subsequently annexed to the sultany of Egypt.

Louis IX., of France, commonly called St. Louis, led the ninth crusade. Egypt was the scene of his operations; after obtaining some

important triumphs, he was defeated, made prisoner, and forced to purchase his freedom by the payment of a large ransom (A. D. 1250). The pope's inveterate hostility to Frederic was one of the chief causes that led to the ruin of this crusade. At the moment that Louis sailed, Innocent was preaching a crusade against the emperor in Europe, and the Dominicans were stimulating their hearers to rebellion and assassination. The lamentable loss of the French army, the captivity of the "most Christian king," and the utter ruin of the Latin kingdom in Palestine, failed to shake the obstinacy of the pontiff. It seemed even that the death of Frederic redoubled his fury, as if his prey had escaped from his hands. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad," was his address to the clergy of Sicily, "for the lightning and the tempest, wherewith God Almighty has so long menaced your heads, have been changed, by the death of this man, into refreshing zephyrs and fertilizing dews."

Untaught by calamity, he prepared for a second crusade; on his voyage to the place of rendezvous, he was induced to steer to Tunis, in the wild hope of baptizing its king (A. D. 1270). Instead of a proselyte, Louis found a tedious siege, and a mortal disease. On his death, the remnant of his army was led back to Europe without making any further effort. The fate of Palestine was for a time delayed by the valor of Edward I., of England, who extorted a three years' truce from the Mohammedans. At length, some excesses of the Latins provoked the resentment of the Mameluke sultan, Khalil; he resolved to expel them completely from Palestine, and laid siege to their last stronghold, Acre (A. D. 1291). The city was taken after a tedious siege, and after its fall the title of King of Jerusalem, still preserved by the Christian princes, became an empty name.

SECTION VIII.—*The Crusade against the Albigenses.*

IT has been already mentioned that the growth of heresy was beginning to alarm the advocates of papal supremacy in the reign of Alexander III., and that a general council had pronounced a solemn decree against the Albigenses. But the feudal lords of France and Italy were slow in adopting an edict which would have deprived them of their best vassals, and the new opinions, or rather the original doctrines of Christianity, were secretly preached throughout the greater part of Europe. It may be conceded to the defenders of the papal system that there were some among the preachers of a reformation who had given too great a scope to their imaginations, and revived many of the dangerous errors of the Manichæans and Paulicians. There seems no just cause for doubting that a few enthusiasts ascribed the Old Testament to the principle of Evil; because, as they asserted, "God is there described as a homicide, destroying the world by water, Sodom and Gomorrah by fire, and the Egyptians by the overflow of the Red sea." But these were the sentiments of a very small minority; the bulk of the Albigensian reformers protested simply against the doctrine of transubstantiation, the sacraments of confirmation, confession, and marriage, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, and the temporal power of the prelates. Their moral character was

confessed by their enemies, but while they acknowledged its external purity, they invented the blackest calumnies respecting their secret practices, without ever bringing forward a shadow of proof, and consequently without incurring the hazard of refutation. The progress of reform was silent; for the efforts of the *paterins*, or Albigensian teachers, were directed rather to forming a moral and pure society within the church, than to the establishment of a new sect. They seemed anxious to hold the same relation to the Romish establishment that John Wesley designed the Methodists to keep toward the church of England. Their labors generated an independence of spirit and freedom of judgment which would probably have led to an open revolt, had not Innocent III. discerned the danger to which the papal system was exposed, and resolved to crush freedom of thought before its exercise would subvert his despotism.

Innocent's first step was to enlist cupidity and self-interest on his side; he abandoned to the barons the confiscated properties of heretics, and ordered that the enemies of the church should be for ever banished from the lands of which they were deprived. He then sent commissioners into the south of France, to examine and punish those suspected of entertaining heretical opinions, and thus laid the first foundation of the Inquisition. The arrogance and violence of these papal emissaries disgusted every class of society; finding that their persecutions were unpopular, they resolved to support their power by force of arms, and they were not long in discovering the materials of an army.

Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, was engaged in war with some of the neighboring barons, and Peter de Castelnau, the papal legate, offered to act as mediator. He went to the barons, and obtained from them a promise that, if Raymond would consent to their demands, they would employ all the forces they had assembled to extirpate heresy. Castelnau drew up a treaty on these conditions, and offered it to Raymond for his signature. The count was naturally reluctant to purchase the slaughter of his best subjects, by the sacrifice of his dominions, and the admission of a hostile army into his states. He peremptorily refused his consent, upon which Castelnau excommunicated Raymond, placed his dominions under an interdict, and wrote to the pope for a confirmation of the sentence.

Innocent III. confirmed the legate's sentence, and began to preach a crusade; but his violence transcended all bounds, when he learned that Castelnau had been slain by a gentleman of Toulouse whom he had personally insulted (A. D. 1208). Though Raymond appears to have had no share in this murder, it was against him that the papal vengeance was principally directed: he was excommunicated, his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and the French king was invited to despoil him of his estates.

Philip Augustus was too busily engaged in wars with the king of England and the emperor of Germany to turn his attention to the extirpation of heresy; but he permitted a crusade against the Albigenses to be preached throughout his dominions, and the monks of Citeaux became the chief missionaries of this unholy war; they promised the pardon of all sins committed from the day of birth to death, to those who fell in the war, unlimited indulgence, the protection of the church,

and a large share of spoil to all who survived. While the monks were enlisting ferocious bands of wretches, who believed that they might expiate their former crimes by the perpetration of fresh atrocities, Innocent was preparing a new mission to Languedoc, whose savage brutalities exceeded even those of the crusaders. A new monastic order was instituted, at the head of which was placed a Spaniard named St. Dominic, whose special object was to extirpate heresy, by preaching against the doctrines of those who dissented from the church, and punishing with death those who could not be convinced by argument. This institution, too well known by the dreaded name of the Inquisition, appears to have been originally planned by the bishop of Toulouse, who introduced it into his diocese about seven years before it was formally sanctioned by Pope Innocent at the council of Lateran.

Raymond VI., and his nephew Raymond Roger, viscount of Albí, alarmed at the approaching danger, presented themselves before the papal legate, Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, to avert the coming storm by explanations and submissions. They protested that they had never sanctioned heresy, and that they had no share in the murder of Castelnau. The severity with which they were treated by the legate, convinced the young viscount that nothing was to be hoped from negotiation, and he returned to his states, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity: the count of Toulouse showed less fortitude; he promised to submit to any conditions which the pope would impose.

Raymond's ambassadors were received by the pope with apparent indulgence; but the terms on which absolution were offered to the count could scarcely have been more severe. He was required to make common cause with the crusaders, to aid them in the extirpation of heretics—that is, his own subjects—and to give up seven of his best castles as a pledge of his intentions. Innocent declared that, if Raymond performed these conditions, he would not only be absolved, but taken into special favor; yet, at the very same moment, the pope was inflexibly resolved on the count's destruction.

In the spring of the year 1209, all the fanatics who had taken arms at the preaching of the monks of Citeaux, began to assemble on the borders of Languedoc; the land was spread in beauty before them—ere long it was to be a howling wilderness. Raymond VI. sank into abject cowardice; he yielded up his castles, he promised implicit submission to the legate, he even allowed himself to be publicly beaten with rods before the altar, as a penance for his errors. As a reward for his humiliation, he was permitted to serve in the ranks of the crusaders, and to act as their guide in the war against his nephew.

Raymond Roger showed a bolder spirit; finding the papal legate implacable, he summoned his barons together, and having stated all his exertions to preserve peace, made a stirring appeal to their generosity and their patriotism. All resolved on an obstinate defence; even those who adhered to the church of Rome justly dreaded the excesses of a fanatical horde eager to shed blood, and gratify a ruffian thirst for plunder. The crusaders advanced: some castles and fortified towns were abandoned to them; others not subject to the imputation of heresy were allowed to ransom themselves; Villemur was burned, and Chasseneuil, after a vigorous defence, capitulated. The garrison was per-

mitted to retire, but all the inhabitants suspected of heresy, male and female, were committed to the flames amid the ferocious shouts of the conquerors, and their property abandoned to the soldiery.

Beziers was the next object of attack; the citizens resolved to make a vigorous resistance, but they were routed in a sally by the advanced guard of the crusaders, and so vigorously pursued, that the conquerors and conquered entered the gates together. The leaders, before taking advantage of their unexpected success, asked the abbot of Citeaux how they should distinguish Catholics from heretics; the legate's memorable answer was, "Kill all: God will distinguish those who belong to himself." His words were too well obeyed; every inhabitant of Beziers was ruthlessly massacred, and when the town was thus one immense slaughter-house, it was fired, that its ruins and ashes might become the monument of papal vengeance.

Carcasonne was now the last stronghold of Raymond Roger, and it was gallantly defended by the young viscount. Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusaders, found himself foiled by a mere youth, and was detained for eight days before he could master the suburbs and invest the town.

Peter II., king of Aragon, whom the viscount of Albi and Beziers recognised as his suzerain, took advantage of this delay to interfere in behalf of the young lord, who was his nephew as well as his vassal. The legate, unwilling to offend so powerful a sovereign, accepted his mediation, but when asked what terms would be granted to the besieged, he required that two thirds of Carcasonne should be given up to plunder. Raymond Roger spurned such conditions; Peter applauded his courage, and personally addressed the garrison. "You know the fate that waits you; make a bold defence, for that is the best means of finally obtaining favorable terms." The prudence of this advice was proved by the legate's consenting to a capitulation; but when the viscount, trusting to the faith of the treaty, presented himself in the camp of the crusaders, he was treacherously arrested, and thrown with his attendants into prison. Warned by the fate of their leader, the citizens of Carcasonne evacuated the town during the night, but some of the fugitives were overtaken by the cavalry of the crusaders; the legate selected a supply of victims from his prisoners; four hundred of them were burned alive, and about fifty were hanged.

It seemed that the object of the crusade was obtained; the count of Toulouse had submitted to every condition, however humiliating; the viscount of Narbonne abandoned every notion of resistance; and the gallant lord of Beziers was a prisoner. The crusaders too began to grow weary of the war; the French lords were ashamed of the cruelties they had sanctioned, and the faith they had violated; the knights and common soldiers, having completed the term of their service, were anxious to revisit their homes. But the legate, Arnold, was still unsatisfied; he summoned a council of the crusaders, and tried to induce them to remain, in order that they might protect their conquests of Beziers and Carcasonne, the investiture of which he conferred on Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. But the greater part of the French nobles refused to remain longer, and Montfort had to defend his new acquisitions with the vassals from his own estates. The gallant

Raymond Roger was detained a close prisoner in his own baronial hall at Carcasonne, where he soon died, the victim of a dysentery, produced by grief, or, as was generally suspected, by poison.

The armies of the crusaders withdrew; they left a desert, and called it peace; but the sufferings of the Albigenses were not exhausted; the monks of the Inquisition, attended by trains of executioners, went at their will through the land, torturing and butchering all who were suspected of heresy. Nor were the monks of Citeaux idle; they had found honor and profit in preaching a crusade, and they were not disposed to relinquish the lucrative employment. Thus a new crusade was preached when there was no enemy to combat, and new hordes of fanatics were poured into Languedoc. They forced their chiefs to renew the war, that the exertions of those who profited by preaching extermination should not be lost, and that the bigotry of those who hoped to purchase their salvation by murder should not remain ungratified.

Strengthened by these reinforcements, Simon de Montfort threw off the mask of moderation, and declared war against the unfortunate count of Toulouse. Raymond was once more excommunicated, and his dominions placed under an interdict. But the earl of Leicester soon found that he had been premature in his hostilities; the king of Aragon refused to receive his homage for the viscounties of Beziers and Carcasonne, declaring that he would support the claims of the legitimate heir, Raymond Trencanel, the only son of the unfortunate Raymond Roger, a child about two years old, who was safe under the guardianship of the Count de Foix. A dangerous insurrection was raised in the states so recently assigned to Montfort; and out of the two hundred towns and castles that had been granted to him, eight alone remained in his possession.

The count of Toulouse was too much afraid of ecclesiastical vengeance to defend himself by arms; he sought the protection of the king of France, and he went in person to Rome to implore absolution. Innocent promised him pardon on condition of his clearing himself from the charge of heresy and of participation in the murder of Castelnau; but when he presented himself before the council, he found that his judges had been gained over by his inexorable enemy, the abbot of Citeaux, and instead of being permitted to enter on his defence, he was overwhelmed by a series of new and unexpected charges. His remonstrances were neglected, his tears afforded theme for mockery and insult, and the sentence of excommunication was formally ratified.

In the meantime the crusaders, under Simon de Montfort, pursued their career of extermination; those whom the sword spared fell by the hands of the executioner; and the ministers of a God of peace were found more cruel and vindictive than a licentious soldiery. Even the king of Aragon became alarmed, and sought to secure the friendship of the papal favorite, by affiancing his infant son to a daughter of De Montfort. The monarch probably expected that by this concession, he would obtain more favorable terms for Raymond, and he accompanied the count to Arles, where a provincial council was assembled. The terms of peace fixed by the legate were so extravagant, not to say absurd, that even Raymond rejected them, and secretly withdrew from

the city in company with the king of Aragon. Once more the count was excommunicated, pronounced an enemy of the church and an apostate from the faith, and declared to have forfeited his title and estates.

The war was now resumed with fresh vigor; after a long siege, De Montfort took the strong castle of Lavaur by assault, hanged its brave governor, the lord of Montreal, and massacred the entire garrison. "The lady of the castle," says the Romish historian, "who was an execrable heretic, was by the earl's orders thrown into a well, and stones heaped over her: afterward, the pilgrims collected the numberless heretics that were in the fortress, and burned them alive with great joy."

The same cruelties were perpetrated at every other place through which the crusaders passed; and the friends of the victims took revenge, by intercepting convoys, and murdering stragglers. It was not until he had received a large reinforcement of pilgrims from Germany, that the earl of Leicester ventured to lay siege to Toulouse. Raymond, in this extremity, displayed a vigor and courage, which, if he had manifested in the earlier part of the war, would probably have saved his country from ruin. He made so vigorous a defence, that the crusaders were forced to raise the siege, and retire with some precipitation.

The friendship between the monks of Citeaux and the crusaders soon began to be interrupted by the ambition of the former. Under pretence of reforming the ecclesiastical condition of Languedoc, they expelled the principal prelates, and seized for themselves the richest sees and benefices. The legate, Arnold, took for his share the archbishop of Narbonne, after which he abandoned Montfort, and went to lead a new crusade against the Moors in Spain. Innocent III. himself paused for a moment in his career of vengeance, and, at the instance of the king of Aragon, promised Raymond the benefit of a fair trial. But it is easier to rouse than to allay the spirit of fanaticism; disobeyed by his legates, and reproached by the crusaders, the pope was compelled to retrace his steps, and abandon Raymond to the fury of his enemies.

The king of Arragon came to the aid of his unfortunate relative, and encountered the formidable army of the crusaders at Muret; but he was slain in the beginning of the battle; the Spanish chivalry, disheartened by his fall, took to flight; and the infantry of Toulouse, thus forsaken, could offer no effective resistance. Trampled down by the pilgrim-knights, the citizens of Toulouse who followed their sovereign to the field, were either cut to pieces, or drowned in the waters of the Garonne.

Philip Augustus had triumphed over his enemies, the king of England and the emperor of Germany, just when the victory of Muret seems to have confirmed the power of De Montfort. But the ambitious adventurer derived little profit from his success, for the court of Rome began to dread the power of its creature (A. D. 1215). His influence with the papal legates and the prelates who had directed the crusade was, however, still very great, and he procured from the council of Montpellier the investiture of Toulouse and all the conquests made by "the Christian pilgrims." Philip Augustus was by no means disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement; he sent his son Louis with a numer-

ous army into the south of France, under pretence of joining in the crusade, but really to watch the proceedings of De Montfort. Louis subsequently returned to accept the proffered crown of England, and the quarrel in which this proceeding involved him with the pope diverted his attention from Languedoc.

Arnold of Citeaux, having returned from his Spanish crusade, took possession of his archbishopric of Narbonne, where he began to exercise the rights of a sovereign prince. Simon de Montfort, who had taken the title of duke of Narbonne in addition to that of count of Toulouse, denied that his old companion in arms had a right to temporal jurisdiction; he entered the city by force, and erected his ducal standard. Arnold fulminated an excommunication against De Montfort, and placed the city under an interdict while he remained in it; he found, however, to his great surprise and vexation, that these weapons were contemned by the formidable champion of the church. But a more vigorous enemy appeared in the person of Raymond VII., son of the count of Toulouse, who, in conjunction with his father, made a vigorous effort to recover the ancient inheritance of his race. Simon de Montfort, contrary to his own better judgment, was induced by Foulke, bishop of Toulouse, to treat the citizens with treacherous cruelty for showing some symptoms of affection to their ancient lord; the consequence was, that they took advantage of his absence to invite Raymond to resume his power; and on the 13th of September, 1217, the count was publicly received into his ancient capital amid universal acclamations.

Simon, by the aid of the papal legate and the clergy, was able to collect a large army, but the bravest of the crusaders had either fallen in the preceding wars, or returned disgusted to their homes. Every one now knew that heresy was extinguished in Languedoc, and that the war was maintained only to gratify private revenge and individual ambition. De Montfort laid siege to Toulouse, but he was slain in a sally of the inhabitants, and his son Almeric, after a vain effort to revenge his death, retired to Carcasonne.

The Albigensian war was not ended by the death of its great leader. Almeric de Montfort sold his claims over Languedoc to Louis VIII., king of France; and though this prince died in the attempt to gain possession of Toulouse, the war was so vigorously supported by the queen-regent, Blanche, that Raymond VII, submitted to his enemies, and his dominions were united to the crown of France (A. D. 1229). The Inquisition was immediately established in these unhappy countries, which have never since recovered completely from the calamities inflicted upon them by the ministers of papal vengeance.

SECTION IX.—*Consequences of the Crusades.*

THOUGH the popes did not succeed in establishing their supremacy over the eastern churches, yet they derived very important advantages from the wars of the crusaders. Not the least of these was the general recognition of their right to interfere in the internal management of states; they compelled emperors and kings to assume the cross; they levied taxes at their discretion on the clergy throughout Christen-

dom for the support of these wars; they took under their immediate protection the persons and properties of those who enlisted, and granted privileges to the adventurous warriors, which it would have been deemed impiety to contravene. Those who joined in these wars, frequently bequeathed their estates to the church, in the not improbable case of their death without heirs; those whom cowardice or policy detained at home, atoned for their absence by founding ecclesiastical endowments.

While the papal power increased, that of monarchs declined; in Germany, the Hohenstauffen gradually lost all influence; in England, the barons extorted a charter from John, and the Hungarians chiefs placed similar restrictions on their sovereign. Peculiar circumstances led to a contrary result in France; many of the great feudatories having fallen in a distant land, the monarchs were enabled to extend their prerogatives, while their domains were increased by seizing the properties of those who died without feudal heirs, or of those who were suspected of heretical opinions. The Christian kings of Spain and northern Europe derived also some profit from the fanaticism of the age, being aided by troops of warlike adventurers, in extending their dominions at the expense of their Mohammedan and pagan neighbors.

Chivalry, though older than the crusades, derived its chief influence and strength from these wars. The use of surnames, coats of arms, and distinctive banners, became necessary in armies composed of men differing in language, habits, and feelings, collected at hazard from every Christian kingdom. Tournaments were the natural result of pride and courage, in warriors naturally jealous of each other's fame, while the institution of the military orders invested knighthood with a mysterious religious sanction. The first of these was the order of the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, known subsequently as the Knights of Malta. They were formed into a confraternity by Pope Pascal (A. D. 1114), but their order was greatly enlarged by Pope Calixtus. They bore an octagonal white cross on their black robes, and were bound to wage war on infidels, and attend to sick pilgrims. After the loss of the Holy Land, they removed successively to Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta. Their order held Malta until A. D. 1798, when they were deprived of their last possession by Napoleon.

The Knights Templars, distinguished by the red cross, were instituted soon after the Hospitallers. Their original duty was to keep the roads free for the pilgrims that visited the Holy Sepulchre, but as their numbers increased, they became the great bulwark of the Christian kingdom of Palestine, and the possessors of rich endowments in every part of western Europe.* At length their wealth excited the cupidity of monarchs; they were overwhelmed by a mass of forged accusations; many of the noblest knights were put to death by torture, and the order wholly abolished at the council of Vienne (A. D. 1312).

The Teutonic order was originally a confraternity of German knights, formed during the seige of Acre, for the relief of the sick and wounded. It was formally instituted by Pope Celestin III. (A. D. 1192), and a

* The Temple in London belonged to the Red-cross knights; the Hospitallers possessed a splendid preceptory in Clerkenwell, part of which is still standing.

code of regulations prescribed for its direction. Their ensign was a black cross, on a white robe. They subdued the kingdom of Prussia (A. D. 1230), of which they held possession until the progress of the Reformation gave that country to a protestant prince (A. D. 1525). The last great order was that of St. Łazarus, instituted originally for superintending the treatment of leprosy, a loathsome disease which the crusaders introduced into Europe. It soon became military, like the preceding, but never rose to similar eminence.

The Italian maritime states supplied the crusaders with transports, and conveyed to them provision and the munitions of war. This traffic led to a rapid increase in the commerce and navigation of the Mediterranean ; a taste for spices and other articles of oriental luxury was gradually diffused throughout Europe, and trading depôts were formed by Venice, Genoa, and other Italian powers, on the shores of the Levant, and the coasts of the Greek empire. Several French towns imitated this example, and in the remote north an association was formed for the protection and extension of commerce between the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh (A. D. 1241), which laid the foundation of the Hanseatic league. The progress of industry, the encouragement which sovereigns found it their interest to grant to trade, and their anxiety to check the arrogance and rapacity of their feudal vassals, led to a great change in most European countries, the establishment of municipal institutions.

The royal authority gained considerably by the extension of municipal freedom. The cities and towns saw that the sovereign was the person most interested in protecting their growing freedom, and they therefore gladly gave him their support in his struggles with the aristocracy and the clergy. The emancipation of the serfs was a consequence of municipal freedom. The free cities granted protection to all who sought shelter within their walls, and the nobles saw that they must either ameliorate the condition of their vassals, or witness the depopulation of their estates. Liberty thus gradually recovered its right; civilization consequently began to extend its blessings over society.

The imperial house of Hohenstauffen fell from its pride of place on the death of the emperor Frederic II., the great opponent of the papacy (A. D. 1250). His son Conrad fell a victim to disease, after a brief but troubled reign; and the anarchy which succeeded in Germany, is justly named the calamitous period of the great interregnum. William of Holland, and an English prince, Richard, earl of Cornwall, were successively elected emperors, and enjoyed little more than the title. At length, Rodolph, count of Hapsburgh, was chosen (A. D. 1273), and showed himself worthy of the crown by his energy in suppressing the predatory wars that were waged by his vassals. In the meantime, the popes, in defiance of the rights of the Hohenstauffen, had bestowed the kingdom of Naples on Charles, duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France.

The cruelties of Charles led the Italians to invite young Conradin to assert the hereditary claims of his family. At the age of sixteen this brave prince entered Italy, where he was enthusiastically received. But the Italians were not able to compete with the French in the field; when Conradin encountered Charles, his followers broke at the first on-

set, and he remained a prisoner. The duke of Anjou subjected the young prince to the mockery of a trial, and commanded him to be executed.

Thus fell the last prince of the house of Suabia, which had long been the most formidable obstacle to papal usurpation. The triumph of the papacy appeared complete: Italy was severed from the German empire; but the peninsula recovered its independence only to be torn in sunder by factions; the church did not succeed to the empire, and the pontiffs found that the spirit of freedom, which they had themselves nurtured, was a more formidable foe than the sovereigns of Germany.

Section X.—*Formation and Constitutional History of the Spanish Monarchy.*

For several hundred years after the great Saracen invasion in the beginning of the eighth century, Spain was broken up into a number of small but independent states, divided in their interests, and often in deadly hostility with one another. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the number of states into which the country had been divided was reduced to four; Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and the Moorish kingdom of Granada. The last, comprised within nearly the same limits as the modern province of that name, was all that remained to the Moslems of their once vast possessions in the peninsula. Its concentrated population gave it a degree of strength altogether disproportioned to the extent of its territory; and the profuse magnificence of its court, which rivalled that of the ancient khaliphs, was supported by the labors of a sober industrious people, under whom agriculture and several of the mechanic arts had reached a degree of perfection probably unequalled in any other part of Europe during the middle ages.

The little kingdom of Navarre, embosomed within the Pyrenees, had often attracted the avarice of neighboring and more powerful states. But since their selfish schemes operated as a mutual check upon each other, Navarre still continued to maintain her independence when all the smaller states had been absorbed in the gradually increasing dominion of Castile and Aragon. This latter kingdom comprehended the province of that name, together with Catalonia and Valencia. Under its auspicious climate and free political institutions, its inhabitants displayed an uncommon share of intellectual and moral energy. Its long line of coast opened the way to an extensive and flourishing commerce; and its enterprising navy indemnified the nation for the scantiness of its territory at home by the important foreign conquests of Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and the Balearic Isles.

The remaining provinces of the peninsula fell to the crown of Castile, which, thus extending its sway over an unbroken line of country from the bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, seemed, by the magnitude of its territory, to be entitled to some supremacy over the other states of the peninsula; especially as it was there that the old Gothic monarchy may be said first to have revived after the great Saracen invasion. This claim, indeed, appears to have been recognised at an early period of her history.

The Saracens, reposing under the sunny skies of Andalusia, so congenial with their own, seemed willing to relinquish the sterile regions

of the north to an enemy whom they despised. But when the Spaniards, quitting the shelter of their mountains, descended into the open plains of Leon and Castile, they found themselves exposed to the predatory incursions of the Arab cavalry. It was not until they had reached some natural boundary, as the river Douro, that they were enabled, by constructing a line of fortifications behind this natural fence, to secure their conquests. Their own dissensions were another cause of their tardy progress. More Christian blood was wasted in these national feuds than in all their encounters with the infidel. The soldiers of Fernan Gonçales, a chieftain of the tenth century, complained that their master made them lead the lives of very devils, keeping them in the harness day and night, in wars not against the Saracens, but one another.

These circumstances so far checked the energies of the Christians, that a century and a half elapsed after the invasion before they had penetrated to the Douro (A. D. 850), and nearly thrice that period before they had advanced the line of conquest to the Tagus (A. D. 1147), notwithstanding this portion of the country had been comparatively deserted by the Mohammedans. But it was easy to foresee that a people living as they did under circumstances favorable to the development of both physical and moral energy, must ultimately prevail over a nation oppressed by despotism, and the effeminate indulgence to which it was naturally disposed by a sensual religion and a voluptuous climate. In truth, the early Spaniard was urged by every motive which can give energy to human purpose. His cause became the cause of Heaven. The church published her bulls of crusade, offering liberal indulgences to those who served, and paradise to those who fell in the battle against the infidel. Indeed, volunteers from the remotest parts of Christian Europe eagerly thronged to serve under his banner, and the cause of religion was debated with the same ardor in Spain as on the plains of Palestine.

To the extraordinary position in which the nation was placed may be referred the liberal forms of its political institutions, as well as a more early development of them than took place in other countries of Europe. From the exposure of the Castilian towns to the predatory incursions of the Arabs, it became necessary, not only that they should be strongly fortified, but that every citizen should be trained to bear arms in their defence. An immense increase of consequence was given to the burgesses, who thus constituted the most effective part of the national militia. To this circumstance, as well as to the policy of inviting the settlement of frontier places by the grant of extraordinary privileges to the inhabitants, is to be imputed the early date, as well the liberal character of the charters of community in Castile and Leon. These, although varying a good deal in their details, generally conceded to the citizens the right of electing their own magistrates for the regulation of municipal affairs. In order to secure the barriers of justice more effectually against the violence of power, so often superior to law in an imperfect state of society, it was provided in many of the charters that no nobles should be permitted to acquire real property within the limits of the municipality; that no fortress or palace should be erected by them there; that such as might reside within the terri-

tory of a chartered city or borough should be subject to its jurisdiction; and that any violence offered by the feudal lords to its inhabitants might be resisted with impunity. Thus, while the inhabitants of the great towns in other parts of Europe were languishing in feudal servitude, the Castilian corporation, living under the protection of their own laws and magistrates in time of peace, and commanded by their own officers in time of war, were in full enjoyment of all the essential rights and privileges of freemen.

The earliest instance on record of popular representation in Castile, occurred at Burgos in 1169; nearly a century antecedent to the first convocation of the English house of commons, in the celebrated Leicester parliament. Each city had but one vote whatever might be the number of its representatives. The nomination of the deputies was originally vested in the householders at large, but was afterward confined to the municipalities; a most mischievous alteration which subjected their election eventually to the corrupt influence of the crown. They assembled in the same chamber with the higher orders of the nobility and clergy; but on questions of importance retired to deliberate by themselves. After the transaction of other business, their own petitions were presented to the sovereign; and his assent gave them the validity of laws. The Castilian commons, by neglecting to make their money grants dependant on corresponding concessions from the crown, relinquished that powerful check on its operations so beneficially exerted in the British parliament, but in vain contended for even there until a period much later than that now under consideration. Whatever may have been the right of the nobility and clergy to attend the Cortes, their sanction was not deemed essential to the validity of legislative acts; for their presence was not even required in many assemblies of the nation which occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The extraordinary power thus committed to the commons was, on the whole, unfavorable to their liberties. It deprived them of the sympathy and co-operation of the great orders of the state, whose authority alone could have enabled them to withstand the enactments of arbitrary power, and who in fact did eventually desert them in their utmost need.

But notwithstanding these defects, the popular branch of the Castilian Cortes, very soon after its admission into that body, assumed functions and exercised a degree of power superior to that enjoyed by the commons in other European legislatures. It was soon recognised as a principle of the constitution, that no tax should be imposed without the consent of the representatives of the people. The commons showed a wise solicitude in regard to the mode of collecting the public revenue. They watched carefully over its appropriation to its destined uses. A vigilant eye was kept on the conduct of public officers, as well as on the right administration of justice, and commissions were appointed by the Cortes to inquire into any suspected abuses of judicial authority. They entered into negotiations for alliances with foreign powers, and by determining the amount of supplies for the maintenance of troops in time of war, preserved a salutary check over military operations. The nomination of regencies was subject to their approbation, and they defined the nature of the authority to be intrusted to them. Their con-

sent was esteemed indispensable to the validity of a title to the crown; and this prerogative, or at least the shadow of it, long continued to survive the wreck of their ancient liberties. Finally they more than once set aside the testamentary provisions of the sovereign in regard to the succession.

It would be improper to pass by without notice an anomalous institution peculiar to Castile, which sought to secure the public tranquillity by means which were themselves scarcely compatible with civil subordination. This was the celebrated *Hermandad*, or "Holy Brotherhood," which was designed as a substitute for a regularly-organized police. It consisted of a confederation of the principal cities, bound together by solemn league and covenant for the defence of their liberty in seasons of civil anarchy. Its affairs were conducted by deputies, who assembled at stated intervals for the purpose, transacting their business under a common seal, enacting laws which they were careful to transmit to the nobles and the sovereign, and enforcing their measures by an armed body of dependants. This wild kind of justice, so characteristic of an unsettled state of society, repeatedly received the legislative sanction; and however formidable such a popular engine may have appeared to the eye of a monarch, he was often led to countenance it by a sense of his own impotence, as well as of the overweening power of the nobles, against whom it was principally directed. Hence these associations, though the epithet may seem somewhat overstrained, have received the appellation of "Cortes Extraordinary."

With these immunities the cities of Castile attained a degree of opulence and splendor unrivalled, unless in Italy, during the middle ages. At a very early period indeed their contact with the Arabs had familiarized them with a better system of agriculture and a dexterity in the mechanic arts unknown in other parts of Christendom. Augmentation of wealth brought with it the usual appetite for expensive pleasures; but the surplus of riches was frequently expended in useful public works.

The nobles, though possessed of immense estates and great political privileges, did not consume their fortunes or their energies in a life of effeminate luxury. From their earliest boyhood they were accustomed to serve in the ranks against the infidel, and their whole subsequent lives were occupied either with war, or those martial exercises which reflect the image of it. Looking back with pride to the ancient Gothic descent, and to those times when they had stood forward as the peers, the electors of their sovereign, they would ill brook the slightest indignity at his hand. Accordingly we find them perpetually convulsing the kingdom with their schemes of selfish aggrandizement. The petitions of the commons are filled with remonstrances on their various oppressions, and the evils resulting from their long desolating feuds.

The over-weening self-confidence of the nobles, however, proved their ruin. They disdained a co-operation with the lower orders in defence of their privileges, when both were assailed by the Austrian dynasty, and relied too unhesitatingly on their power as a body, to feel jealous of their exclusion from the national legislature, where alone they could make an effectual stand against the usurpations of the crown.

The long minorities with which Castile was afflicted, perhaps more

than any country in Europe, frequently threw the government into the hands of the principal nobility, who perverted to their own emolument the high powers intrusted to them. They usurped the possessions of the crown, and invaded some of its most valuable privileges; so that the sovereign's subsequent life was frequently spent in fruitless attempts to recover the losses of his minority. He sometimes, indeed, in the impotence of other resources, resorted to such unhappy expedients as treachery and assassination.

Section XI.—*Survey of the Constitution of Aragon.*

Aragon was first raised to political importance by its union with Catalonia, including the rich country of Barcelona, and the subsequent conquest of the kingdom of Valencia. The ancient country of Barcelona had reached a higher degree of civilization than Aragon, and was distinguished by institutions even more liberal than those we have described in the preceding section as belonging to Castile. It was in the maritime cities, scattered along the coasts of the Mediterranean, that the seeds of liberty, both in ancient and modern times, were implanted and brought to maturity. During the middle ages, when the people of Europe generally maintained a toilsome and unfrequent intercourse with each other, those situated on the margin of this great inland sea found an easy mode of communication across the great highway of its waters. Among these maritime republics, those of Catalonia were eminently conspicuous. By the incorporation of this country, therefore, with the kingdom of Aragon, the strength of the latter was greatly augmented. The Aragonese princes, well aware of this, liberally fostered the institutions to which the country owed its prosperity, and skilfully availed themselves of its resources for the aggrandizement of their dominions. The Catalan navy disputed the empire of the Mediterranean with the fleets of Pisa, and still more with those of Genoa. With its aid the Aragonese monarchs achieved successfully the conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic isles, which they annexed to their empire. It penetrated into the farthest regions of the Levant, and a Catalan armament conquered Athens, giving to their sovereign the classical title of duke of that city.

But though the dominions of the kings of Aragon were thus extended abroad, there were no sovereigns in Europe whose authority was so limited at home. The national historians refer the origin of their government to a written constitution of about the middle of the ninth century, fragments of which are still preserved in certain ancient documents and chronicles. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the throne at this epoch, a monarch was elected by the twelve principal nobles, who prescribed a code of laws, to the observance of which he was compelled to swear before assuming the sceptre. The import of these laws was to circumscribe within very narrow limits the authority of the sovereignty, distributing the principal functions to a *justicia* or justice; and these peers were authorized, if the compact should be violated by the monarch, to withdraw their allegiance, and in the bold language of the ordinance "to substitute any other ruler in his stead, even a pagan if they listed." The great barons of Aragon were few in number, they claimed

descent from the twelve electoral peers we have described, and they very reluctantly admitted to equality those whom the favor of the sovereign raised to the peerage. No baron could be divested of his fief unless by public sentence of the justice and the cortes. The nobles filled of right the highest offices in the state; they appointed judges in their domains for the cognizance of certain civil causes, and they exercised an unlimited criminal jurisdiction over certain classes of their vassals. They were excused from taxation, except in specified cases; were exempted from all corporal and capital punishments; nor could they be imprisoned, though their estates might be sequestrated, for debt. But the laws conceded to them privileges of a still more dangerous character. They were entitled to defy and publicly renounce their allegiance to their sovereign, with the whimsical privilege in addition, of commending their families and estates to his protection, which he was obliged to protect until they were again reconciled. The mischievous right of private war was repeatedly recognised by statute. It was claimed and exercised in its full extent, and occasionally with circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

The commons of Aragon enjoyed higher consideration, and still larger civil privileges, than those of Castile. For this they were perhaps somewhat indebted to the example of their Catalan neighbors, the influence of whose democratic institutions naturally extended to other parts of the Aragonese monarchy. The charters of certain cities accorded to their inhabitants privileges of nobility, particularly those of immunity from taxation; while the magistrates of others were permitted to take their seats in the order of the lesser nobles. By a statute passed in 1307, it was ordained that the cortes should assemble triennially. The great officers of the crown, whatever might be their personal rank, were jealously excluded from their deliberations. It was in the power of any member to defeat the passage of a bill, by opposing to it his *veto* or dissent formally registered to that effect. He might even interpose his negative on the proceedings of the house, and thus put a stop to the prosecution of all further business during the session. During the interval of the sessions of the legislature, a committee of two from each department was appointed to preside over public affairs, particularly in regard to the revenue and the security of justice; with authority to convoke a cortes extraordinary, whenever the exigency might demand it.

The cortes exercised the highest functions, whether of a deliberative, legislative, or judicial nature. It had a right to be consulted on all matters of importance; especially on those of peace or war. No law was valid, no tax could be imposed without its consent; and it carefully provided for the application of the revenue to its destined uses. It determined the succession to the crown; removed obnoxious ministers; reformed the household and domestic expenditure of the monarch; and exercised the power in the most unreserved manner of withholding supplies, as well as of resisting what it regarded as an encroachment on the liberties of the nation.

The governments of Valencia and Catalonia were administered independent of each other long after they had been consolidated into one monarchy, but they bore a very near resemblance to the constitution of Aragon. The city of Barcelona, which originally gave its name to the

county of which it was the capital, was distinguished from a very early period by ample municipal privileges. Under the Aragonese monarchs, Barcelona had so well profited by the liberal administrations of its rulers as to have reached a degree of prosperity rivalling that of any of the Italian republics. The wealth which flowed in upon Barcelona, and the result of the activity and enterprise which the merchants of the place exhibited, was evinced by the numerous public works in which it set an example to all Europe. Strangers who visited Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, expatiate on the magnificence of this city, its commodious private edifices, the cleanliness of its streets and public squares, and on the amenity of its gardens and cultivated environs.

But the peculiar glory of Barcelona was the freedom of its municipal institutions. The government consisted of a senate or council of one hundred, and a body of *corregidores* or counsellors, varying at times from four to six in number; the former intrusted with the legislative, the latter with the executive functions of administration. A large proportion of these bodies was selected from the merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics of the city. They were invested, not merely with municipal authority, but with many of the rights of sovereignty. They entered into commercial treaties with foreign powers; superintended the defence of the city in time of war; provided for the security of trade; granted letters of reprisal against any nation who might violate it; and raised and appropriated public money for the construction of useful works, or the encouragement of such commercial adventures as were too hazardous or expensive for individual enterprise.

Under the influence of these democratic institutions, the burghers of Barcelona, and, indeed, of Catalonia in general, which enjoyed more or less of a similar freedom, assumed a haughty independence of character, beyond what existed among the same class in other parts of Spain; and this, combined with the martial daring fostered by a life of maritime adventure and warfare, made them impatient, not merely of oppression, but of contradiction on the part of their sovereigns, who have experienced more frequent and more sturdy resistance from this part of their dominions than from any other. Navogiers, the Venetian ambassador to Spain early in the sixteenth century, although a republican himself, was so struck with what he deemed the insubordination of the Barcelonians, that he asserts, "The inhabitants have so many privileges that the king scarcely retains any authority over them; their liberty," he adds, "should rather go by the name of licentiousness."

Such, in the earlier stages of Spanish history, were the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon; but when these two kingdoms were united into one great monarchy, it became the settled policy of the sovereigns to destroy all the institutions by which the liberties of the people were secured. As the power of the Mohammedans grew weaker, the kings of Castile had less reason to grant municipal privileges on condition of defending the frontiers; and their nobles, continually engaged in mutual dissensions, were unable to check the inroads of the crown on their aristocratic privileges. The nobles of Aragon, indeed, were always ready to combine in a common cause, and it was aptly said by one of the monarchs, in reference to these two aristocracies, that "it

was equally difficult to divide the nobles of Aragon, and to unite those of Castile." But union availed little to the Aragonese nobles, when the seat of government was placed beyond the sphere of their influence, and when Castilian armies were ready to crush the first appearance of insurrection. It is also to be remarked, though rather in anticipation of what we shall have to discuss hereafter, that the conquest of America not merely gave the kings of Spain vast supplies of gold, without their being compelled to have recourse to their parliaments or cortes, but it also enabled them to create many lucrative monopolies, for which the Spanish nobles bartered the privileges of their order and the rights of the people. There is a closer connexion between freedom of trade and freedom of institutions than is generally imagined: every protected interest exists at the expense of all the other classes of the community, and being itself based on injustice, must connive at injustice in others. Prospective loss, however great, is constantly hazarded by the ignorant and unthinking for immediate gain, however small, and it was this selfish folly which mainly enabled the Austrian line of Spanish monarchs to overthrow the ancient constitution of their country, and to render Spain a memorable and sad example of the great truth, that a land of monopoly soon becomes a land of slavery, and eventually a land of misery.

Section XII.—*State of Western Europe at the commencement of the Fourteenth Century.*

Rodolph of Hapsburgh had no sooner obtained possession of the empire, than he resolved to strengthen the sovereign authority, by annexing some of the great fiefs to the crown. The usurpation of the dutchy of Austria by Ottokar, king of Bohemia, afforded him a pretext for interfering in the disposal of that province; he defeated Ottokar, and deprived him not only of Austria, but also of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which were formed into a new principality, and the investiture given to Albert, the emperor's son (A. D. 1282), who founded the imperial house of Austria.

But while the emperor's authority was extended in Germany, it was almost unknown in Italy, where the republican cities generally withdrew even nominal allegiance from their former masters. Of these commercial states Venice was the most important. This city had been originally founded by some refugees who sought shelter in the islands and lagoons of the Adriatic, from the ferocity of the Huns (A. D. 452); but it first rose into importance under the doge Pierre Urseolo II. (A. D. 992), who obtained freedom of commerce for his fellow-citizens from the Byzantine emperor and the sultan of Egypt, and subjected the maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia. In the wars between the empire and the papacy, they had generally supported the latter; Pope Alexander III., as a reward for their services, conferred on them the sovereignty of the Adriatic, and hence arose the singular ceremony of celebrating annually a mystic marriage between that sea and the Venetian doge. The crusades tended greatly to extend the power of the republic, especially the fourth, in which, as we have already stated, the Greek empire was dismembered. On this occasion, the Venetians received from their allies several maritime cities in Dalmatia, Albania, Epirus, and Greece,

the islands of Crete, Corfu, Cephalonia, and several others in the Ionian cluster.

But the increasing wealth of Venice led to a fatal change in its political constitution. The government was originally democratic, the power of the doge being limited by a council, who were freely chosen by the citizens. Several tumults at these elections furnished the doge, Peter Grandenigo, with an excuse for proposing a law abrogating annual elections, and rendering the dignity of councillor hereditary in the families of those who were at the period members of the legislative assembly (A. D. 1298). This establishment of a close aristocracy led to several revolts, of which that headed by Tiepolo was the most remarkable (A. D. 1310). After a fierce battle within the city, the insurgents were routed; ten inquisitors were chosen to investigate the conspiracy, and this commission was soon rendered permanent under the name of the Council of Ten, the most formidable tribunal ever founded to support aristocratic tyranny.

Genoa, like Venice, owed its prosperity to its extensive commerce, which flourished in spite of the several political convulsions that agitated the republic. The Genoese embraced the cause of the Greek emperors, and helped them to regain Constantinople. Their services were rewarded by the cession of Caffa, Azov, and other ports on the Black sea, through which they opened a lucrative trade with China and India. They obtained also Smyrna, and Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, together with several important islands in the Archipelago. Nor were they less successful in extending their power in Italy and the western Mediterranean, though they had to contend against powerful rivals in the citizens of Pisa. The mutual jealousies of these republics, and the anxiety of both to possess the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, led to a long and sanguinary war. It ended (A. D. 1290) in the complete overthrow of the Pisans, whose commerce was annihilated by the loss of the island of Elba, and the destruction of the ports of Pisa and Leghorn.

Charles of Anjou did not long enjoy the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. His subjects justly hated him for the murder of Conradin, and the insolence of the French soldiery confirmed their aversion. An atrocious insult offered to a Sicilian lady provoked the celebrated insurrection, commonly called the Sicilian Vespers* (A. D. 1282), in which all the French residents in Sicily were massacred, with the exception of William Parcellet, whose virtues honorably distinguished him from his countrymen. The islanders placed themselves under the protection of the king of Aragon, and Charles, though aided by the pope, was unable to regain his authority over them.

Pope Martin, who was warmly attached to Charles of Anjou, excommunicated the king of Aragon, and placed his kingdom under an interdict; and, finding these measures ineffectual, he preached a crusade against him, and gave the investiture of his states to the count of Va-

* The evening prayers in the catholic church are called Vespers, and the revolt commenced as the congregation were assembling at Palermo for the evening service, during the festival of Easter. Some historians describe this massacre as the result of a deep and long-planned conspiracy; but it is much more likely to have been simply a sudden outbreak of popular indignation.

lois, second son of the king of France. He proclaimed Charles of Anjou champion of the holy church, and declared that this sanguinary tyrant was a prince chosen by God himself. The pope, who thus bestowed crowns, and exonerated subjects from their allegiance, was unable to maintain himself in his own capital; and while he hoped to humble kings, could not enforce the obedience of the Roman citizens. But this is not the only instance of a similar anomaly in the history of the papacy. Peter of Aragon, feigning obedience, exchanged his title of king for that of a simple knight, retaining, however, all the power of royalty; but dreading the succors that the king of France sent to his uncle more than the papal menaces, he sought out means of gaining time to organize the defence of Sicily. Knowing the vain-glorious disposition of his rival, Peter proposed that Charles and he, with a hundred knights at each side, should decide their respective titles in a combat, near Bordeaux. The duke of Anjou, elated by the hopes of a duel with a prince who added to his modest title, "Knight of Aragon," the sounding designations, "Lord of the Seas, and Father of Three Kings," accepted the terms; and, while he prepared for the expected field, neglected his preparations for war. Martin fulminated against the duel, single combats being forbidden by the church; but Peter had never intended to expose himself to the chance, and on the appointed day, Charles discovered, from the non-appearance of his adversary, that he had been baffled by superior policy, perhaps we should rather say, perfidy.

Martin more than shared the indignation of his favorite; he renewed the preaching of the crusade against Peter, granting to all who fought in the papal cause the same indulgences assigned to those who joined in the expeditions for the recovery of Palestine; and he sent ambassadors urging the French king to hasten the invasion of Aragon. It is not easy to conceive how monarchs could be blind to the consequences of accepting these proffered crowns; they thus recognised the principle of the pope's right to depose sovereigns, and sanctioned a power which might at any time be employed against themselves or their successors. But the lessons of prudence are slow in penetrating hearts fascinated by ambition or fanaticism.

The anathemas of Martin did not deprive Peter of his crown; they scarcely even checked the current of his fortunes. All his subjects, clergy, nobles, and commons, ostentatiously displayed their attachment to their sovereign, and laughed the papal decrees to scorn. The Aragonese admiral defeated the fleet of the duke of Anjou within sight of Naples, and made his son, Charles the Lame, a prisoner (A. D. 1284). This scion of a detested race would not have escaped the fury of the Messenians, who wished to sacrifice him in revenge for the murder of Conradin, only for the generous interference of Queen Constance, Manfred's daughter, who rescued him from the fury of the populace, and sent him for security to Catalonia. Charles of Anjou did not long survive this calamity; the remembrance of his former triumphs and prosperity, his pride, his contempt for his enemies, and shame for having been baffled by policy, aggravated the mortification of a defeat which he no longer had power to retrieve.

Spain continued divided into several small kingdoms, Christian and

Mohammedan. To the former belonged Navarre, Aragon, and Castile, of which the last two were gradually extending themselves at the expense of their Mohammedan neighbors. The Castilian monarch, Alphonso I., captured Madrid and Toledo (A. D. 1085); he would probably have expelled the Moors from Spain, had not a new burst of fanaticism in Africa supplied the Mohammedans with hordes of enthusiastic defenders in the moment of danger. The Moors not only recovered their strength, but became so formidable, that Pope Innocent III. published a crusade against them. A numerous Christian army assembled on the confines of Castile and Andalusia; they encountered their enemies near the city of Uleda, and inflicted on them a defeat, from which the Spanish Mohammedans never recovered (A. D. 1212). Ferdinand III., king of Castile and Leon, profiting by the weakness of the Moors, subdued the little kingdom of Cordova, Murcia, and Seville (A. D. 1256), so that the Mohammedans were reduced to the single kingdom of Granada.

The crusade in Spain led to the foundation of a new kingdom in Europe. Henry of Burgundy, a member of the royal family of France, was so eminently distinguished by his valor in the Mohammedan wars, that Alphonso VI., king of Castile, gave him his daughter in marriage, with the investiture of the country of Portugal as her dowry. Henry enlarged his territory at the expense of the Mohammedans, but his fame was eclipsed by that of his son Alphonso, whom his soldiers proclaimed king on the glorious field of battle in which the power of the Mohammedans was destroyed (A. D. 1139). To secure his new royalty, Alphonso placed himself and his kingdom under the protection of the holy see, and declared himself a liege subject of the pope. His successors found the Roman pontiffs by no means slow in availing themselves of the power thus ceded to them; several violent struggles were made by the kings to free themselves from the yoke, but the power of the popes prevailed, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Portuguese clergy were secured in extensive possessions, almost royal privileges, and a complete exemption from secular jurisdiction (A. D. 1289).

As the governments of France and England began to assume a stable form, rivalry arose between the two nations, which led to a long series of sanguinary wars. From the time of Capet's usurpation, the policy of the French kings had been to lessen the power of the great feudatories; and it was a perilous error in Philip I. to sanction the duke of Normandy's conquest of England, for he thus permitted a vassal, already dangerous, to become his rival sovereign. The danger was greatly increased when Louis VII. divorced his faithless wife Eleanor, the heiress to the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Gascony. She married Henry II., king of England, and thus enabled him to add her inheritance to that of the Plantagenets in France, which included the dutchies of Normandy and the counties of Anjou and Maine (A. D. 1252). The vassal was now more powerful than his sovereign; the throne of France indeed would scarcely have been secure, had not the family disputes of the Plantagenets, secretly fomented by the wicked Eleanor, caused Henry's sons to revolt against their indulgent father, and brought that able sovereign with sorrow to his grave. Philip Augustus was the founder of the greatness of the French monarchy. The Plantagenets

of England sank rapidly before his superior talents. Richard I. was nothing more than a brave warrior, and unable to compete with the policy of his rival; his successor, John, was neither a soldier nor a statesman; he provoked the resentment of all his subjects, and while assailed in England by the discontented barons, and menaced abroad by the pope, he was deprived of most of his continental dominions by the watchful king of France. Philip's neighbors, and many of his vassals, were alarmed at the vast increase of his power after his conquest of the Norman provinces; they formed a league against him, but at the battle of Bouvines (A. D. 1214), he triumphed over the united forces of the Germans, the English, and the Flemings, and by this victory secured the possession of his acquisitions.

After the death of Nicholas (A. D. 1292), the papacy, as if exhausted by its own excesses, seemed to have fallen into a lethargy. The holy see remained vacant for two years and three months; an interval which the heads of the church might have improved to accommodate the ecclesiastical system to the improved state of intelligence, and the consequent changes in the wants and wishes of Europe But, in an evil hour, they had adopted the doctrine of infallibility, and believed themselves bound to keep their system stationary while everything around was in progress. In a former age the papacy had taken the lead in the advancement of intelligence; the clergy and the friars were the missionaries of knowledge; but the church had now fallen into the rear; kings, not pontiffs, were the patrons of learning; in the new contest between the spiritual and temporal powers, we shall find the latter conquering, because on their side were ranged all who took a share in the advancement of civilization. Intelligence, emancipated from the cloister, found a temporary abode in the palace, and finally spread even to the cottage; the popes became its enemies from the moment it quitted their protection, but they were necessarily vanquished in the struggle; one age beheld monarchs despise the deposing power, the next witnessed the pope's authority a mockery, and his very name a reproach in one half of Europe.

The vacancy in the papacy became the signal for civil wars in Rome, and throughout Italy; superstition attributed these calamities to the cardinals, who left the church without a head: an insane hermit stimulated the populace to menace them with death unless they proceeded to an election, and they chose a feeble, ignorant, old fanatic, who took the name of Celestine IV. Though destitute of any other qualification, Celestine had at least the pride of a pontiff—the bridle of the ass, on which, with blasphemous imitation, he made his public entry into Aquilla, was held by two kings, Charles II., the perjured sovereign of Naples, and his son Charles Martel, nominal king of Hungary. But the cardinals soon became weary of an idiot monk forced upon them by an insane hermit; Benedict Cajetan worked upon the weak mind of Celestine to resign a dignity which he was unable to maintain, and, having previously gained the suffrages of the college, ascended the throne under the name of Boniface VIII.* In its altered circumstances, the

* Almost the only thing memorable in the pontificate of Celestine, is the fabled miracle of the chapel of Loretto, which was said to have been transported by angels from Nazareth to the place where it now stands, that it should not be

papacy thus found a ruler who had fortitude and courage sufficient to maintain its pretensions against the kings who had now begun to discover their rights; but the defeat of the pontiff added one to the many examples that history affords of the failure of antiquated pretensions when opposed to common sense and common honesty.

Section XIII.—*Pontificate of Boniface VIII.*

Most historians assert that Boniface had recourse to very treacherous artifices, in order to obtain the resignation of Celestine: however this may be, the abdicated pontiff was immediately shut up in a prison, lest his scruples, or his remorse, should trouble his successor. Boniface, to the ambition and despotic character of Gregory VII, added a more crafty manner, and more dissimulation, than had been recently seen in the chair of St. Peter. He aspired to universal sovereignty over ecclesiastics, princes, and nations; and he diligently sought out means for rendering them submissive to his laws. Aware that it would be impossible to revive the crusading passion in Europe, he resolved to make the recovery of Palestine a pretext for interfering in the quarrels of sovereigns. He wrote to Philip the Fair, king of France, to Edward I. of England, and to Adolphus, emperor of Germany, commanding them, under pain of excommunication, to accommodate their differences; and he mediated a peace between the sovereigns of France and Aragon.

James, king of Aragon, anxious to conciliate the pope, resigned his pretensions to Sicily; but the islanders, detesting the house of Anjou, and despising the commands of a sovereign who had so weakly abandoned his rights, crowned Frederic, the brother of James, at Palermo, and expelled the papal legates. Excommunications were fulminated against the Sicilians, and the sovereign of their choice; even the feeble James was induced to arm against his brother, and aid in his expulsion from the island; and this violation of natural ties was rewarded by the cession of Sardinia and Corsica, over which the pope had not a shadow of right. But the ambition of Boniface was not limited to bestowing islands and Italian principalities; he resolved to establish his authority over the most powerful sovereigns of Europe.

Philip the Fair was one of the most able monarchs in Christendom; resolute in establishing his influence over the great vassals of the crown, he strengthened himself by the support of his people, and resolved that the nobles and the clergy should, henceforth, form classes of his subjects. Feudal anarchy disappeared, and equal jurisdiction was extended over all ranks; the lower classes were delivered from the most galling burdens of vassalage, and the despotism of the sovereign became a blessing to the nation. In the midst of his career he received an embassy from the pope, commanding him to spare a conquered vassal, to abstain from taxing the clergy, and to submit his disputes with the count of Flanders to the arbitration of the holy see. Philip spurned these demands, upon which the pope issued the celebrated bull, called, from the words with which it commences, *Clericis*

polluted by the Saracens. This absurd story was long credited by the Romanists, but it is now derided even in Italy.

laicos, excommunicating the kings who should levy ecclesiastical subsidies, and the priests who should pay them; and withdrawing the clergy from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals.

This attempt to establish a theocracy, independent of monarchy, excited general indignation. In England, Edward ordered his judges to admit no causes in which ecclesiastics were the complainants, but to try every suit brought against them, averring that those who refused to contribute to the support of the state, had no claim to the protection of the law. This expedient succeeded, and the English ecclesiastics hastened to pay their subsidies, without further compulsion. Philip the Fair exhibited even more vigor; he issued an edict prohibiting the export of gold, silver, jewels, provisions, or munitions of war, without a license; and he forbade foreign merchants to establish themselves in his dominions. Boniface, aware that these measures would destroy the revenue which the court of Rome derived from France, remonstrated in urgent terms, explained away the most offensive parts of his former bull, and offered several advantages to the king if he would modify his edicts. Philip allowed himself to be persuaded; the bull *Clericis laicos* was rendered less stringent: Louis IX. was canonized, and Philip could boast of having a saint for an ancestor; finally, the pope promised that he would support Charles of Valois, as a candidate for the empire. Dazzled by these boons, the French monarch accepted the arbitration of the pope, in his disputes with the king of England and the count of Flanders. But Boniface, to his astonishment, decided that Guienne should be restored to England, that all his former possessions should be given back to the count of Flanders, and that Philip himself should undertake a new crusade. When this unjust sentence was read in the presence of the French court, by the bishop of Durham, Edward's ambassador, the king listened to it with a smile of contempt; but the count of Artois enraged at such insolence, snatched the bull, tore it in pieces, and flung the fragments into the fire. This was the only answer returned: Philip, heedless of the pope's anger, renewed the war.

Boniface VIII. little dreamed that Philip's resistance would be so energetic, or of such dangerous example; but he prepared for the coming struggle, by securing his authority in Italy, and especially in Rome, where the papal power had been long controlled by the factious nobles. Immediately after his elevation to the pontificate, he had caused himself to be elected senator, but the Ghibellines rendered the dignity of such a magistrate very precarious; it was necessary to destroy them, and in this instance personal vengeance was united to the projects of ambition. The leaders of the Ghibelline faction at Rome were the illustrious family of the Colonna: two cardinals of that name had strenuously resisted the abdication of Celestine, and had long been marked out as victims. Under the pretext of their alliance with the kings of Sicily and Aragon, they were summoned to appear before the papal tribunal; but, justly dreading that their doom was predetermined, they fled to their castles, protesting against the sentence of him whom they denied to be a legitimate pope. Boniface hurled the most terrible anathemas against them, declaring them infamous, excommunicate, and incapable of any public charge, to the fourth generation: he devoted

them to the fires of the Inquisition, and preached a crusade for their destruction. Intimidated for a moment, the Colonnas submitted, and surrendered their town of Palestrina as a pledge of their fidelity. No sooner was Boniface master of this stronghold, than, regardless of his oaths, he levelled the fortress to the ground, forbade it to be rebuilt, renewed his persecutions against the Colonnas, and compelled them to fly from Italy. They sought shelter at the court of France, where they were hospitably received by Philip, who thus gave a signal proof of his independence and his generosity.

Boniface was alarmed, but not dismayed; he resolved to lull the king's vigilance by stimulating his ambition: for this purpose he proposed to dethrone Albert, emperor of Germany, and give the crown to Charles of Valois, whom he had already created imperial vicar, and captain-general of the holy church. Philip turned a deaf ear to this tempting proposal; he even entered into alliance with Albert, and cemented the union by giving his sister in marriage to the emperor's son, Rodolph, duke of Austria. Boniface was enraged at this disappointment, but his attention was diverted by the institution of a jubilee, to mark the commencement of a new century (A. D. 1300). He published a bull, promising full pardon and remission of all sins to those who, being confessed and penitent, should visit the tombs of the apostles at Rome, during fifteen days. Multitudes of pilgrims, anxious to obtain the benefits of the crusades, without the perils of war, flocked to the city, and, by their liberal expenditure, greatly enriched the Romans. This profitable contrivance was renewed by the successors of Boniface, at intervals of fifty years, and proved to be an efficacious means of recruiting the papal treasury.

Scarcely had the jubilee terminated, when the disputes between the pope and the king of France were revived, in consequence of the rival claims for supremacy, between the archbishop and the viscount of Narbonne. The king supported his vassal; the prelate appealed to the pope, and Boniface promptly responded to the call. A legate was sent to Philip, and the choice of an ambassador was almost a declaration of war. The pope's messenger was the bishop of Pamiers, a rebellious subject, whose treasons were notorious, and whose insolence to his sovereign excited general indignation. The seditious prelate was driven from the court; but the king, instead of bringing him to trial, complained to his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, and demanded justice. Boniface addressed an insolent bull to the king, summoned the French bishops to meet at Rome, to consult respecting the doom that should be pronounced on their sovereign, and invited Philip himself to be present at this unprecedented conclave. But the king, supported by the legists or professors of the law, a body rising rapidly into importance, defied the papal power, and appealed to the good sense of his people. Boniface had sent a bull, known in history by the name *Ausculta fili*,* to France, in which all the delinquencies of Philip, not only toward the church, but every class of his subjects, were portrayed with apparent moderation, but with great vigor and eloquence. Peter Flotte, the royal chancellor, presented an abridgment of this document to the great council of the nation, craftily culling out those passages in

* "Listen, son," the words with which it commenced.

which the papal pretensions were most offensively put forward. This document, called "the little bull," was as follows:—

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, king of the Franks. Fear God and keep his commandments. We desire you to know that you are subject to us in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs; that the appointment to benefices and prebends belongs not to you; that if you have kept benefices vacant, the profits must be reserved for the legal successors; and if you have bestowed any benefice, we declare the appointment invalid, and revoke it if executed. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed heretics."

Philip ordered this declaration to be publicly burned, and he published a memorable reply, which, however, was probably never sent to Rome. It is a very remarkable proof of the decline of the papal power that such a manifesto should be issued, and presented to the states-general of France, as their monarch's answer to the supreme pontiff. The letter of the king is thus given by historians:—

"Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, claiming to be pope, little or no greeting. May it please your sublime stupidity to learn, that we are subject to no person in temporal affairs; that the bestowing of fiefs and benefices belongs to us by right of our crown; that the disposal of the revenues of vacant sees, is part of our prerogative; that our decrees, in this respect, are valid, both for the past and for the future; and that we will support, with all our might, those on whom we have bestowed, or shall bestow, benefices. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed fools or idiots."

The manifestos sent to Rome by the three orders of the states-general, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, are of greater importance to the historian than "the little bull" or the royal reply. That of the French barons was addressed to the college of cardinals; it openly accused the pope of having periled the unity of the church by his extravagant ambition, and it denied, in the strongest terms, his right to appellate jurisdiction over the kingdom of France. The clergy addressed Boniface himself in a measured and respectful tone, but they declared that they had taken a new oath to their sovereign, that they would firmly maintain the independence of his crown. The declaration of the commons has not been preserved, but like that of the nobles, it appears to have been addressed to the college of cardinals. The court of Rome was alarmed, letters of explanation were sent to the different orders, but the pope declared he would not write to the king, whom he considered subject to the sentence of excommunication.

While Boniface VIII. was thus engaged with France and its ruler, he did not lose sight of his pretensions over other kingdoms. Edward of England, having overcome the feudal turbulence of his vassals, was about to undertake the conquest of Scotland, when the holy see forbade the enterprise. Edward in reply traced his right to Scotland, up to the age of the prophet Samuel, and a synod of the English clergy declared, that the claims of their sovereign were better founded than those of the pontiff. A legate, by command of Boniface, labored to pacify Hungary, which was divided between the grandson of Charles the Lame, king of Naples, and Andrew the Venetian. On the death of the latter prince, the Hungarian barons, fearing the loss of their liberties under a king

imposed upon them by the church, elected for their sovereign the son of the king of Bavaria, and he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Colreza. The pope wrote fierce denunciations against the election, and even commanded the king of Bavaria to dethrone his own son. But though Hungary refused submission, the obedience of Spain consoled the pontiff; he declared the marriage of Sancho the Brave valid, after his death, and in consequence of this decision, Ferdinand IV., the eldest son of that monarch, was permitted to retain the kingdom of Castile.

Though Philip had ordered that the goods of all the clergy who quitted the kingdom should be confiscated, many of the prelates braving the penalty, proceeded to the court of Rome. Conscious that this disobedience portended a struggle between the spiritual and temporal power, the French king took the unexpected precaution of denouncing the horrors of the inquisition, and thus representing royalty as the shield of the people against the tyranny of the priesthood. Boniface, encouraged by the presence of the French bishops, yielded to the impetuosity of his passions, and issued the famous bull *Unam sanctam*, in which the claims of the papacy to universal dominion are stated with more strength and precision than the court of Rome had yet ventured to use. After this document had been sanctioned by the council, a legate was sent to France, whose instructions contained the demand that the king should not oppose the prelates who wished to travel, the disposal of benefices by the holy see, or the entrance of legates into his kingdom; that he should not confiscate the properties of ecclesiastics, nor bring them to trial, before civil courts; that the king should appear in person at Rome, and answer to the charge of having burned a bull sealed with the effigies of the holy apostles; and finally, that he should recompense the losses occasioned by the depreciation of the currency, and abandon the city of Lyons to its archbishop, as an ecclesiastical fief. Philip the Fair, undaunted by the threat of excommunication, peremptorily rejected all these demands, and in his turn caused Boniface to be accused by William de Nogaret, the royal advocate, of usurpation, heresy, and simony. The advocate required that a general council should be summoned to investigate these charges, and that the pope should be detained in prison until his guilt or innocence should be decided.

Boniface was now seriously alarmed; when he ascended the throne, Celestine had declared "This cardinal, who stole like a fox into the chair of St. Peter, will have the reign of a lion, and the end of a dog;" his violence in the struggle with the king of France, tended to realize both predictions. But it was necessary to obtain allies, and Frederic, king of Sicily, was won over to declare himself a vassal of the holy see, by obtaining the recognition of his royal title, and absolution from the many anathemas hurled against him. The emperor Albert was similarly prevailed upon to recognise the extravagant pretensions of the papacy, on obtaining a bull confirming his election; he even issued letters patent confessing that the imperial power was a boon conferred at the pleasure of the holy see. Thus strengthened, Boniface laid aside all appearance of moderation, and solemnly excommunicated the contumacious king of France.

Philip on the other hand assembled the states of his realm at the Louvre, and presented to them a new act of accusation against Boniface, in which he was charged with the most detestable and unnatural crimes. It was voted that an appeal should be made to a new pope and a general council, and so general was the disapprobation of the pontiff's ambitious schemes, that the greater part of the French ecclesiastical dignitaries, including nine cardinals, sent in their adhesion to the appeal.

Boniface met the storm with firmness; he replied to the charges urged against him with more temper than could have been anticipated, but he secretly prepared a bull of excommunication, depriving Philip of his throne, and anathematizing his posterity to the fourth generation.

This final burst of hostility was delayed until the 8th of September (A. D. 1303), when the Romish church celebrates the nativity of the blessed Virgin, and Boniface awaited the day in the city of Anagni.

On the eve of the Virgin's nativity the pope had retired to rest, having arranged his plans of vengeance for the following day; he was suddenly roused by cries of "Long live Philip! Death to Boniface!" Nogaret, at the command of the king of France, had entered Anagni with three hundred cavaliers, and being joined by some of the townsmen, was forcing his way into the palace. Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret rushed together into the chamber of Boniface; they found the old man clothed in his pontifical robes, seated on his throne, waiting their approach with unshaken dignity. They made him their prisoner, and prepared for his removal to France until a general council. But Nogaret having unwisely delayed three days at Anagni, the citizens and the neighboring peasants united to liberate the pontiff; Colonna and his French allies were forced to abandon their prey, and could only save their lives by a rapid flight. Boniface hastened to Rome; but fatigue, anxiety, and vexation, brought on a violent fever, which soon put an end to his troubled life.

The reign of Boniface was fatal to the papal power; he exaggerated its pretensions at the moment when the world had begun to discover the weakness of its claims; in the attempt to extend his influence further than any of his predecessors, he exhausted the sources of his strength, and none of his successors, however ardent, ventured to revive pretensions which had excited so many wars, shed so much blood, and dethroned so many kings. The priesthood and the empire, fatigued by so long and disastrous a struggle, desired tranquillity, but tranquillity was for the court of Rome a political death. The illusion of its own omnipotence vanished with the agitations by which it had been produced, and new principles of action began to be recognised in its policy.

The death of Boniface marks an important era in the history of popery; from this time we shall see it concentrating its strength, and husbanding its resources; fighting only on the defensive, it no longer provokes the hostility of kings, or seeks cause of quarrel with the emperors. The bulls that terrified Christendom must repose as literary curiosities in the archives of St. Angelo, and though the claims to universal supremacy will not be renounced, there will be no effort made to enforce them. A few pontiffs will be found now and then reviving

the claims of Gregory, of Innocent, and of Boniface; but their attempts will be found desultory and of brief duration, like the last flashes, fierce but few, that break out from the ashes of a conflagration.

Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface, hasted to exhibit proofs of the moderation which results from defeat. Without waiting for any solicitation, he absolved Philip the Fair from the anathemas fulminated against him by Boniface; recalled the Colonnas from exile, and encouraged the Roman people to restore the ancient inheritance of that illustrious family; finally, he exerted himself to reconcile the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Tuscany, but unfortunately without effect. His early death prepared the way for a new crisis, in which the political system of the papacy was destined to suffer greater shocks than any to which it had been yet exposed, and to give fresh proofs that it could not be improved, even by the stern lessons of adversity.

Section XIV.—*State of England and the Northern Kingdoms at the Commencement of the Fourteenth Century.*

William the Conqueror reduced the Saxon population of England to the most degrading state of vassalage, but he could not destroy the love and memory of their ancient laws and liberties retained by the nation. His sons, William Rufus, and Henry I., were successively enabled to seize the throne in prejudice of the rights of their elder brother Robert, by promising to restore the ancient laws of the kingdom. Henry, to conciliate the English more effectually, married a princess of Saxon descent; on his death he bequeathed the crown to the surviving child by this marriage, Matilda, the wife of Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. This arrangement was defeated by the usurpation of Stephen: England was convulsed by a civil war, which was terminated by Stephen's adopting Henry, Matilda's son, as his successor.

Henry II., the first of the Plantagenet dynasty, on ascending the throne, united to England the dutchy of Normandy, the county of Anjou, and the fairest provinces of northwestern France (A. D. 1154). To these he added the more important acquisition of Ireland, partly by a papal donation, and partly by right of conquest.

Ireland was at this period divided into five petty sovereignties, whose monarchs harassed each other by mutual wars, and could rarely be induced to combine for their common interest. The island had been frequently devastated, and once completely subdued, by the Danes; several septs of these foreigners retained possession of the chief commercial cities, and even the king of Man was formidable to a country distracted by intestine wars. When their Norman brethren conquered England, the Danes in Ireland entered into a close correspondence with William and his successors, a circumstance which probably first suggested to Henry the notion of conquering the island. He applied to the pope for a sanction of his enterprise. Adrian, the only Englishman that ever filled the papal throne, was at that time the reigning pontiff; his desire to gratify his native sovereign was stimulated by his anxiety to extend the papal authority. The Irish church had been long independent of Rome; and the connexion between its prelates and the papacy was as yet insecure; it was therefore on the condition of

subjecting Ireland to the jurisdiction of the Romish church that a bull was issued, granting Henry permission to invade the country. The bitter feuds in the Plantagenet family, and the state of his continental dominions, long prevented the English monarch from availing himself of this permission. At length Dermod, king of Leinster, driven from his dominions by a rival sovereign, sought English aid, and was permitted to engage the services of Strongbow, and some other military adventurers, on condition of doing homage for his kingdom to Henry. The rapid successes of Strongbow awakened Henry's jealousy; he went to Ireland in person, and received the submission of its principal sovereigns (A. D. 1172). He returned without completing the conquest of the country, a circumstance productive of much misery and bloodshed through several successive centuries.

The reign of Richard I. was a period of little importance in English history; but that of his brother and successor, the profligate John, led to the most important results. The barons, provoked by his tyranny and his vices, took up arms, and compelled him to sign the Great Charter, which laid the first permanent foundation of British freedom; the pope forced him to resign his crown, and to receive it back again, only on condition of vassalage to the holy see, while Philip Augustus took advantage of these circumstances to deprive the English monarchs of most of their continental possessions. John's death saved England from becoming a province of France: absolved by Pope Innocent III. from his oath, he ventured to abrogate the Great Charter, upon which the English barons proffered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, who invaded England with the fairest prospects of success. John was completely defeated (A. D. 1216); he fled toward Scotland, but died upon the road. The English, already disgusted, with their French allies, embraced this opportunity of rallying round Prince Henry, and Louis was glad to conclude a treaty for abandoning the island.

Henry III. was a monarch wholly void of energy; it was his misfortune to fill the throne at one of the most turbulent periods of English history, without talents to command respect, or resolution to enforce obedience. During his long reign, England was engaged in few foreign wars, but these were generally unfortunate. On the other hand, the country was agitated by internal commotions during the greater part of the fifty years that he swayed the sceptre. The discontent of the prelates and barons at the favor that the king showed to foreigners induced them to form an association, by which the king was virtually deposed, and the supreme authority vested in a committee of peers, with the earl of Leicester at its head. Leicester introduced an important change into the constitution, by summoning representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, to unite with the barons in the great council of the nation (A. D. 1265). This innovation laid the basis for the house of commons, which henceforth had an increasing share in English legislation. The tyranny of the barons being found less endurable than that of the king, Henry was restored to his former power; and his authority seemed fixed so permanently, that Prince Edward led an armament to the Holy Land, in aid of the last crusade of St. Louis. Henry died during his son's absence (A. D. 1272); but though two

years elapsed before Edward's return home, the tranquillity of the country continued undisturbed.

The chief object of Edward's ambition was to unite the whole of Great Britain under one sovereignty. Under the pretext of the Welsh prince, Llewelyn, having refused homage, he invaded the country, and completely subdued it, but not without encountering a desperate resistance. The English monarch stayed more than a year in Wales to complete its pacification, and during that time his queen, Eleanor, gave birth to a son in the castle of Carnarvon (A. D. 1284). The Welsh claimed the child as their countryman, and he was declared Prince of Wales, a title which has ever since been borne by the eldest sons of the English kings.

The failure of the direct heirs to the crown of Scotland gave Edward a pretence for interfering in the affairs of that kingdom. Three competitors, Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings, laid claim to the crown; to avert the horrors of civil war, they agreed to leave the decision to Edward; and he pronounced in favor of the first, on condition of Baliol's becoming a vassal to the king of England. Baliol soon grew weary of the authority exercised over him by Edward, and made an effort to recover his independence; but being defeated and taken prisoner, he abdicated the throne (A. D. 1296), and was confined in the Tower of London. The Scottish nation, though vanquished, was not subdued; several insurrections were raised against the English yoke; but after the defeat and capture of the Scottish hero, Sir William Wallace, all hope of independence seemed to have vanished. At length, Robert Bruce raised the standard of revolt, and was crowned king at Scone (A. D. 1306). Edward once more sent an army into Scotland, and soon followed in person to subdue that obstinate nation. His death on the border (A. D. 1307) freed Bruce from his most dangerous foe; and in the following reign the independence of Scotland was established by the decisive battle of Bannockburn (A. D. 1314).

The northren kingdoms of Europe, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, offer little to our notice but scenes of horror and carnage. The natural ferocity and warlike spirit of the Northmen, the want of fixed rules of succession, and the difficulty of finding employment for turbulent spirits in piratical expeditions when the increase of civilization had given consistency to the governments of the south, and enabled them to provide for the protection of their subjects, multiplied factions, and produced innumerable civil wars. Crusades, however, were undertaken against the Sclavonian and other pagan nations, by which the kings of Denmark and Sweden added considerably to their dominions, and gave them a high rank among the states of Europe. Prussia and Livonia were subdued by the knights of the Teutonic order; and Hungary, after having been almost ruined by the Mongolian hordes, began gradually to recover its importance after the retreat of these barbarians (A. D. 1244).

SECTION XV.—*Revolutions in the East in consequence of the Mongolian Invasion.*

THERE is no phenomenon more remarkable in history than the rise, progress, and extent of the Mongolian empire. Jenghiz Khan, in a

single reign, issuing from a petty principality in the wilds of Tartary, acquired an empire stretching about six thousand miles from east to west, and at least half that space from north to south, including within its limits the most powerful and wealthy kingdoms of Asia.

The Mongols were first raised into eminence by Jenghiz Khan; his original name was Temujín, and he was the chief of a small horde which his father's valor had elevated above the surrounding tribes. At an early age he was invited to the court of Vang Khan, the nominal head of the tribes of the Tartarian deserts, and received the hand of that potentate's daughter in marriage. Mutual jealousy soon led to a war between Temujín and his father-in-law; the latter was slain in battle, and Temujín succeeded to his authority. On the day of his installation, a pretended prophet named Kokza, addressing the new sovereign, declared that he was inspired by God to name him Jenghiz Khan, that is, supreme monarch, and to promise him the empire of the universe.

Inspired by this prophecy, which, however, he is suspected of having suggested, Jenghiz zealously labored to establish military discipline among the vast hordes that flocked to his standard; and when he had organized an army, he invaded those provinces of northern China called Khatai by the oriental writers, and Cathay by our old English authors. In five years this extensive country was subdued, and Jenghiz directed his arms westward, provoked by an outrage of the sultan of Kharasm. This kingdom of Kharasm was among the most flourishing in central Asia; the literary eminence of Bokhara, and the commercial prosperity of Samarcand, were celebrated throughout the East. The sultans Mohammed and his son and successor, Jalaloddín, were monarchs of dauntless bravery, but nothing could withstand the fury of the Mongols, and not only Kharasm, but the greater part of northern and eastern Persia, full under the sway of Jenghiz. Astrachan was taken by a Mongolian detachment, and some of the hordes pushed their incursions as far as the confines of Russia. Jenghiz died in his seventy-sixth year (A. D. 1227), continuing his career of conquest almost to the last hour of his life. Few conquerors have displayed greater military abilities, none more savage ferocity. He delighted in slaughter and devastation; his maxim was to slaughter without mercy, all that offered him the least resistance.

The successors of the Mongolian conqueror followed the course he had traced. They completed the subjugation of China, they overthrew the khaliphate of Bagdad (A. D. 1258), and rendered the sultans of Iconium tributary. Oktaï Khan, the immediate successor of Jenghiz, sent two armies from the centre of China, one against the peninsula of Corea, the other to subdue the countries north and east of the Caspian. This latter army, under the guidance of Batú Khan, penetrated and subdued the Russian empire (A. D. 1237); thence the Mongols spread into Hungary, Poland, and Silesia, and even reached the coasts of the Adriatic sea. The dutchy of Wladimir was the only native Russian dynasty that preserved its existence; it owed its good fortune to Alexander Newski, whose prudent measures conciliated the favor of the conquerors, and secured him a tranquil reign. After the death of Kublaï Khan, the grandson of Jenghiz, the Mongolian empire

was partitioned by the provincial governors, and gradually sank into decay.

The overthrow of the Seljúkian sultans and the Fatimite khaliphs, by Noureddin and Saladin, has been already mentioned. The dynasty of the Ayúbites was founded by Saladin's descendants in Syria and Egypt, and this, after having been divided into several states, was overthrown by the Mamelukes in the thirteenth century.

The Mamelukes were Turkish captives, whom the ferocious Mongols sold into slavery; great numbers of them were imported into Egypt in the reign of Sultan Saleh, of the Ayúbite dynasty. This prince purchased multitudes of the younger captives, whom he formed into an army and kept in a camp on the seacoast, where they received instruction in military discipline.* From this they were removed to receive the charge of the royal person, and the superintendence of the officers of state. In a short time, these slaves became so numerous and so powerful that they were enabled to usurp the throne, having murdered Túran Shah, the son and successor of Saleh, who had vainly endeavored to break the yoke which the Mamelukes had imposed upon their sultan (A. D. 1250). This revolution took place in the presence of St. Louis, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Mansurah, and had just concluded a truce for ten years with Túran Shah. The Mameluke insurgent, named at first regent or atta-beg, was finally proclaimed sultan of Egypt.

The dominion of the Mamelukes over Egypt lasted for more than two centuries and a half. Their body, constantly recruited by Turkish and Circassian slaves, disposed of the throne at its pleasure; the boldest of their chiefs, provided he could prove his descent from Turkestan, was chosen sultan. Notwithstanding the frequent wars and revolutions necessarily resulting from the licentiousness of military election, the Mamelukes made a successful resistance to the Mongols, and after the death of Jenghiz Khan's immediate heirs, conquered the kingdoms of Aleppo and Damascus, which the Mongolian khans had taken from the Ayúbites (A. D. 1260). The surviving princes of the Ayúbite dynasty in Syria and Arabia tendered their submission to the Mamelukes, who were thus masters of all the ancient Saracenic possessions in the Levantine countries, with the exception of the few forts and cities which were still retained by the Franks and western Christians. The Mamelukes soon resolved to seize these last memorials of the crusades. They invaded the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli, which were subdued without much difficulty. A fierce resistance was made by the garrison of Acre, but the town was taken by assault and its gallant defenders put to the sword. Tyre soon after surrendered by capitulation (A. D. 1291), and thus the Christians were finally expelled from Syria and Palestine.

*Hence they were called the Baharite or Maritime Mamelukes, to distinguish them from the Borjite or Garrison Mamelukes, another body of this militia, formed by the Baharite sultan, Kelaún, to counterbalance the authority usurped by the Turkish emirs. The Borjites derived their name from the forts which they garrisoned; they soon increased in power, and made the Baharite dynasty undergo the fate it inflicted on the Ayúbite sultans. They rose against their masters (A. D. 1382), gained possession of the supreme authority, and placed one of their chiefs on the throne of Egypt. The Borjites in their turn were overthrown by the Ottomans (A. D. 1517).

CHAPTER V.

THE REVIVAL OF LITERATURE; THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION AND INVENTION.

SECTION I.—*Decline of the Papal Power.—The Great Schism of the West.*

CLEMENT V., elevated to the papacy by the influence of the French king, Philip the Fair, to gratify his patron, abstained from going to Rome, had the ceremony of his coronation performed at Lyons, and fixed his residence at Avignon (A. D. 1309).

Philip further insisted that the memory of Boniface should be stigmatized, and his bones disinterred and ignominiously burned. Clement was afraid to refuse; but, at the same time, he dreaded the scandal of such a proceeding, and the danger of such a precedent; he therefore resolved to temporize, and persuaded Philip to adjourn the matter until a general council should be assembled. But some sacrifice was necessary to appease the royal thirst for vengeance, and the illustrious order of the Templars was sacrificed by the head of that church it had been instituted to defend. On the 13th of October, 1307, all the knights of that order were simultaneously arrested; they were accused of the most horrible and improbable crimes; evidence was sought by every means that revenge and cupidity could suggest; the torture of the rack was used with unparalleled violence to extort confession; and sentence of condemnation was finally pronounced on these unfortunate men, whose only crime was the wealth of their order, and their adherence to the papal cause in the reign of Boniface.

The assassination of the emperor Albert inspired Philip with the hope of procuring the crown of Charlemagne for his brother, and he hastened to Avignon to claim the promised aid of the pope. But though Clement had abandoned Italy to tyrants and factions, he had not resigned the hope of re-establishing the papal power over the peninsula, and he shuddered at the prospect of a French emperor reconciling the Guelphs and Ghibellines, crushing opposition by the aid of his royal brother, and fixing the imperial authority on a permanent basis; he therefore secretly instigated the German princes to hasten the election, and Henry VII. of Luxemburg was chosen at his suggestion. Though Henry possessed little hereditary influence, his character and talents secured him obedience in Germany; he had thus leisure to attend to the affairs of Italy, which no emperor had visited during the preceding half century. He crossed the Alps with a band of faithful followers; the cities and their tyrants, as if impressed by magic with unusual respect for the imperial majesty, tendered him their allegiance,

and the peninsula, for a brief space, submitted to orderly government. But the rivalry of the chief cities, the ambition of powerful barons, and the intrigues of Clement, soon excited fresh commotions, which Henry had not the means of controlling.

The council of Vienne had been summoned for the posthumous trial of Boniface VIII., and an examination of the charges brought against the Templars (A. D. 1309). Twenty-three witnesses gave evidence against the deceased pontiff, and fully established the charges of profligacy and infidelity; but Clement's own immoralities were too flagrant for him to venture on establishing such a principle as the forfeiture of the papacy for criminal indulgences, and the confession that Christianity had been described by a pope as a lucrative fable, was justly regarded as dangerous, not only to the papacy, but to religion itself. Philip was persuaded to abandon the prosecution, and a bull was issued acquitting Boniface, but, at the same time, justifying the motives of his accusers. The order of the Templars was formally abolished, and their estates transferred to the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; but the Hospitallers were forced to pay such large sums to Philip and the princes who had usurped the Temple lands, that they were impoverished rather than enriched by the grant. The council passed several decrees against heretics, and made some feeble efforts to reform the lives of the clergy; finally, it ordained a new crusade, which had no result but the filling of the papal coffers with gifts from the devout, bribes from the politic, and the purchase-money of indulgences from the cowardly.

When the emperor Henry VII. was crowned at Rome, he established a tribunal to support his authority over the cities and princes of Italy; sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against Robert, king of Naples, on a charge of treason, and this prince, to the great indignation of the French monarch, was placed under the ban of the empire. The pope interfered to protect the cousin of his patron, Philip; the wars between the papacy and the empire were about to be renewed, when Henry died suddenly at Bonconventio, in the state of Sienna. It was generally believed that the emperor was poisoned by his confessor, a Dominican monk, who administered the fatal dose in the eucharist. Clement fulminated two bulls against Henry's memory, accusing him of perjury and usurpation; he also annulled the sentence against Robert of Naples, and nominated that prince imperial vicar of Italy.

The death of Henry exposed Germany to the wars of a disputed succession; that of Clement, which soon followed, produced alarming dissensions in the church. Philip did not long survive the pontiff, and his successor, Louis X., was too deeply sunk in dissipation to regard the concerns of the papacy. Twenty-seven months elapsed in contests between the French and Italian cardinals, each anxious to have a pontiff of their own nation. When first they met in conclave, at Carpentras, the town was fired in a battle between their servants, and the cardinals, escaping from their burning palace through the windows, dispersed without coming to any decision. At length, Philip the Long, count of Poictiers, assembled the cardinals at Lyons, having voluntarily sworn that he would secure their perfect freedom. During their deliberations, the death of Louis X. gave Philip the regency, and soon

after the crown of France; the first use he made of his power was to shut up the cardinals in close conclave, and compel them to expedite the election. Thus coerced, they engaged to choose the pontiff who should be nominated by the Cardinal de Porto; this prelate, to the great surprise of all parties, named himself, and was soon after solemnly installed at Avignon, under the title of John XXII.

Europe was at this period in a miserable state of distraction. Italy was convulsed by the civil wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, whose animosities were secretly instigated by the intrigues of the king of Naples; Spain and Portugal were harassed by the struggles between the Christians and the Moors; England and France were at war with each other, while both were distracted by internal commotions; two emperors unfurled their hostile banners in Germany; and, finally, the Ottoman Turks were steadily advancing toward Constantinople. In these difficult times, John displayed great policy; he refused to recognise either of the rivals to the empire, and took advantage of their dissensions to revive the papal claims to the supremacy of Italy. But the battle of Muhldorf having established Louis of Bavaria on the imperial throne, John, who had previously been disposed to favor the duke of Austria, vainly attempted to gain over the successful sovereign. Louis sent efficient aid to the Ghibellines, and the papal party in Italy seemed on the point of being destroyed. John, forced to seek for allies, resolved to offer the imperial crown to Charles the Fair, who had just succeeded his brother Philip on the throne of France. The Germans, ever jealous of the French, were filled with indignation when they heard that the pope was endeavoring to remove their popular emperor; Louis summoned a diet, in which he publicly refuted the charges brought against him by the court of Avignon; several learned men published treatises to prove the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the imperial authority; the chapter of Freysingen expelled the bishop for his attachment to the pope; and the citizens of Strasburg threw a priest into the Rhine, for daring to affix a copy of John's condemnation of Louis to the gates of the cathedral. Even the religious orders were divided; for, while the Dominicans adhered to the pope, the Franciscans zealously supported the cause of the emperor.

Irritated rather than discouraged by anathemas, Louis led an army into Italy, traversed the Appenines, received the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan, and, advancing to Rome, found a schismatic bishop willing to perform the ceremony of his coronation. It was in vain that John declared these proceedings void, and issued new bulls of excommunication; the emperor conciliated the Guelphs by his real or pretended zeal for orthodoxy, and, confident in his strength, ventured to pronounce sentence of deposition and death against John, and to procure the election of Nicholas V. by the Roman clergy and people. The Franciscans declared in favor of the antipope, who was one of their body; and if Louis had shown prudence and forbearance equal to his vigor, the cause of Pope John would have been irretrievably ruined. But the avarice of the emperor alienated the affections, not only of the Romans, but of many Italian princes, who had hitherto been attached to the Ghibelline party; he was deserted by his chief supporters, and he embraced the pretext afforded him by the death of the duke of Aus-

tria, to return to Bavaria. Nicholas, abandoned by his allies, was forced to surrender to the pope, and only obtained his life by submitting to appear before John, with a rope round his neck, and to ask pardon of the pope and the public, for the scandal he had occasioned (A. D. 1330). Though by this humiliation the antipope escaped immediate death, he was detained a close prisoner for the remainder of his days, "treated," says a contemporary, "like a friend, but watched like an enemy."

The emperor would doubtless have suffered severely for his share in the elevation of Nicholas, had not the church been disturbed by a religious controversy. In a discourse at Avignon, the pope maintained that the souls of the blessed would not enjoy the full fruition of celestial joys, or, as he termed it, "the beatific vision," until the day of judgment. The university of Paris, and several leaders of the mendicant orders, declared that such a doctrine was heretical; Philip of Valois, who had only recently obtained the crown of France, required that the pope should retract his assertions, and John was compelled to appease his adversaries by equivocal explanations. The dispute afforded the emperor a pretext for refusing obedience to the papal bulls, and appealing to a general council; new wars were about to commence, when John died at Avignon, leaving behind him the largest treasure that had ever been amassed by a pontiff.

It was not without cause that the Italians named the sojourn of the popes in Avignon, "the Babylonish captivity." The strength of the papacy was shaken to its very foundation, when its possessors appeared mere dependants on the kings of France, the instruments of war and of power, whose possession monarchs contested, while they spurned their authority. The successor of John owed his election to his promise, that he would not reside at Rome: he took the title of Benedict XII., and began his reign by an attempt to restore peace to the church and to the empire. Philip of Valois had other interests, and he compelled the pope to adopt his views. Edward III. was preparing to assert his claims to the crown of France, and Philip feared that he would be supported by his brother-in-law, the emperor; he therefore threatened Benedict with his vengeance, if he should enter into negotiations with Louis, and, as a proof of his earnestness, he seized the revenues of the cardinals. The king of England and the German emperor, aware that the pope was a mere instrument in the hands of their enemies, disregarded his remonstrances and derided his threats. Benedict had not courage or talents adequate to the crisis; his death delivered the papacy from the danger of sinking into contempt, under a feeble ruler, who sacrificed everything to his love of ease; the cardinals, in choosing a successor, sought a pontiff whose energy and ambition might again invest the church with political power.

Clement VI., unanimously chosen by the electors, commenced his reign by claiming the restoration of those rights of the holy see which had fallen into abeyance during the government of his feeble predecessor. The Romans sent a deputation to request that he would return to the city, and appoint the celebration of a jubilee at the middle of the century; Clement granted the latter request, but he refused to visit Rome, through dread of the turbulent spirit of its inhabitants (A. D. 1343). But Clement did not neglect the affairs of Italy, though he

refused to reside in the country: Roger, king of Naples, at his death bequeathed his kingdom to his daughter Jane, or Joan, and named a council of regency: Clement insisted that the government, during the minority of the princess, belonged to the holy see; he, therefore, annulled the king's will, and sent a papal legate to preside over the administration. The emperor Louis V. sent an ambassador to the pope, soliciting absolution; Clement demanded humiliating submissions, which were indignantly refused; upon which the anathemas were renewed, and the German electors were exhorted to choose a new sovereign. As if resolved to brave all the princes that opposed the king of France, Clement nominated cardinals to the vacant benefices in England; but Edward III., supported by his clergy and people, refused to admit the intruders; nor could any threats of ecclesiastical censure shake his resolution. About the same time, Clement conferred the sovereignty of the Canary islands on Prince Louis of Spain, as Adrian had given Ireland to the English king. "In these grants," says Henry, "the pretensions of the popes seem to be less remarkable than the credulity of princes."

The pusillanimity of Louis V. is more surprising than the credulity of those who obtained papal grants to confirm questionable titles; though supported by all the princes and most of the prelates in Germany, the emperor sought to purchase pardon by submission; but the Diet would not allow the extravagant claims of the pope to be recognised, and the humiliations to which Louis submitted alienated his friends, without abating the hostility of his enemies.

But Italy was now the theatre of events calculated to divert public attention from the quarrels of the pope. Jane, queen of Naples, had married Andrew, brother to the king of Hungary, whose family had ancient claims on the Neapolitan crown. Political jealousy disturbed the harmony of the marriage; a conspiracy was formed by the courtiers against Andrew; he was murdered in his wife's bed, and she was more than suspected of having consented to the crime. Clement shared the general indignation excited by this atrocity, and, in his chimerical quality of suzerian of Naples, ordered that a strict search should be made after the murderers, against whom he denounced sentence of excommunication (A. D. 1346). Jane soon conciliated the pontiff, and purchased a sentence of acquittal, by selling her pretensions to the county of Avignon for a very moderate sum, which, it may be added, was never paid. But the king of Hungary was not so easily satisfied; he levied a powerful army to avenge the murder of his brother; and the emperor of Germany gladly embraced the opportunity of venting his resentment on the Guelphs and the partisans of the king of France, to whose intrigues he attributed the continuance of the papal excommunications.

Clement saw the danger with which he was menaced by the Hungarian league; to avert it, he negotiated with the king of Bohemia, and prevailed upon some of the German electors to nominate that monarch's son, Charles, marquis of Moravia, to the empire. The new sovereign agreed to recognise all the extravagant claims of the popes, which his predecessors had so strenuously resisted; but no real authority was added to the papacy by this degradation of the empire; even Clement

was aware that his authority should be supported by artifice and negotiation, rather than by any direct assertion of power.

While the princes of Europe were gradually emancipating themselves from the thraldom of the pontiffs, a remarkable revolution wrested Rome itself from their grasp, and revived for a moment the glories of the ancient republic. Rienzi, a young enthusiast of great learning, but humble origin, addressed a pathetic speech to his countrymen on the deplorable state of their city and the happiness of their ancient liberty. Such was the effect of his eloquence, that the citizens immediately elected him tribune of the people, and conferred upon him the supreme power (A. D. 1347). He immediately degraded the senators appointed by the pope, punished with death several malefactors of high rank, and banished the Orsini, the Colonnas, and other noble families, whose factions had filled the city with confusion. The messengers sent by the tribune to announce his elevation were everywhere received with great respect; not only the Italian cities, but even foreign princes, sought his alliance: the king of Hungary and the queen of Naples appealed to him as a mediator and judge, the emperor Louis sought his friendship, and the pope wrote him a letter approving all his proceedings. Such unexpected power intoxicated the tribune; he summoned the candidates for the empire to appear before him, he issued an edict declaring Rome the metropolis of the world, and assumed several strange titles that prove both his weakness and his vanity. This extravagance proved his ruin; Rienzi was excommunicated by the pope, the banished nobles entered Rome, the fickle populace deserted the tribune, and after wandering about for some time in various disguises, he was arrested by the papal ministers, and sent to Avignon, where he was detained a close prisoner.

In the meantime, the king of Hungary had entered Italy; Jane, whose recent marriage to the duke of Tarentum, one of the murderers of her husband, had given great offence to her subjects, abandoned the Neapolitan territories at his approach, and sought refuge at Avignon. But a dreadful pestilence, which at this time desolated southern Europe, compelled the king of Hungary to abandon the territories he had so easily acquired. About the same time, the death of the emperor Louis left Charles without a rival; and Clement resolved to take advantage of the favorable juncture to restore the papal authority in Italy. He ordered a jubilee to be celebrated at Rome; he excommunicated Visconti, archbishop of Milan, but afterward sold absolution to this prelate, who was formidable as a statesman and a soldier; finally, he persuaded the king of Hungary and the queen of Naples to submit their differences to his arbitration. But the court of Avignon was devoted to the house of Anjou; it did not venture to pronounce the queen innocent, but it declared that a weak woman could not resist the temptations of evil spirits, and decided that she should be restored to her kingdom on paying a subsidy to the king of Hungary. That generous prince refused the money, declaring that he had taken up arms to avenge the murder of his brother, not to gain a paltry bribe. Thus the pontiff still seemed the arbitrator of kings; some years before he had engaged Humbert, a prince of southern France, to bequeath his dominions to the French king, on the condition that the eldest son of that monarch should take the title of dauphin; he had been victorious, though by accident, in his

contest with the emperor Louis, and at his death Clement left the papacy in full possession of all its titles to supreme power.

But while the nominal authority of the papacy was as great as ever, its real power was considerably weakened. Innocent VI., unable to escape from the yoke which the kings of France had imposed on the popes during their residence at Avignon, resolved to recover the ancient patrimony of St. Peter; Rienzi was summoned from his dungeon, and was sent back to Rome with the title of senator. But the turbulent Romans soon grew weary of their former favorite and Rienzi was murdered by the populace, at the time he was most zealously laboring to chastise the disturbers of public tranquillity, and rescue the people from the oppression of the nobles (A. D. 1354). Soon afterward the emperor Charles IV. entered Rome, and, by the permission of the pope, was solemnly crowned. This feeble prince negotiated with all parties, and betrayed all; he sold liberty to the cities, because he had neither the military force nor the political power to defend a refusal, and he submitted to receive a passport from the pope, and to abide in Rome only the limited period prescribed by the jealousy of the pontiff.

But though the popes, during their residence at Avignon, favored the discords of Italy, stimulated the mutual animosity of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and encouraged civil war in the empire, they were desirous to terminate the sanguinary struggles for the crown of France, and made several efforts to reconcile the English Edward to the house of Valois. Edward was not to be checked in his career of victory; the glory of the French arms was destroyed at Crecy, and the king of France himself became a prisoner at Poictiers. It was through the mediation of Innocent VI. that King John recovered his liberty, and the war between England and France was terminated by the peace of Bretigny. Soon after his deliverance, John, distressed for money, was induced by a large bribe to give his daughter in marriage to Visconti, the most formidable enemy of the church, while Innocent was too occupied by nearer dangers to prevent an alliance so injurious to his interests. The numerous bands of mercenaries, who were thrown out of employment by the restoration of peace, formed themselves into independent bands, called Free Companies, and quitting the southern districts of France, already desolated by frequent campaigns, directed their march toward Provence. The anathemas hurled against them neither retarded their progress nor diminished their number; a crusade was vainly preached; no soldiers would enlist, when the only pay was indulgences; the plundering hordes approached Avignon, and the treasures of the ecclesiastics were on the point of falling into the hands of these unscrupulous spoilers. By paying a large bribe, and giving them absolution for all their sins, Innocent prevailed upon the Free Companies to turn aside from Avignon and enter into the service of the marquis of Montferrat, who was engaged in the war against the Visconti.

Urban V. succeeded Innocent, and though, like him, inclined to favor the king of France, he became convinced that the residence of the popes at Avignon was injurious to his interests. The emperor solicited Urban to visit Rome, and the Free Companies having again extorted a large bribe, for sparing Avignon, the pope hasted to leave a residence where he was exposed to insult and subservient to foreign authority. The

pope was received in Italy with great joy, the emperor Charles hastened to meet him, and gave the last example of imperial degradation, by leading the horse on which the pontiff rode when he made his triumphal entry into Rome (A. D. 1368). This spectacle, instead of gratifying the Italians, filled them with rage; they treated the emperor with so much contempt, that he soon returned to Germany; and Urban, finding that he could not check the republican licentiousness which had so long prevailed in Rome and the other cities of the patrimony of St. Peter, began to languish for the more tranquil retirement of Avignon. The only advantage he gained by his visit to Italy, was the empty honor of seeing the emperor of the east bow at his footstool, and offer as the reward of aid against the Turks, the union of the Greek and Latin churches. But Urban could not prevail upon the western princes to combine in defence of Constantinople; and the Greek emperor would have been unable to gain the consent of his subjects to lay aside either the peculiar ceremonies or doctrines that had severed their church from the papacy. The renewal of the war between France and England, when Charles V. succeeded the imbecile John, afforded Urban a pretext for returning to Avignon. Death seized him soon after he reached the city, and Gregory XI. was chosen his successor.

Gregory's great object was to break the power of the Visconti, who had become the virtual sovereigns of northern Italy; but he did not neglect the general interests of the church, exerting himself diligently to suppress heresy. The emperor created the pontiff his vicar, and Gregory, to support his authority, took some of the free companies into pay, and among the rest a band of Englishmen commanded by John Hawkwood. It was of importance to gain over the city of Florence; the papal legate thought that this object could best be obtained by producing a famine, and stimulating the citizens by the pressure of want to rise against their government. In pursuance of this infamous policy, means were taken to cut off the import of corn, while Hawkwood ravaged the territory of the city and destroyed the harvests. Of all the Italian people, the Florentines had been the most constant in their attachment to the cause of the holy see—their indignation was therefore excessive, and their hate implacable.

A general revolt against the papal power was soon organized through Italy by the outraged Florentines; they embroidered the word LIBERTAS on their standards in letters of gold, while their emissaries preached freedom in the cities, in the castles, and in the cottages; the summons was eagerly heard, and the states of the church soon refused to recognise the sovereignty of its head. Gregory sent new legates, and menaced the confederates with excommunication; he pronounced sentence of excommunication against the Florentines, exhorting all princes to confiscate the property of those who should be found in their several dominions, and to sell their persons into slavery;—an iniquitous edict, which was partially acted upon both in France and England: new hordes of mercenaries were taken into pay, and when the citizens of Bologna applied to the legate for pardon, he replied that he would not quit their city until he had bathed his hands and feet in their blood. The Florentines were undaunted, but the disunion and mutual jealousies between the other confederates proved

fatal to the national cause; the citizens of Rome were anxious to have the pontifical court restored to their city, and to obtain this desirable object, they willingly sacrificed their claims to freedom. In their state of moral degradation, indeed, they were unable to appreciate the advantages of rational liberty, and unfit to exercise its privileges.

During these commotions in Italy, Gregory, being informed of the reformed doctrines, or, as he called them, the heresies published in England by John Wickliffe, wrote to the chancellor and university of Oxford, severely reproving them for permitting such opinions to be promulgated, and ordaining that Wickliffe should be brought to trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Similar letters were sent to Richard II., the young king of England, who had just succeeded his grandfather Edward III., but the duke of Lancaster and several other nobles took the reformer under their protection; Wickliffe was rescued from the malice of his enemies, while his doctrines rapidly, though secretly, spread not only through Italy, but through Germany. The chief articles he was accused of teaching, were, that the wafer in the eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but its figure only; that the Roman church had no right to be the head of all churches; that the pope has no more authority than any other priest; that lay patrons may, and ought to, deprive a delinquent church of its temporal possessions; that the gospel was sufficient to direct any Christian; that no prelate of the church ought to have prisons for punishing delinquents. The publication of these sentiments enraged Gregory, who had, from the very commencement of his reign, shown himself a virulent persecutor, and procured the burning of several unfortunate wretches accused of heresy, both in France and Germany. Scarcely had he made his triumphal entry into Rome, when he prepared to take some effective measures for checking the progress of innovation. But domestic troubles soon engaged his attention; the Romans, who had received him on his first arrival with so much enthusiasm, soon began to brave his authority and disobey his edicts; baffled in his expectations of peace and power, he even contemplated returning to Avignon, where part of the papal court still continued. But before taking this step, he resolved to secure the tranquillity of Italy, and, if possible, avert the divisions which he foresaw would probably trouble the church after his death (A. D. 1378). A congress was opened at Serazanæ, but before its deliberations could produce any important result, Gregory was seized with mortal illness, and all hopes of peace were destroyed by the schism which arose respecting the choice of his successor.

The death of Gregory XI. was the commencement of a new era for the ancient capital of the world, from which the popes had been absent during so many years. Pride, interest, and self-love, combined to attach the Romans to the papacy; had they combined with the Florentines, it is possible that the cities of Italy might have formed a confederacy sufficiently strong to defy an absent pope, and an emperor powerless and distant; perhaps they might even have solved the problem which still continues to baffle statesmen, and form a federative union in Italy. But the Romans were incapable of such profound views; they looked to nothing beyond the advantages to be derived from the residence of the

papal court; and, instead of aiming at reviving their ancient glory, they contented themselves with disputing the profits that had hitherto been enjoyed by the city of Avignon.

No sooner had the cardinals, the majority of whom belonged to the French party, shut themselves up in a conclave, than the Romans were filled with alarm lest a Transalpine prelate should be chosen, who would establish his court at Avignon. They assembled in arms round the Vatican, and by their menaces sent terror into its inmost recesses. They demanded that the new pope should be an Italian; this was the only virtue they required in the successor of St. Peter. The French cardinals, already disunited, were intimidated by these clamors; they gave their votes to a Neapolitan archbishop, who took the title of Urban VI.

The cardinals seem to have expected that Urban, who was celebrated for his modesty, his humility, and his skill in the canon law, would have acknowledged that his election was vitiated by the force that had been used, and that he would therefore have abdicated the pontificate. But Urban soon convinced them of their error; he not only showed a determination to retain his power, but openly set the discontented cardinals at defiance. In a public discourse, immediately after his coronation, he severely reprehended their pomp and luxury, threatened to punish those who had been convicted of receiving bribes, and reproached some of them by name for corresponding with the enemies of the church. Exasperated by this austerity, the discontented cardinals fled to Anagni, proclaimed the late election void, sent circulars to all Christian princes warning them not to acknowledge Urban, took a body of Bretons into their pay, and, relying on the protection of this military force, excommunicated the new pope as an apostate usurper. The duke of Brunswick, the husband of Jane, queen of Naples, alarmed at the prospect of a schism, attempted to mediate; but his efforts to effect a reconciliation were baffled by the resentment of the cardinals and the haughtiness of Urban. On all sides proposals were made to assemble a general council, but the pope, the cardinals, and the emperor, disputed the right of convocation; the fortune of war could alone determine the fate of the church.

Urban showed no desire to conciliate his opponents; he announced a speedy creation of new cardinals to overwhelm their votes, and threatened the queen of Naples for granting them protection. He showed similar severity in his conduct to the Roman aristocracy, and, on a very slight pretext, ventured to deprive the count of Fondi of his fiefs. The count at once declared himself a partisan of the cardinals; he gave them shelter in the town of Fondi, where, protected by Neapolitan troops, they proceeded to a new election. It is said by many historians that they would have chosen the king of France, Charles V., had not his being maimed in the left arm incapacitated him from performing the ceremonies of the mass; but their selection was scarcely less swayed by temporal motives when they gave their votes to Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. This prelate had served in the field, and even acquired some reputation as a warrior; but he was generally and justly hated by

the Italians for having massacred all the inhabitants of Cesena during the Florentine war.

The death of the emperor Charles IV. added new troubles to the complicated policy of Europe; that despicable slave of superstition had purchased from the venal electors the nomination of his son Wenceslaus as his successor; and the young prince, from the moment of his succession, gave himself up to the practice of the meanest vices, and wallowed in disgusting debauchery. These crimes, however, did not prevent him from enjoying the favor of Urban, whose cause he warmly espoused—a merit which, in the eyes of the pontiff, compensated for the want of all the virtues.

The queen of Naples declared in favor of Clement, and invited him to her court. So great, however, was the hatred of a French pontiff, that, in spite of the turbulent disposition of Urban, the defection of the cardinals, the authority of the queen, and the jealousy of the states so recently at war with the court of Rome, all Italy declared against Clement, and the Neapolitans showed such hatred to his cause, that he was forced to escape by sea to Marseilles, whence he proceeded to establish his court at Avignon.

The king of France, Charles V., had eagerly espoused the cause of the cardinals who had elected the antipope; most of them were his subjects, and all were devoted to the interests of France; he therefore declared himself the partisan of Clement, trusting that he would obtain important political advantages by the residence of the pope at Avignon. Unfortunately the result was to involve his kingdom in a ruinous war, which long doomed France to loss and calamity.

Urban's vengeance was promptly directed against the queen of Naples, whose supposed murder of her husband, thirty years before, was still remembered to her disadvantage; he declared that she had forfeited her right to the throne, which he conferred on her cousin Charles of Durazzo; and to support this king of his vengeance, he not only sold ecclesiastical benefices, but pledged the plate belonging to the churches. Jane, driven from her kingdom, adopted the duke of Anjou as her son and successor; the French monarchs believed themselves bound to support his claims, and exhausted their resources in the effort.

All Europe was divided by the schism: Italy, Holland, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Flanders, and England, declared for Urban; while Clement was supported by Spain, Navarre, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, and France. The rival popes hurled anathemas against each other; excommunication was answered by excommunication; and both prepared piles to burn the partisans of their adversary as heretics. Charles V. set the example, by issuing an edict confiscating the property and life of those who ventured to recognise Urban in his dominions. Urban retorted, by preaching a crusade against Charles; the English eagerly seized this pretext for renewing war against France, and a powerful army entered Britanny to support its duke against his liege lord.

The death of Charles V., and the minority of his son Charles VI., added to the embarrassments of France; the duke of Anjou seized the royal treasures to support his claims on Naples; the new taxes imposed upon the people provoked insurrection; the revolters were punished

with remorseless cruelty, and they, on the other hand, practised horrible retaliations whenever they had an opportunity. Charles Durazzo, in the meantime, found little difficulty in taking possession of the Neapolitan territories; Jane, abandoned by her subjects, was forced to surrender to her cousin, and, by his command, was strangled in prison (A. D. 1382). Louis of Anjou immediately claimed her inheritance, and, having obtained the investiture of Naples from Clement, entered Italy at the head of fifteen thousand men. No opposition was offered to the French in their passage; Louis reached the frontiers of the Abruzzi in safety, and was there joined by several Neapolitan nobles attached to the memory of Jane, and anxious to avenge her death.

Durazzo was unable to meet his enemy in the field; but he garrisoned his fortresses, encouraged the peasantry of the Abruzzi to harass the French by a guerilla warfare, and destroyed all the forage and provisions in the open country. Famine and pestilence wasted the gallant chivalry of France; the duke of Anjou fell a victim to a fever, whose severity was aggravated by his disappointment; his army dispersed, and many noble barons, who had joined his banners, were forced to beg their way home, amid the jeers and insults of the Italians. The English, commanded by the bishop of Norwich, made a feeble attack upon the schismatic French; they were defeated, and the bishop returned with shame to his diocese.

Urban disapproved of the cautious policy of Durazzo, and, proceeding to Naples, began to treat the king as his vassal; Charles temporized, until the death of the duke of Anjou delivered him from pressing danger, but then he refused all obedience to the pope, and treated him so uncivilly, that Urban removed to Nocera. Several of the cardinals, weary of the tyranny to which they were subjected, plotted the murder of the pope; but their conspiracy was discovered, and six of them were sentenced to suffer the tortures of the rack that they might be compelled to betray their accomplices. Urban personally superintended these cruelties, and suggested new modes of torture to the executioners. When confessions were thus obtained, he degraded the cardinals from their dignity, and pronounced sentence of excommunication, not only against them, but against the king and queen of Naples, the antipope Clément, his cardinals, and his adherents. Durazzo, justly enraged, marched against Nocera, and captured the town; but the pope found shelter in the citadel, from which he, several times-a-day, fulminated anathemas with bell and candle against the king of Naples and his army. Urban at length made his escape, and, embarking on board some Genoese galleys, reached Genoa in safety, where he was honorably received by the doge, who deemed the city honored by his presence. During his flight, he ordered the bishop of Aquila to be murdered, suspecting that he meditated desertion; and soon after he put to death five of the guilty cardinals, sparing the sixth, who was an Englishman, at the intercession of Richard II.—a monarch who had given the weight of England's influence to Urban's cause.

Clement VII. did not conduct himself one whit better than his rival; he insulted and imprisoned the German and Hungarian ambassadors, who were sent to propose expedients for terminating the schism; his exactions from the churches that acknowledged his authority alienated

the minds of those whom their political position had ranged on his side; his intrigues and his servility were offensive to the kings that supported him. The double papacy was found a heavy tax on Christendom; each pontiff collected around him a court of dissolute and prodigal cardinals, whose lavish expenditure was supported by alienating the revenues of all the benefices within their grasp.

But the kingdom of Naples was especially destined to suffer from the schism; the rival pontiffs claimed the right of bestowing the Neapolitan crown at their discretion, and their pretensions perpetuated civil discord. Charles Durazzo quitted his kingdom to seek a new crown in Hungary, but fell a victim to assassins in the hour of success; Margaret, his queen, on receiving the news, assumed the regency, and caused her son Ladislaus to be recognised as sovereign by the states of the realm. But Urban VI., who had excommunicated Charles Durazzo, pretended that the kingdom of Naples reverted as a vacant fief to the holy see, and began forming a party against the queen. Clement on his side raised a similar claim, and sold the church plate to pay troops; he zealously supported the house of Anjou, and employed Otho of Brunswick, the widower of the unfortunate Jane, to expel the family of Durazzo.

Hitherto the division in the church had been political; a doctrinal controversy, however, was added to the schism, which, though it led to no immediate results, deserves to be briefly described. A Dominican doctor of divinity, John de Monçon, preaching on the doctrine of original sin, declared that the virgin Mary was conceived in sin. But the faculty of theology in the university of Paris, the Sorbonne, declared that his assertion was an impious outrage against the mother of Christ: the doctors added that the prophesied sacrifice of Christ had an effect before its accomplishment, on his birth and that of his mother, and to this exemption from the ordinary law of humanity, they gave the name of the Immaculate Conception.

The worship of the virgin Mary has always been the most popular portion of the Romish liturgy; the doctrine of the Sorbonne seemed to confer new honor upon her name, and it was ardently received by multitudes of ignorant enthusiasts.

Monçon, alarmed at the ferment he had unwittingly excited, fled to Avignon. The entire order of the Dominicans, enraged to find one of their brethren accused of heresy, sent seventy of their most eminent doctors to support Monçon's opinions before the papal tribunal. The Sorbonne, on the other hand, deputed its most eminent professors to prosecute Monçon, and procure the condemnation of his opinions. The pope was sorely embarrassed; the opposing parties were so powerful that he did not wish to alienate either; and he, therefore, had recourse to the expedient of dismissing Monçon secretly, and sending him to seek refuge in Aragon.

But the theologians of the Sorbonne would not rest satisfied with an imperfect victory; profiting by the popular ferment to work on the mind of their sovereign, Charles VI., they persuaded the king, who had not yet attained his twenty-first year, and whose ignorance was extreme, to undertake the decision of a question beyond the limits of human knowledge. The young and stupid king took upon himself to

maintain that the virgin Mary was free from the stain of original sin; he even sent to prison all who denied the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

Clement VII., always in fear of being sacrificed to his rival, Urban VI., and relying for support chiefly on the court of France, did not venture to make any further resistance. He issued a bull condemning John de Monçon, and all his adherents: he permitted the king to institute a new festival in honor of the Immaculate Conception. The whole order of St. Dominic was degraded to the lowest rank of monastics, and it was ordained that no one of their body should, in future, hold the office of confessor to the king.

Urban VI. paid little regard to theological controversies; he was more anxious to re-establish his authority over southern Italy. But as he marched toward Naples, his troops mutinied for want of pay, and he was forced to return to Rome. The citizens proved to be as discontented as the soldiers; to stifle their murmurs he published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee the following year at Rome, and ordered that this solemnity should be repeated every thirty-three years, according to the number of years that Christ remained upon earth. He hoped that this festival would enrich the Romans and himself, but he died before the time for its celebration (A. D. 1389). It is supposed that his end was hastened by poison, for his most ardent supporters were weary of his tyranny.

A few days after the death of Urban, the cardinals at Rome chose a new pontiff, who took the title of Boniface IX., and commenced his reign by an interchange of anathemas and excommunications with his rival at Avignon. More prudent than his predecessor, Boniface hasted to make terms with the family of Durazzo at Naples; he recognised young Ladislaus as a legitimate king, and sent a legate to perform the ceremony of his coronation. Ladislaus, in return, took an oath of fidelity and homage, binding himself never to recognise the antipope at Avignon.

Clement VII. strengthened himself by a closer union with the king of France, whom he induced to visit Avignon, and to witness the ceremony of the coronation of Louis II. of Anjou, as king of Naples. The imbecile Charles was so gratified by his reception, that he projected a crusade against Rome, but he was soon induced to abandon his purpose, and he gave very feeble aid to his cousin of Anjou, when he prepared an armament to invade the Neapolitan territories. The doctors of the Sorbonne became eager to terminate the schism; and, encouraged by their success in the controversy of the Immaculate Conception, they presented to the king a project for restoring the peace of the church, by compelling the rival popes to resign, and submit the choice of a new pontiff to a general council (A. D. 1394). Though this counsel was not favorably received by the king, it gave great alarm to Clement, and agitation of mind is supposed to have produced the apopletic fit which occasioned his death.

The French ministers wrote to the cardinals at Avignon, urging them to embrace the opportunity of terminating the schism; but these prelates hasted to conclude a new election without opening the letter, with the contents of which they were acquainted. Peter de Luna, cardinal of

Aragon, was nominated pope; he took the name of Benedict XIII., and the schism became wider than ever. When the news of the election reached Paris, Charles, instead of recognising the pope of Avignon, convoked the clergy of his kingdom to deliberate on the means of restoring peace to the church. After some delay, the convocation met, and came to the inconsistent resolution of recognising Benedict, and proposing that the schism should be terminated by the abdication of the two popes. Ambassadors were sent with this proposal to Avignon, but a ridiculous though insuperable difficulty prevented the success of their negotiations. The plenipotentiaries on both sides preached long sermons to each other, until the French princes who were joined in the legation, completely fatigued, and seeing no probable termination of the conference, returned home indignant and disappointed. The king of England and the emperor of Germany joined the French monarch in recommending the double application; Boniface declared his readiness to resign, if Benedict would set the example, but the latter pontiff absolutely refused submission. An army was sent to compel him to obedience; Avignon was taken, and Benedict besieged in his palace, but his obstinacy continued unshaken, and the party feuds which the weakness of the king encouraged in France, gave him hopes of final triumph.

The state of the western governments tended to protract the schism of the church; the king of France fell into idiotcy; Richard II. was deposed in England by his cousin Henry IV.; the duke of Anjou was driven from Naples; the Byzantine emperor and the king of Hungary were harassed by the Turks, whose increasing power threatened ruin to both; the Spanish peninsula was distracted by the Moorish wars; and the emperor Wenceslaus was forced to abdicate by the German electors. Boniface took advantage of these circumstances to establish the papal claim to the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices, and to render himself absolute master of Rome, by fortifying the citadel and castle of St. Angelo. The Roman citizens were deprived of the last shadow of their former franchises; the readiness with which they submitted, is, however, a sufficient proof that they were unworthy of freedom. The pope did not long survive this triumph; the Roman cardinals elected Innocent VII. to supply his place; but he died about twelve months after his elevation, and was succeeded by Gregory XII. (A. D. 1406). Benedict having, in the meantime, recovered his freedom, protested against the Roman elections, but offered to hold a personal conference with Gregory for reconciling all their differences. The cardinals, weary of these controversies, deserted the rivals, and having assembled a general council at Pisa, elected a third pope, who took the title of Alexander V.

There were now three heads to the Christian church: Ladislaus and some of the Italian cities supported Gregory; the kings of Scotland and Spain adhered to Benedict; while Alexander was recognised in the rest of Christendom. The disputes of these hostile pontiffs had greatly tended to enfranchise the human mind, and weaken the hold of superstition. Wickliffe's doctrines spread in England, and in Germany they were advocated by John Huss, who eloquently denounced the corruptions that debased the pure doctrines of Christianity. Pope

Alexander was preparing to resist the progress of the courageous reformer, when his death threw the affairs of the church into fresh confusion.

The presence of an armed force induced the cardinals to elect John XXIII., whose promotion gave great scandal, as he was more remarkable for his military than his religious qualifications (A. D. 1411). John soon compelled Ladislaus to abandon Gregory's party; he then assembled a general council at Rome, where sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the doctrines of Huss and Wickliffe. But Ladislaus soon grew weary of peace; he led an army against Rome, plundered the city, and compelled the pope to seek protection from Sigismond, emperor of Germany. John consented very reluctantly to the imperial demand, that the schism should finally be terminated by a general council; he made an ineffectual effort to have the assembly held in one of his own cities, but Sigismond insisted that it should meet in Constance. John then attempted to interpose delays, but the general voice of Christendom was against him; he jndged his situation accurately, when, pointing to Constance from the summit of the Alps, he exclaimed, "What a fine trap for catching foxes!"

The attention of all Christendom was fixed upon the deliberations of the council of Constance, whither bishops, ambassadors, and theologians, flocked from every part of Europe (A. D. 1415). John Huss, having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, appeared before the council to defend his doctrines, but Sigismond was persuaded to forfeit his pledge, and deliver the courageous reformer to his enemies, to be tried for heresy. Pope John was not treated better; a unanimous vote of the council demanded his abdication; he fled to Austria, but he was overtaken and detained in the same prison with Huss, until he ratified the sentence of his own deposition. Gregory XII. soon after abdicated the pontificate, but Benedict still continued obstinate; his means of resistance, however, were so trifling, that the council paid little attention to his refusal. John Huss, and his friend Jerome of Prague, were sentenced to be burnt at the stake as obstinate heretics, but their persecutors could not stop the progress of the truth; the Hussites in Bohemia had recourse to arms for the defence of their liberties, and, under the command of the heroic Zisca, maintained the cause of civil and religious liberty, in many glorious fields.

The emperor, the princes of Germany, and the English deputies, strenuously urged the council to examine the abuses of the church, and form some plan for its thorough reformation; but the prelates, fearing that some proposals might be made injurious to their interests, steadily resisted these efforts; declaring that the election of a pope ought to have precedence of all other business. After long disputes, the choice of the electors fell on Otho Colonna, a Roman noble, who took the title of Martin V. The new pontiff combined with the cardinals to strangle all the plans of reform, and the council, from whose deliberations so much had been expected, terminated its sittings, without having applied any effectual remedy to the evils which had produced the schism. A promise, indeed, was made, that another council would be convened, for the reform of the church, at Pavia, but no one cared to claim its performance; the conduct of those who met at Constance convinced the world

that no effectual redress of grievances could be expected from such assemblies.

The projects of reform, begun at Constance, were revived at the council of Basle (A. D. 1431); but Eugenius IV., the successor of Martin, soon felt that the proposed innovations would be fatal to the papal authority, and dissolved the council. This precipitancy caused another schism, which lasted ten years; but at length the ex-duke of Savoy, who had been chosen pope by the partisans of the council, under the name of Felix V., gave in his submission; and the council, from whose labors so much had been expected, ended by doing nothing. Still the convocations of the prelates of Christendom at Constance and Basle struck a fatal blow against the despotism of the popes. Henceforth monarchs had, or seemed to have, a court of appeal—one so dreaded by the pontiffs, that the mere dread of its convocation procured from them liberal concessions. But a new and more formidable enemy to the despotism of the pontiffs than the resistance of kings or of councils, was the progress of literature and knowledge, which brought the extravagant claims of spiritual and temporal rulers to be investigated on their real merits, not according to their asserted claims.

SECTION II.—*First Revival of Literature, and Inventions in Science.*

IN the controversy between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII., literary talent was for the first time employed against the church by John of Paris, a celebrated Dominican, who advocated the royal independence with great zeal and considerable ability. The celebrated poet Dante Alighieri, who may be regarded as the founder of Italian literature, and almost of the Italian language, followed the same course, advocating strenuously the cause of the emperor Louis of Bavaria. Their example was a model for many other writers, who laid aside the shackles of authority, and supported the independence of states. But literature itself was subject to trammels which checked the progress of improvement. It was deemed a crime scarcely less than heresy, to doubt of any explanation given by the schoolmen of physical, mental, or moral phenomena. Roger Bacon, a Franciscan monk, was the first who revived experimental science; he made several important discoveries in mechanics and chymistry, but his great merit is to be found, not so much in his various inventions and projects, as in the bold appeal which he made to experiment, and the observation of nature. His lectures at Oxford, published under the title of "Opus Majus" (A. D. 1266), raised against him a host of enemies; he was prohibited from giving instructions in the university, and was subjected to confinement in his convent. His scientific discoveries were deemed a species of magic in that age of ignorance; he was the first of the long list of victims of ecclesiastical persecution, and the leader of a long line of patriots who supported the cause of intellectual and moral liberty against the odious encroachments of spiritual despotism. The emancipation of literature accompanied that of science; the impulse which Dante had given to the cultivation of Italian poetry was long felt; he was followed by Petrarch and Boccacio, whose writings at once elevated the character and formed the language of their countrymen.

Several new inventions, or perhaps importations from the remote East, accelerated the progress of men in learning and the arts. Of these we may mention more particularly the art of forming paper from linen-rags, painting in oil, the art of printing, the use of gunpowder, and of the mariner's compass.

Before the invention of linen-paper, parchment was generally used in Europe, both for copying books and preserving public records. This material was scarce and dear. When the Arabs conquered Bokhara (A. D. 704), they are said to have found a large manufactory of cotton-paper at Samarcand, which is not improbable, as the fabric was known in China before the Christian era. They brought the knowledge of the art into their western territories, but the scarcity of the materials long impeded its progress. At length, in the thirteenth century, it was discovered that linen would answer all the purposes of cotton; but when, where, or by whom, this valuable discovery was made, can not be ascertained. The first great factory of linen-paper of which we have any certain accounts, was established at Nuremberg (A. D 1390), but there is reason to believe that paper was manufactured in western Europe a century earlier.

The invention of painting in oils is usually attributed to two brothers, Van Eyck, of whom the younger, called John of Bruges, flourished toward the close of the thirteenth century. The invention, however, is of much earlier date, but the brothers deserve the merit of having brought it into practical use, and carried it to a high degree of perfection. Owing to this invention, modern paintings excel the ancients both in finish of execution and permanence.

More important than either of these was the invention of printing, which seems to have been at least partially derived from the East. Solid blocks of wood, graven with pictures and legends, were used in China from a very remote period. The great improvement of having separate types for each letter, was made by John Gutenberg, a citizen of Mayence (A. D. 1436); he used small blocks of wood, but the matrix for casting metal types was soon after devised by Peter Schoeffer, of Gemheim. Gutenberg established the first printing-press known in Europe, at Strasburg; thence he removed to Mayence, where he entered into partnership with John Fust, or Faustus, whose ingenuity greatly contributed to perfect the invention. Gutenberg did not put his name to any of the books he printed; Faustus, more ambitious of fame, placed his name and that of his partner to his celebrated Psalter, and thus received no small share of the glory that properly belonged to the first discoverer. The art of engraving on copper, was discovered about the same time as the use of moveable types, but its history is very obscure.

Scarcely less important than printing was the manufacture and use of gunpowder. The explosive power of saltpetre was probably known in the east from a very remote age. With less certainty we may conjecture that the process of compounding saltpetre with other ingredients, was brought from the remote east by the Saracens. Friar Bacon, the first European writer who describes the composition of gunpowder, derived his knowledge of chymistry chiefly from the Arabian writers, who were the originators of that science. The employment of

gunpowder for throwing bullets and stones began in Europe about the commencment of the fourteenth century; it was introduced by the Saracens in their Spanish wars; and the first certain account of this change in warfare, is in an Arabian history of the siege of Baza, by the king of Granada (A. D. 1312). It is generally supposed that the Genoese were the first who used powder in mines, to destroy walls and fortifications, at the siege of Seranessa (A. D. 1487). Bombs and mortars are said to have been invented by Malatesta, prince of Rimini (A. D. 1467); and about the same time guns, or rather portable cannons, began to be used by soldiers. Several circumstances prevented the immediate adoption of firearms and artillery in war: long habit made many prefer their ancient weapons; the construction of cannons was imperfect, they were made more frequently of wood, leather, or iron hoops, than solid metal, and were therefore liable to burst; the gunpowder was of imperfect manufacture, and frequently failed in the field. Above all, the mail-clad chivalry of Europe opposed a change in the art of war which greatly lowered the value of knights and cavalry.

The last great invention that requires notice, is the polarity of the magnet, and its application to the mariner's compass. It was generally believed that the inventor of this precious instrument was Flavio Gioia, a native of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples; and so precise were the historians, that they specified the date of the invention as either A. D. 1302, or 1303. A more careful examination of the subject showed that the magnet's polarity had been noticed by Chinese, Arabian, and even European writers, long before the commencement of the fourteenth century.

The time when the polarity of the magnet was first known to the Chinese is lost in the night of antiquity. But many centuries before the Christian era, this property of the loadstone was applied to the construction of magnetic chariots; but it was probably not until the Chinese began to direct their attention to navigation, under the Tsin dynasty, that is, between the middle of the third and the commencement of the fifth centuries of our era that it was used for the guidance of vessels at sea. We have no certain account of the introduction of the compass into Europe, but writers of the twelfth century, speaking of it, as far as we know for the first time, mention it as a thing generally known. From this sudden notoriety of the polarity of the magnet, it seems probable that its use had been practically known to sailors, before it engaged the attention of the learned. Only one century previous to this notoriety, we find that the northern navigators had no better expedient for directing their course, than watching the flight of birds. "The old northern sailors," says a Danish chronicle, "took a supply of ravens for their guides; they used to let these birds fly from their barks when in the open sea; if the birds returned to the ship, the sailors concluded that there was no land in sight, but if they flew off, the vessels were steered in the direction of their flight." The improvements in the compass were made by slow degrees, and for the most important of them the world is indebted to Englishmen.

Section III.—*Progress of Commerce.*

From the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century the commerce of Europe was engrossed by the Italian, Hanseatic, and Flemish cities. The Italians, but more especially the Florentines, Genoese, and Venetians, possessed the trade of the Levant. The jealousy of the rival republics led to sanguinary wars, which ended in rendering the Venetians supreme in the Mediterranean. The manufacture of silk, which had been introduced into Sicily from Greece, spread thence into various parts of Italy, but the largest factories were established at Venice. This city supplied the greater part of Europe with silks, spices, and Asiatic produce. Italian merchants, commonly called Lombards, carried these goods into the northern and western kingdoms. The privileges and exemptions granted them by sovereigns, enabled them to rule the traffic of Europe, and to become the chief bankers and money-dealers in its different states.*

But all the Italian free cities did not enjoy equal prosperity. The states of Lombardy that had wrested their freedom from the German emperors, soon fell into anarchy. Disgusted with the advantages by which they knew not how to profit, some voluntarily resigned their liberties to new masters, while others yielded to usurpers. Thus the marquis of Este became lord of Modena and Reggia (A. D. 1336); the house of Gonzago gained possession of Mantua, and the Visconti took the title of dukes of Milan (A. D. 1395). Florence retained its freedom and prosperity for a longer period. It was not until the reign of the emperor Charles V. (A. D. 1530), that its republican form of government was abolished, and the supreme authority usurped by the princely family of the Medicis.

The rivalry between the Genoese and the Venetians led, as we have already mentioned, to long and deadly wars. The last and most memorable of these, was that called the war of Chiozza (A. D. 1379), in which the Genoese received so severe a check, that they were no longer able to contest the supremacy of the sea with their rivals.

But these wars were not the only cause of the decline of Genoa; the streets of the city frequently streamed with the blood of rival factions; the nobles and commons fought for supremacy, which want of internal union prevented either party from maintaining; and at length, incapable of governing themselves, they sought the protection of foreign powers. With their usual inconstancy, the Genoese were ever changing masters; twice they placed themselves under the king of France, but after a short experience of French rule, took for their sovereign, first the marquis of Montferrat, and afterward the duke of Milan. From the year 1464, Genoa remained a dependancy on the dutchy of Milan, until 1528, when it recovered its former freedom.

While the power of the Genoese republic was declining, that of Venice was increasing by rapid strides. The permanence given to its government by introducing the principle of hereditary aristocracy, saved

* The street in London where these foreigners were settled, still retains the name of Lombard street, and continues to be the chief seat of banking establishments. It is not generally known that the three balls exhibited over pawnbroker's shops, are the arms of Lombardy, and have been retained as a sign, ever since the Lombards were the sole money-lenders of Europe.

the states from internal convulsions, while the judicious establishment of commercial stations, on the shores of the Adriatic and Levant, secured and fostered its trade. The greatest advantage that the Venetians obtained over their commercial rivals, arose from their treaty with the sultan of Egypt (A. D. 1343); by this alliance, the republic obtained full liberty of trade in the Syrian and Egyptian ports, with the privilege of having consular establishments at Alexandria and Damascus. These advantages soon enabled them to acquire supreme command over the trade of central and southern Asia; the spices and other commodities of India were brought to Syrian markets, and the Genoese establishments on the Black sea soon became worthless. The territorial acquisitions of the republic on the northern coasts of the Adriatic, formed a powerful state about the middle of the fifteenth century. But the power of the republic was less secure than it appeared; oppressive to its dependancies, it provoked hostile feelings, which only waited for an opportunity to blaze forth in open rebellion; insolent to all the surrounding powers, a secret jealousy and enmity were excited, which, at no distant date, exposed Venice to the resentments of a league too powerful to be resisted.

We have already mentioned the Hanseatic confederation of the commercial cities in northern and western Europe, to protect their trade from pirates and robbers. In the fourteenth century, the league became so extensive as to form an important power, that claimed and received the respect of kings and emperors. The maritime cities of Germany, from the Scheldt and the isles of Zealand, all round to the borders of Livonia, joined the confederacy, and several cities in the interior sought its protection, and admission into its alliance. The first known act of confederation was signed by the deputies of the several cities at Cologne (A. D. 1364). All the allied cities were divided into four circles, whose limits and capitals varied at different periods; the general administration of the confederacy was intrusted to a confederacy which assembled triennially at Lubeck. In the early part of the fifteenth century, no less than eighty cities sent delegates to the congress, while many others were connected with the league, though they had not the power of sending delegates. Possessing the exclusive commerce of the Baltic sea, the Hanse towns exercised the right of making war and peace, and forming alliances; they equipped powerful fleets and waged successful wars with the northern sovereigns that attempted to interfere with their monopoly, or limit the privileges extorted from the ignorance or weakness of their predecessors.

The principal marts were Bruges for the Flemish countries, London for England, Bergen for Norway, and Novogorod for Russia. In the close of the fifteenth century, Novogorod was deprived of its republican constitution, and the merchants migrated to Narva and Revel. Through the Flemings the Hanseatic commercial cities were brought into connexion with those of Italy; the merchants of both met in the fairs and markets of Bruges, where the produce of the unexplored north was exchanged for that of the unknown regions of India. The progress of trade, and the intercourse thus effected between remote nations, excited a love for maritime and inland discovery, which soon produced impor-

tant changes, and aided the other causes that necessarily led to the overthrow of the confederation.

Extensive as was the commerce of the Hanseatic cities, it possessed neither permanence nor durability. Having neither produce nor manufactures of their own, the merchants had merely a carrying trade, and the produce of simple barter; consequently the progress of industry, especially in countries where the useful arts were cultivated, raised powerful rivals against them, and gave commerce a new direction. The establishment of stable government was also injurious to a confederation; the German princes gradually recovered their supremacy over the cities that had been withdrawn from their authority. This result was hastened by the internal dissensions of the confederate cities. When the northern sovereigns, enlightened on the advantages that their subjects might derive from commerce, assailed the privileges of the Hanse towns by force of arms; many of the southern cities withdrew themselves from the league; and the northern confederates, thus deserted, were unable to preserve their monopoly of the Baltic trade, which they were forced to share with the merchants of England and Holland. The confederacy thus gradually declined, until in the seventeenth century, this league, once so extensive, included only the cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen.

In Flanders, commercial prosperity was based on manufacturing industry; the Flemings supplied the principal markets of Europe with cloth in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; while, through the commercial cities of Italy, they were enabled to send the produce of their looms to the ports of the Levant, and exchange them for spices, jewels, and other articles of oriental luxury. The wealth, the population, and the resources of these cities, rendered the earls of Flanders more wealthy, and scarcely less powerful than their nominal sovereigns, the kings of France. When Edward I. of England wished to recover Guienne, which had been wrested from his predecessors, he sought the alliance of Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, and proposed to make the earl's daughter, Philippa, his queen; being attracted both by her personal charms and the enormous sums promised as her dowry. So great was the lady's wealth, and such the importance attached to the Flemish alliance, that Philip the Fair had recourse to the most infamous treachery in order to defeat the marriage. As he was the godfather of the young lady, he invited her and the earl to pay him a visit in Paris; but no sooner did they reach the capital than he threw them both into prison, declaring that the marriage of so wealthy an heiress could not be arranged without the consent of the superior lord, and that the earl was guilty of felony in promising the hand of his daughter to an enemy of the kingdom. Guy escaped from prison, but his daughter died a captive, under circumstances which led to a strong suspicion of poison; the earl, believing, or feigning to believe the charge, assembled his chief vassals at Grammont, and there, in the presence of the ambassadors from England, Germany, and Lorraine, he solemnly renounced his allegiance to the crown of France, and proclaimed war against Philip. Such was the commencement of the long series of Flemish wars, which early assumed the form of a desperate struggle between the mercantile and landed aristocracy.

Commerce and manufactures had brought together a large and wealthy population into the cities of Flanders; the burgesses had purchased charters of privileges from their respective lords, being well aware that municipal freedom was necessary to commercial prosperity; they began to rival their former masters in wealth and influence, and they formed an order of their own, which was as much respected in the trading communities as the landed aristocracy in the rural districts. The nobles soon began to view the rapid progress of the merchants and traders with jealousy and dislike. Not only were the lords grieved at the loss of their power to distort discretionary imposts, but they regretted the growth of that mercantile wealth which invested counting-houses and stores with a political influence not inferior to that which had hitherto attached exclusively to castles and estates. Municipal immunities were found to be at variance with feudal privileges; neither the merchants nor the nobles would make such concessions as might form the basis of a reasonable compromise, and war was thus rendered inevitable. Under the guidance of several eminent and popular leaders, particularly the two Artaveldes, the mercantile Flemings maintained a long and vigorous warfare against their earls and aristocracy, though the latter were supported by the whole power of France. At the close of the contest, the trading cities preserved their immunities; but in the course of the war, capitalists had been ruined, artisans had fled to more peaceful lands, the nobles were impoverished, and the peasants reduced to despair. Though the Flemings continued to retain a large share of their commercial and manufacturing supremacy, they had the mortification to witness the rise of a powerful rival in England, where the woollen manufacture gradually attained to a greater height than it had reached even in Flanders.

Wool was the most important article of British produce; and about the middle of the fourteenth century, we find that wool constituted about thirteen fourteenths of the entire exports of the kingdom.

Little cloth was made in England, and that only of the coarsest description, until Edward III., in the year 1331, invited weavers, dyers, and fullers, to come over from Flanders and settle in England, promising them his protection and favor on condition that they would carry on their trades here, and teach the knowledge of them to his subjects. The native wool-growers and merchants looked upon these foreign manufacturers with very jealous eyes, especially when Edward created a monopoly in their favor, by prohibiting the wearing of any cloth but of English fabric; and many petitions are preserved from the weavers of woollen stuffs, complaining of the heavy impositions laid upon them by the corporations, in which the corporation of Bristol is especially conspicuous. The manufacture, however, took root and flourished, though it received a severe check from the jealousy of parliament, which, by a very unwise law, prohibited the export of woollen goods, and permitted that of unwrought wool.

The land-owners of England were slow in discovering that their own prosperity was connected with that of the manufacturing interest. Their avowed object in legislation was to keep up the high price of the raw material, the wool grown upon their estates; and their had the honesty to say so in the preamble to a statute (14 Rich. II. c. 4) prohibiting

any denizen of England from buying wool except from the owners of the sheep and for his own use. This of course closed the home market; the grower, in his anxiety to grasp the profits of the wool-merchant and retailer in addition to his own, found that he had turned off his best customers; and we learn from a contemporary historian that the growers were reduced to the greatest distress by having the accumulated stock of two or three years left on their hands.

In the reign of Henry VI., not more than a century after its introduction, the woollen manufacture had thriven so well, that it was made to contribute to the revenue, and we were enabled to compete with the nations by whom we had been taught it, on equal terms: a reciprocity law, passed at this time, ordains, that "if our woollen goods were not received in Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, then the merchandise growing or wrought within the dominions of the duke of Burgundy shall be prohibited in England under pain of forfeiture." But there was already a growing jealousy between the landed and manufacturing interests, caused by the rise in the price of labor, resulting from increase of employment; for so early as the reign of Henry IV., an act was passed that "no one should bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he was possessed of twenty shillings." This attempt to limit the supply of labor in manufacture would have wholly destroyed the woollen trade, had not the first monarch of the house of Tudor granted an exemption from the act to the city of Norwich, and subsequently to the whole county of Norfolk.

The besetting error of legislators in this age was the belief, that gold and silver had some inherent and intrinsic value in themselves, independent of their exchangeable and marketable value. They could not understand that the very essence of all commerce is barter, and that money only serves as a third term or common measure for ascertaining the comparative value of the articles to be exchanged. Ignorant of this fact, they made several attempts to compel foreigners to pay for English goods in money. In 1429, a law was passed, that no Englishman should sell goods to foreigners except for ready money, or other goods delivered on the instant.

This was such a fatal blow to trade, that, in the very next year, the parliament was compelled to relax so far as to admit of the sale of goods on six months' credit. With equal wisdom, and for the same perplexing reason, "the prevention of the exportation of treasure out of the country," a law was passed prohibiting "foreign merchants from selling goods in England to any other foreigner." This precious piece of legislation did not, of course, prevent the exportation of the precious metals, but it prevented the import of merchandise and of bullion, a result which quite perplexed the legislature, but did not lead to the abolition of the foolish law.

Henry VII., removed a still greater check to industry, by restraining the usurpations of corporations. A law was enacted, that corporations should not pass by-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state; they were also prohibited from exacting tolls at their gates. The necessity of legislative interference was proved by the conduct of the corporations of Gloucester and Worcester, which had actually imposed transit tolls on the Severn—these, of course, were abolished. But the monarch was not superior to the prejudices of his age; he

affixed prices to woollen cloths, caps, and hats, which, of course, led to a deterioration of the several articles. Yet this law was highly extolled as a master-stroke of policy by the statesmen of the day.

The parliaments in the reign of Henry VIII., were too busily engaged in enforcing the king's caprices, by inconsistent laws against heresy and treason, to pay much attention to trade and commerce. One circumstance, however, connected with the woollen trade deserves to be noticed. So greatly had our woollen manufactures increased, that the Flemings, no longer able to compete with the English as producers, entered into the carrying trade, bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; there was an immediate stagnation of trade; the merchants having no longer their usual Flemish customers, could not buy goods from the clothiers; the clothiers in consequence dismissed their workmen, and the starving operatives tumultuously demanded "bread or blood."

Wolsey scarcely knew how to account for these riots; he tried force with the workmen, but hunger was stronger than the law; he threatened the clothiers unless they gave employment, but wages could not be paid from empty purses; at length he sent for the merchants, and commanded them to buy cloth as usual! The merchants replied, that they could not sell it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, would give no other answer. At length the true remedy was discovered; an agreement was made that commerce should continue between the two states even during war.

In the reign of Edward VI., an act was passed, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth, unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years; this law was repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, as the preamble of the act states, "because it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined several towns." It was, however, subsequently restored by Elizabeth.

The persecution of the protestants in France, but more especially in Flanders, drove many eminent manufacturers to seek refuge in England, where they were graciously received by Elizabeth. She passed an act relieving the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, and Wiltshire, from the old oppressive statutes, which confined the making of cloth to corporate towns; and trade, thus permitted to choose its own localities, began to flourish rapidly. In a remonstrance of the Hanse towns to the diet of the empire, in 1582, it is asserted that England exported annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth. In this reign, also, the English merchants, instead of selling their goods to the Hanseatic and Flemish traders, began to export themselves; and their success so exasperated the Hanse towns, that a general assembly was held at Lubeck to concert measures for distressing the English trade. But the jealousy of foreigners was far less injurious to British commerce than the monopolies which Elizabeth created in countless abundance. An attempt, indeed, was made to remove one monopoly; but the experiment was not fairly tried, and its consequent ill-success was used as an argument against any similar efforts. By an old patent, the company of Merchant Adventurers possessed the sole right of trading in woollen goods. This monstrous usurpation of the staple commodity of the kingdom was too

bad even for that age of darkness, and Elizabeth opened the trade; but the Merchant Adventurers entered into a conspiracy not to make purchases of cloth, and the queen, alarmed at the temporary suspension of trade, restored the patent.

In the reign of James I. it was calculated that nine tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch, who gained, it was pretended, 700,000*l.* annually by this manufacture. The king, at the instigation of Cockayne and some other London merchants, issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of raw cloths: the Dutch and Germans met this piece of legislation by prohibiting the importation of English dyed cloth; the consequence was, that our export trade was diminished by two thirds, and the price of wool fell from seventy to eighty per cent. The king was forced to recall his proclamation. In the year 1622 a board of trade was erected, as the commission states, "to remedy the low price of wool, and the decay of the woollen manufactory." It is recommended to the commissioners to examine "whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies, would not be beneficial." A gratifying proof of the progress of intelligence; but, unfortunately, it led to no practical result.

English commerce increased greatly under the commonwealth, because no regard was paid to the prerogative whence the charters of the exclusive companies were derived, and because the progress of democratical principles led the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants. But with the restoration came the old rage for prohibitions and protections; two thousand manufacturers from Warwickshire, and a great number from Herefordshire, emigrated to the Palatinate; and, in 1662, the company of Merchant Adventurers declared, in a public memorial, that the white clothing trade had abated from 100,000 pieces to 11,000! In 1668, however, some Walloons were encouraged to introduce the manufacture of fine cloths, from Spanish wool only, without the admixture of any inferior wool; but the progress of this branch of trade was very slow, owing chiefly to our municipal laws, which pressed heavily on foreigners.

It is not necessary to bring down the history of our great staple manufactory to a later date. What has been already stated is sufficient to illustrate the evils which arose from legislative interference with the natural course of commerce, industry, and capital, in past ages. It must not, however, be supposed that this impolicy was peculiar to England; on the contrary, English statesmen were generally in advance of the rest of Europe, and monopolies were only supported by corrupt adventurers. The nobility and the country gentlemen of England resisted the imposing of any unnecessary shackles on trade until after the restoration of Charles II., when the system of protection began to be introduced; that system derived its chief support from the short-sighted cupidity of the manufacturers themselves, and the entire blame must not therefore be attributed to the legislature.

The extension of English commerce during the period of history we have been examining was very slow. The long wars with France, and the civil wars of the Roses, diverted attention from the peaceful pursuit

of trade. It was not until after the accession of Henry VII. that England began to feel the impulse for maritime discovery and commercial enterprise which had hitherto been confined to southern Europe; the effects of this change belong, however, to a more advanced period of history, and will come under consideration in a future chapter.

Section IV.—*Revolutions of Germany, France, and Spain.*

From the period of the accession of Rodolph, the first emperor of the house of Hapsburgh, the German empire began to assume a constitutional form, and to be consolidated by new laws. Under the government of Albert, the son of Rodolph, an important change took place in Switzerland, which, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, was divided into a number of states, both secular and ecclesiastical. The cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, were immediate dependancies of the empire, while some minor adjoining districts belonged to the dukes of Austria as counts of Hapsburgh. Albert, anxious to found a new kingdom for one of his younger children, resolved to annex the imperial to the Austrian cantons; and in order to reconcile the hardy mountaineers that inhabited them to the intended yoke, he sanctioned and encouraged the cruel tyranny of their German governors. Three brave men resolved to attempt the delivery of their country; they secretly engaged a number of partisans, who surprised the imperial forts on the same day (A. D. 1308), and accomplished a revolution without shedding a drop of blood. The Austrians made a vigorous effort to recover their supremacy, but they suffered a ruinous defeat at Morgarten (A. D. 1315), which secured the independence of the Cantons. Their league of union was renewed at Brunnen, in a treaty that became the base of the federative union of Switzerland. Five other cantons successively joined the former three, and the Helvetic possessions of the house of Austria were conquered by the Swiss during the interval in which the family of the counts of Hapsburgh ceased to wear the imperial crown.

On the death of Albert (A. D. 1308), Henry VII., count of Luxemburg, was chosen emperor; he was a brave and politic prince; taking advantage of the pope's absence at Avignon, and the distracted state of Italy, he made a vigorous effort to restore the imperial authority in the peninsula, and would probably have succeeded but for his premature death.

The troubled reign of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, his contest for the empire with Frederic, duke of Austria, and the wars occasioned by his efforts to restrain the extravagant pretensions of the popes, led the German princes to discover the necessity of having a written constitution. On the accession of Charles of Luxemburg (A. D. 1347), the calamities of a disputed election to the empire were renewed, and after a long series of wars and disorders, a diet was convened at Nuremburg, to form a code of laws, regulating the rights and privileges of the spiritual and temporal authorities. The result of the diet's labors was published in a celebrated edict, called a Golden Bull, from the *bulla*, or seal of gold, affixed to the document (A. D. 1356). This bull fixed the order and form of the imperial elections, and the ceremonial of the

coronation. It ordained that the crown should be given by the plurality of votes of seven electors; the prince chosen emperor having a right to give his suffrage. The right of voting was restricted to possessors of seven principalities, called electorates, of which the partition was prohibited, and the regularity of their inheritance secured by a strict law of primogeniture. Finally, the Golden Bull defined the rights and privileges of the several electors, confirming to the princes of the Palatinate and Saxony the administration of the empire during an interregnum.

The next reign, nevertheless, evinced the danger of investing the electors with such preponderating authority. Wenceslaus, the son and successor of Charles, was a supine and voluptuous prince, who paid little attention to the interests of the empire; he was deposed by a plurality of votes (A. D. 1400), and Robert, the elector palatine, chosen in his stead. Several of the states continued to acknowledge Wenceslaus, but Robert is usually regarded as the legitimate emperor. On Robert's death, the empire returned to the house of Luxemburg, Wenceslaus having consented to resign his pretensions in favor of his brother Sigismond, king of Hungary.

A cloud had long hung over the house of Hapsburgh; it was dispelled by the fortunate union of Albert, duke of Austria, with Sigismond's only daughter, queen in her own right of Hungary and Bohemia. On the death of his father-in-law (A. D. 1437), he succeeded to the empire, but survived his elevation only two years. Albert's posthumous son Ladislaus inherited his mother's realms; his cousin Frederic, duke of Stiria, was chosen emperor, and from his posterity the imperial dignity never departed until the extinction of his male issue (A. D. 1740).

The wise policy of Philip Augustus, in weakening the power of the feudal aristocracy and reuniting the great fiefs to the crown, was vigorously pursued by his successors, but by none more effectually than Philip the Fair. On the death of that monarch (A. D. 1314), the king of France was undoubtedly the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Philip left three sons, who successively reigned in France; Louis, surnamed Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair; together with a daughter named Isabel, married to Edward II., king of England. The three French sovereigns just mentioned, died without leaving male issue; all had daughters, but Philip and Charles asserted that no female could inherit the crown of France. The claims founded on this law of succession were but slightly questioned; and on the death of Charles IV., Philip, Count de Valois, the nearest male heir, ascended the throne without encountering any immediate opposition (A. D. 1328). Edward III. of England resolved to claim the kingdom in right of his mother Isabel, but the distractions of his native dominions long presented insuperable obstacles to his projects. He even did liege homage to Philip for the province of Guienne, and for several years gave no sign of meditating such a mighty enterprise as the conquest of France.

Aided by his son, the celebrated Black Prince, the English monarch invaded France, and, contrary to the opinions of all the contemporary princes, was everywhere victorious (A. D. 1338). The war was maintained by Philip of Valois, and his son and successor John, with more

obstinacy than wisdom; the former suffered a terrible defeat at Crecy, the most glorious field ever won by English valor; King John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poictiers. But these achievements, however glorious, could not ensure the conquest of France, the country was too large, the French nation too hostile to the invaders, and Edward's army too small for such a revolution. Both sides became weary of the contest, a treaty was concluded at Bretigni, by which several important provinces were ceded to Edward, on the condition of his renouncing his claims to the French crown (A. D. 1360). A troubled period of eight years followed, which can scarcely be called a peace, although there was a cessation from open hostilities.

There is scarcely a calamity by which a nation can be afflicted that did not visit France during this disastrous season. A foreign enemy was in the heart of the kingdom; the seditions of the capital deluged its streets with blood; and a treacherous prince of the blood, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, was in arms against the sovereign authority. Famine devastated the land, and a plague of unparalleled virulence (A. D. 1348) consummated the work of hunger and the sword. The companies of adventurers and mercenary troops that remained unemployed during the truce that followed the victory of Poictiers, spread themselves over the land, in marauding troops, which there was no force to withstand. So little scrupulous were they, that they assailed the pope in Avignon, and compelled the pontiff to redeem himself by a ransom of forty thousand crowns. Finally, the peasantry of several districts, impatient of distress, and maddened by the oppressions of their lords, broke out into a fearful insurrection. This was named the Jacquerie, from the contemptuous phrase, "Jacques bon homme," applied by the nobles to their serfs, and it was marked by all the horrors that necessarily attend a servile war, when men, brutalized by tyranny, and maddened by wrongs, seek vengeance on their oppressors.

Edward the Black Prince was intrusted by his father to the government of the French provinces. A brave and adventurous warrior, Edward was deficient in the qualities of a statesman. Having exhausted his finances by an unwise and fruitless invasion of Castile, he laid heavy taxes on his subjects, and they in anger appealed for protection to their ancient sovereigns. Charles V., who had succeeded his father John on the throne of France, gladly received this appeal, and summoned Edward to appear before him as his liege lord (A. D. 1368). Though enfeebled by sickness, the answer of the gallant prince to this summons was a declaration of war, but the tide of fortune was changed, and in a few campaigns the English lost all their acquisitions in France, with the exception of a few important seaports.

The weakness of Richard II., and the doubtful title of Henry IV., prevented the English from renewing the war with France during their reigns; indeed they would probably have been expelled from all their continental possessions, but for the deplorable imbecility of the French monarch, Charles VI., and the sanguinary contests of the factions of Orleans and Burgundy. The English nation had been long commercially connected with Flanders, and when that country was annexed to the dutchy of Burgundy, provision had been made for the continuance of trade by separate truces. Encouraged by the promised neutrality,

if not the active co-operation of the Burgundian duke, Henry V. invaded France, and destroyed the flower of the French chivalry on the memorable field of Agincourt (A. D. 1415). The progress of the English was uninterrupted until the defection of the duke of Burgundy (A. D. 1419), an event which seemed to threaten Henry with ruin; but that prince having been assassinated, his partisans in revenge joined the English, and this circumstance, combined with the unnatural hatred of the French queen Isabel to her son the dauphin, led to the treaty of Troyes, by which Henry, on condition of marrying the princess Catharine, was appointed regent of France, and heir to the unconscious Charles VI.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, Charles VII. on the death of his father, was recognised as king in the southern provinces of France, while Henry VI., the infant inheritor of the crowns of England and France, was proclaimed in the northern provinces, under the reign of his uncle, the duke of Bedford (A. D. 1422). At first the fortunes of Charles wore the most unfavorable appearance; and the siege of Orleans (A. D. 1428) threatened to deprive him of hope. A simple country girl overthrew the power of England. Joan of Arc, called also the Maid of Orleans, whether influenced by enthusiasm or imposture, it is not easy to determine, declared herself supernaturally inspired to undertake the deliverance of her country. The English felt a superstitious awe, and lost their conquests one by one, and after a protracted but feeble struggle, no memorial of the victories of Edward and Henry remained but the town of Calais and an empty title (A. D. 1449). The destruction of the French nobility in this long series of wars, enabled Charles VII. to mould the government into a despotic form, which was permanently fixed by his crafty successor Louis XI. Scarcely a less important change was made in ecclesiastical affairs; Charles VII. secured the Gallican church from any future encroachment of the holy see, by adopting several decrees of the council of Basil, which were solemnly recognised in a national assembly held at Bourges (A. D. 1438), and published under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Spain, during this period, continued to be divided in several kingdoms; the Christian monarchies of Navarre, Castile, and Aragon, could not be brought to combine against the Moors, whose strength was concentrated in the province of Granada. Alphonso XI. was the only Castilian monarch who distinguished himself in war against the Mohammedans; he defeated the combined forces of the kings of Morocco and Granada, who had united to besiege Tariffa (A. D. 1340), and by this victory, not only delivered his own frontiers, but acquired several important fortresses. The power of Castile was weakened by the unexampled tyranny of Peter the Cruel. He was dethroned by his illegitimate brother, Henry, count of Trastamare, but was subsequently restored by Edward the Black Prince. Proving ungrateful to his benefactor, he provoked a second contest, in which he lost his kingdom and life. The kingdom now passed to the house of Trastamare (A. D 1368), and for a considerable period enjoyed peace and prosperity Though the kingdom of Aragon was inferior in extent to that of Castile, yet the advantages of a better government, and wiser sovereign, with those of industry and commerce, along a line of seacoast, rendered it almost

equally important. The Aragonese kings acquired the kingdom of the two Sicilies, the Balearic islands, Sardinia, and the county of Barcelona, with several other Catalonian districts. They would probably have struggled for the supremacy of Spain, had not the crowns of Aragon and Castile been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (A. D. 1469).

A similar event had nearly united the crowns of Castile and Portugal. Ferdinand, king of Portugal, having no male heir, wished to secure the succession for his daughter Beatrice, and married her, at the early age of eleven, to John I., king of Castile. On the death of Ferdinand, his illegitimate brother, Don Juan, commonly called John the Bastard, profiting by the national hatred between the Portuguese and Castilians, usurped the regency. A fierce war ensued, the Castilians were overthrown in the decisive battle of Aljubarota (A. D. 1385), and John was proclaimed king by the states of Portugal. The war was continued for several years, but finally a treaty was concluded, by which the Castilian monarchs resigned all claim to the inheritance of Beatrice.

SECTION V.—*The State of England and the Northern Kingdoms in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

THE inglorious reign of Edward II. in England was not on the whole unfavorable to the progress of constitutional liberty. After the weakness of the king and profligacy of his favorites had for four years disgusted the nations, the barons compelled the monarch to grant a reform of abuses in full parliament (A. D. 1311). The Great Charter was renewed, and a fresh clause added, of too much importance to be omitted even in this scanty page: "Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament; we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament once in the year, or twice, if need be." But this security against mis-government proved inefficacious, the monarch was deposed, and soon after murdered (A. D. 1327). Edward III. was proclaimed king; and during his minority, the administration was intrusted to Queen Isabella. After the lapse of three years, Isabella, who had disgraced herself by a criminal intrigue with Mortimer, earl of March, was stripped of power, and her paramour beheaded.

Edward III. rendered his reign illustrious, not more by his splendid achievements in France, than by the wise laws he sanctioned in England. These, perhaps, must be ascribed less to the wisdom of the sovereign than the increasing spirit of the commons. It was during this long and prosperous reign that parliament established the three fundamental principles of our government—the illegality of raising money without the consent of parliament; the necessity of both houses concurring in any alteration of the laws; and the right of the commons to investigate public abuses, and impeach the royal ministers for mal-administration. While in the midst of victory, able to boast of his queen having conquered and captured the king of Scotland, and of his son having taken the king of France prisoner, Edward found his parliaments well-disposed to second all his efforts, and gratify all his wishes; but, when the tide of fortune turned, he had to encounter the hostility of a

constitutional opposition, at the head of which appeared the prince of Wales. On the death of the heroic Black Prince, the royal favorite, the duke of Lancaster became supreme in parliament, but the fruits of the victories acquired by the patriots were not lost, the statute law of the realm was improved, the administration of justice improved, and the great security of ministerial responsibility established. English literature began to assume a settled form; Chaucer, the greatest poet that modern Europe had produced, with the exception of Dante, flourished in the time of Edward; and the language had become so far perfect, that it was resolved to have all laws written in English, instead of the Norman French, which had been used since the time of the conquest.

Richard II., son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather (A. D. 1377), ere he had attained his twelfth year. The early part of his reign was troubled by the contests of his ambitious uncles for the regency, and by a dangerous insurrection of the peasants, headed by the celebrated blacksmith, Wat Tyler. About the same time, the zeal with which Wickliffe denounced the corruptions of the church, provoked the hostility of the clergy; his doctrines were condemned by a national synod (A. D. 1382), but they had taken fast hold of the people, and some of his disciples carried them to the continent, more especially into Bohemia, where they continued to flourish in spite of persecution. The continued misgovernment of Richard provoked a revolution, while he was absent in Ireland. Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, enraged at the forfeiture of his paternal estate, headed the revolt; Richard, on his return, finding the royal cause hopeless, surrendered to his haughty cousin, and was forced to abdicate the crown (A. D. 1399).

The throne, thus vacated, was claimed by Henry, as representative of the duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward III., but the hereditary right belonged to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, the lineal descendant of Lionel, duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. The Mortimer claim, at a later period, was vested by marriage in the family of York, descended from the fourth son of Edward. Henry of Lancaster, however, was the idol of the people, and the master of the parliament; his demand passed without question, and the first acts of his reign were well calculated to make the nation acquiesce in his title. The efforts of some discontented nobles to restore Richard, were crushed by the spontaneous exertions of the populace, and the death of the deposed monarch seemed to secure tranquillity. But the fourth Henry found that discontented friends were the most dangerous enemies; the proud Percies, to whom he owed his elevation, dissatisfied with the scanty reward of their services, took up arms, and involved the country in civil war. The Percies were overthrown at Shrewsbury (A. D. 1403), but their Welsh ally, Owen Glendower, maintained a stern resistance to the house of Lancaster for several years.

On the death of Henry IV., his son, Henry of Monmouth, ascended the throne (A. D. 1413). His dissipation in youth gave little promise of a glorious reign, but immediately after his accession he resigned all his follies, and having secured the tranquillity of England by judicious measures of reform, he revived the claims of Edward to the throne of France. The glorious battle of Agincourt left him master of the open field, the crimes and follies of the French court gave him possession

of Paris; he died in the midst of victory (A. D. 1422), leaving a son only nine months old to inherit his kingdoms.

The early part of Henry VI.'s reign is occupied by the series of wars that ended in the expulsion of the English from their continental possessions. The loss of trophies so gratifying to popular vanity, alienated the affections of the nation from the house of Lancaster, and this dislike was increased by the haughtiness of Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou, and the ambition of unprincipled favorites. Richard, duke of York, sure of succeeding to the crown, would probably not have asserted the claims of his house, but for the unexpected birth of a prince, on whose legitimacy some suspicion was thrown. Encouraged by many powerful nobles, he took up arms; the cognizance of the Yorkists was a white rose, that of the Lancastrians, a red rose, and the fierce contests that ensued are usually called the "wars of the roses." After a sanguinary struggle, marked by many vicissitudes of fortune, the white rose triumphed, and Edward IV., son of Richard, duke of York, became king of England (A. D. 1461). Ten years afterward, his triumph was completed, and his rights secured, by the battle of Tewkesbury, in which the Lancastrians were decisively overthrown. Edward's reign was sullied by cruelty and debauchery; after his death (A. D. 1483), the crown was usurped by Richard, duke of Gloucester, who endeavored to secure himself by the murder of his nephews. But the claims of the Lancastrian family were now revived by Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the heir to that house by right of his mother, and a proposal, favored by the principal nobles, was made for uniting this nobleman in marriage to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and thus for ever extinguishing the hostility between the rival houses. At the decisive battle of Bosworth field, Richard was defeated and slain (A. D. 1586); Henry became king of England, and his marriage with Elizabeth united the rival claims of York and Lancaster in the Tudor family.

The wars excited by disputed successions in Scotland, were terminated by the transfer of the crown to the family of the Stuarts (A. D. 1371). Under this dynasty, the royal authority, which had been almost annihilated by the nobles, was greatly extended, and judicious laws enacted for restraining the turbulence of the aristocracy.

Intestine wars long harassed the northern kingdoms, but their tranquillity was restored by Queen Margaret, commonly called the Semiramis of the North, who united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, into one state, by the treaty of Calmar (A. D. 1397). The predilection shown by Margaret's successors for their Danish subjects, displeased the Swedes, and on the death of King Christopher, without issue, they separated from the union, and chose Charles VIII., one of their native nobles, to be their sovereign. The Danes conferred their crown on Christian I., count of Oldenberg (A. D. 1450), and it has ever since continued in his family.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Russia was divided into several principalities, all of which were under the Mongolian yoke, while the western provinces had the additional misery of being ravaged by the Poles and Lithuanians. A diversion in their favor was made by the Teutonic knights, who added several rich provinces to their Prus-

sian dominions, but the oppressive government of the order provoked insurrections, of which the Poles took advantage, not only to regain their former provinces, but also to acquire a considerable portion of Prussia, which was ceded to them by the peace of Thorn (A. D. 1466). A great revolution in the Polish form of government roused the martial enthusiasm, but proved fatal to the tranquillity of the Poles. Casimir the Great, having no male issue, wished to secure the succession for his nephew, Louis, king of Hungary, and convoked a general assembly of the states (A. D. 1339). The nobles, to whom an appeal was thus made, took advantage of the circumstance to render the throne elective, and to place great restrictions on the royal authority. When Louis of Hungary became king of Poland (A. D. 1370), he was obliged to swear fealty to a constitution which changed the monarchy into a republican aristocracy. On his death, the crown of Poland was given to Jagellon, duke of Lithuania (A. D. 1382), who renounced paganism on his election, and established the Christian religion in his hereditary estates. Though the crown continued elective, the Polish kings were always chosen from the Jagellon family, until its extinction in the sixteenth century.

SECTION VI.—*Rise and Progress of the Ottoman Empire.*

UNDER the administration of the Palæologi, the Byzantine empire sunk into hopeless decay; its history presents an unvaried picture of vice and folly; the weakness of the sovereigns, the exorbitant power of the patriarchs and monks, the fury of theological controversy, the multiplication of schisms and sects, would have ruined the state, but for the external pressure of the Mohammedan dynasties; while, on the other hand, the triumph of these enemies was delayed by the revolutions in the sultanies of Anatolia, and the difficulties that the siege of a maritime capital presents to hordes ignorant of navigation. But when the power of the Ottoman Turks became consolidated, it was manifest that the fate of Constantinople could not be averted, though its fall was long delayed.

The power of the Ottoman Turks commenced in Asia Minor; when the Mongolian hordes overthrew the Seljúkian dynasties, a small wandering tribe of Turks sought refuge in Armenia, but after seven years of exile, seized what they deemed a favorable opportunity of returning to their ancient possessions. While fording the Euphrates, the leader of the Turks was drowned, and the tribe was divided into four, by his sons. Ertogrul, the warlike leader of one division, resolved to return into Asia Minor: the sultanies into which the Seljúkian empire had been divided, were harassing each other with mutual wars, and could not be persuaded to combine against either the Mongols or the crusaders, and consequently a band of adventurous warriors might reasonably hope to obtain fame and fortune in such a distracted country. During Ertogrul's retrograde march, he met two armies engaged in mortal combat, and without giving himself the trouble of investigating the cause, he took the chivalrous resolution of joining the weaker party. His unexpected aid changed the fortunes of the day, and he was rewarded by the conqueror, who proved to be a chief of the Seljúkians, with the gift

of a mountainous district, forming the frontiers of ancient Bithynia and Phrygia.

Othman, or Ottoman, usually regarded as the founder of the Turkish empire (born A. D. 1258), succeeded his father Ertogrul at an early age. He was fortunate in winning the friendship of a young Greek, who embraced Islamism to please his patron, and instructed the Turkish prince in the art of government. From this renegade descended the family of Mikal-ogli,* which so often appears conspicuous in Turkish history. To the information obtained from this Greek, Othman owed the supremacy which he speedily acquired over his Seljúkian rivals; aided by the surrounding emirs, he wrested several important places from the Byzantine empire, particularly Prusa, the ancient capital of Bithynia, which under the slightly altered name of Brúsa, became his metropolis (A. D. 1327). The new kingdom, thus formed at the expense of the sultans of Iconium and the Greek emperors, increased rapidly, and soon became one of the most flourishing states in the east.

Orkhan, the son and successor of Othman, instituted the military force of the Janissaries, to which the Turks owe the chief part of their success. Having greatly enlarged his dominions, he took the title of sultan and began to expel the Greeks from Anatolia. While Orkhan pursued his victorious career in Asia, his son Soliman crossed the Hellespont (A. D. 1358), captured Gallipoli, and thus laid the first foundation of the Turkish power in Europe.

Amurath, or Morad I., steadily pursued the policy of his father and brother. He captured Adrianople (A. D. 1360), which he made his capital. He subdued Thrace, Macedon, and Servia, but fell at the battle of Cossova, one of the most sanguinary ever fought between Turks and Christians.

Bayezíd, surnamed Ilderín, or the Thunderer, put an end to all the petty Turkish sovereignties in Asia Minor; he subdued Bulgaria, and maintained his conquest by the decisive victory that he gained at Nicopolis over Sigismond, king of Hungary. The pride, the cruelty, and the bravery of Bayezíd have been celebrated in history and romance. Southern Greece, the countries along the Danube, and the western districts of Thrace, submitted to his arms; the empire of Constantinople was bounded by the walls of the city; even this was held blockaded for ten years, and must eventually have fallen, had not Bayezíd's attention been directed to Asia, by the rapid successes of a conqueror, more savage than himself.

Timúr Lenk, that is to say, "Lame Timur," a name commonly corrupted into Tamerlane, was the son of a Jagatay Turk, who ruled a horde, nominally subject to the descendants of Jenghiz Khan. His amazing strength, exhibited even in early infancy, procured him the name Timúr, which signifies "iron." While yet a youth, he resolved to deliver his country from the Mongolian yoke, but at the same time, aware of the high value placed upon illustrious birth, he pretended to be descended from Jenghiz, and on this account he is frequently called Timúr the Tartar; and this error was perpetuated in India, where his descendants, the emperors of Delhi, have been denominated the Great Moguls.

* Sons of Michael.

His empire was rapidly extended from the wall of China to the Mediterranean sea; India in the south, and Russia in the north, acknowledged his sway, and his determination to wrest Syria and Anatolia from the Turks, compelled Bayezíd to abandon the siege of Constantinople, and hasten to the defence of his Asiatic dominions (A. D. 1403). Before he could reach the scene of action, Sivas (the ancient Sebaste) had fallen, and the bravest warriors of the garrison had been buried alive by the ferocious victor. Damascus soon after shared the same fate; it was laid waste by fire and sword, and a solitary tower alone remained to mark the spot that had once been a city.

Bayezíd encountered Timúr in the plains of Angora; he was defeated with great loss, and taken prisoner. The Turkish historians assert that Bayezíd was confined by the conqueror in an iron cage, but Timúr's own companion and historian asserts that the conqueror treated his captive with great lenity; all that can be determined with certainty is that the sultan died in the enemy's camp. Timúr himself fell a victim to disease, while preparing to invade China (A. D. 1405). His empire was dismembered after his death, but Baber, one of his descendants, established an empire at Delhi, in northern India (A. D. 1526), which, sadly shorn of its ancient glories, subsisted almost to our own times, under the name of the empire of the Great Moguls.

After a long fratricidal war, Mohammed I., the youngest of Bayezíd's sons, succeeded to his father's dominions. The greater part of his reign was spent in restoring the Ottoman power in western Asia, and thus the Byzantines obtained a respite, by which they knew not how to profit. Morad, or Amurath II., raised the glory of the Ottomans to a height greater than it had yet attained. He deprived the Greeks of all their cities and castles on the Euxine sea, and along the coasts of Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly; he even stormed the fortifications that had been constructed across the Corinthian isthmus, and carried his victorious arms into the midst of the Peloponnesus. The Grecian emperors acknowledged him as their superior lord, and he, in turn, accorded them protection. Two Christian heroes arrested the progress of the sultan—John Hunniades, and George Castriot, better known by the name of Scanderbeg. Hunniades was a celebrated Hungarian general; he drove the Turks from Servia, whose possession they eagerly coveted, and long impeded their progress westward. Scanderbeg was an Albanian prince, possessing a small district in the Epirote mountains, of which Croia was the capital. At the head of a small but faithful band of followers, he long resisted the mighty armies of the Ottomans, and compelled Amurath himself to raise the siege of Croia.

At length Mohammed II. ascended the Ottoman throne (A. D. 1451), and from the moment of his accession, directed all his efforts to the capture of Constantinople. At the head of an army of three hundred thousand men, supported by a fleet of three hundred sail, he laid siege to this celebrated metropolis, and encouraged his men by spreading reports of prophecies and prodigies, that portended the triumph of Islamism. Constantine, the last of the Greek emperors, met the storm with becoming resolution; supported by the Genoese, and a scanty band of followers from western Europe, he maintained the city for fifty-three days, though the fanaticism of his enemies was raised to the highest

pitch by their confident reliance on the favor of Heaven, while prophecies of impending wo and desolation proportionably depressed the inhabitants of Constantinople. At length, on the 29th of May, A. D. 1453, the Turks stormed the walls, the last Constantine fell as he boldly disputed every inch of ground, multitudes of his subjects were massacred in the first burst of Turkish fury, the rest were dragged into slavery, and when Mohammed made his triumphal entry, he found the city a vast solitude.

The conquest of Constantinople was followed by that of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece, including the Peloponnesus, several islands of the Archipelago, and the Greek empire of Trebizond. All Christendom was filled with alarm; Pope Pius II. convened a council at Mantua, for the purpose of organizing a general association to resist the progress of the Turks (A. D. 1459). A crusade was preached by his order, and he was about to undertake the command of the expedition in person, when death cut short his projects at Ancona (A. D. 1464). The Christian league was dissolved by his death, the Turks were permitted to establish their empire in Europe, and this received a great increase, both of security and strength, by the voluntary tender of allegiance which the khans of the Crimea made to Mohammed II. (A. D. 1478). After the first burst of fanaticism was over, Mohammed granted protection to his Christian subjects, and, by his wise measures, Constantinople was restored to its former prosperity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION, AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE STATES-SYSTEM IN EUROPE.

SECTION I.—*Progress of Maritime Discovery.*

THE scene of the earliest-known navigation was the Mediterranean sea, which naturally seemed to the ancients to be situated *in the middle of the earth;* as is implied by its name. As navigation advanced only at a creeping pace, and as but a small amount of fresh experience was laid up by one generation for the benefit of the next, it took very many ages to explore the Mediterranean, Tyrrhene, Hadriatic, and Ægean seas.

The great natural relief, given to ancient navigation, was the discovery of the trade-winds which prevail in the Indian ocean. These periodical changes of winds, if noticed by the Arabians, were not made to serve their maritime trade, until the keener enterprise of the West, in the person of Hippalus (about A. D. 50), first ventured to steer off from the Arabian and Persian shores, and to be impelled eastward, in the direction of the wind. A voyage which had consumed years, now took up but as many months, by a conformity on the part of the mariner with this invariable law of nature. The means of profit and information were now less monopolized, and the west became better acquainted with the inhabitants and produce of the east.

The navigation to the Indies was continued, when the Romans became masters of Egypt, by sailing down the Arabian gulf, and thence to the mouth of the river Indus, along the southern coasts of Arabia and Persia. But under the emperor Claudius this route was so far changed, that after emerging from the Arabian gulf, they cut across the Indian ocean directly to the mouth of the Indus, by noticing, and taking advantage of, the time when the southwest trade-wind blew.

When the Arabians, in their rapid career of conquest, had reached the Euphrates, they immediately perceived the advantages to be derived from an emporium situated upon a river which opened on the one hand a shorter route to India than they had hitherto had, and on the other, an extensive inland navigation through a wealthy country; and Bassora, which they built on the west bank of the river (A. D. 636), soon became a great commercial city, and entirely cut off the independent part of Persia from the oriental trade. The Arabian merchants of Bassora extended their discoveries eastward, far beyond the tracks of all preceding navigators, and imported directly from the place of their

growth, many Indian articles, hitherto procured at second hand in Ceylon ; which they accordingly furnished on their own terms to the nations of the west.

As an instance of the depressed state of human knowledge during the middle ages, we may mention that Cosmas, a Greek merchant of the sixth century, wrote a book called "*Christian Topography*," the chief intent of which was to confute the heretical opinion of the earth being a globe, together with the pagan assertion that there was a temperate zone on the southern side of the torrid zone. He informed his readers that, according to the true orthodox system of cosmography, the earth was a quadrangular plane, extending four hundred courses, or days' journeys, from east to west, and exactly half as much from north to south, enclosed by lofty mountains, upon which the canopy or vault of the firmament rested ; that a huge mountain on the north side of the earth, by intercepting the light of the sun, produced the vicissitudes of day and night ; and that the plane of the earth had a declivity from north, by reason of which the Euphrates, Tigris, and other rivers running southward, are rapid ; whereas the Nile, having to run up-hill, has necessarily a very slow current.

The Feroe islands had been discovered about the latter end of the ninth century, by some Scandinavian pirates ; and soon after this, Iceland was colonized by Flok, the Norwegian. Iceland, it appears, had been discovered long before the Norwegians settled there ; as many relics, in the nature of bells, books in the Irish language, and wooden crosses, were discovered by Flok, in different parts of the island : so that the Irish seem first to have set foot upon that isle. The Icelandic chronicles also relate that, about these times, the Northmen discovered a great country to the west of Ireland, which account has by many been deemed apocryphal : for, if true, they must be held to be some of the early discoverers of America ; but it seems pretty clear that they made their way to Greenland in the end of the tenth century. The settlement effected in Greenland, though comprising but a small population, seems to have been very prosperous in these early times in mercantile affairs. They had bishops and priests from Europe ; and paid the pope, as an annual tribute, twenty-six hundred pounds of walrus-teeth, as tithe and Peter's pence. The voyage from Greenland to Iceland and Norway, and back again, consumed five years ; and upon one occasion the government of Norway did not hear of the death of the bishop of Greenland until six years after it had occurred ; so that the art of navigation, after all, must have been in these times but at a very low pitch.

Greenland seems to have been called Viinland, or Finland, from the vines which were discerned by the early discoverers as abounding in this country ; and, in fact, wild vines are found growing in all the northern districts of America. This Viinland is, however, supposed by some persons to have been Newfoundland ; and if so, America must in reality have been discovered as much as five centuries before Columbus sailed so far as the West Indies ; and moreover, it has been supposed that the many traditions about the west, existing in the time of Columbus, first set him to prosecute the idea of discovering another world.

The impulse which the cultivation of ancient learning had received in Europe was greatly strengthened by the downfall of Constantinople, which drove the most learned Greeks into exile ; they sought refuge for the most part in Italy, and the libraries of that peninsula became the depositories of what remained of the ancient treasures of Greek literature and philosophy. It was hence that the first stimulus was given to the study of the Greek language in Europe. Translators of the Greek authors, and commentators upon them, began to multiply; and the rapid progress of the art of printing gave an additional impulse by the facilities it afforded for the dissemination of learning. The belief that there existed a fourth division of the globe, larger than any yet discovered, had been encouraged by some of the ancient philosophers ; and it had been so generally received, that two eminent fathers of the church, St. Augustine and Lactantius, had zealously labored to refute the theory, believing it inconsistent with the doctrines of Christianity. With the cultivation of Greek literature the old notion was revived, and at the same time the rapid development of the spirit of maritime discovery induced several nations, but especially the Portuguese, to search out new and unknown lands.

The Canaries, or Fortunate islands, were the first discovery that followed the introduction of the mariner's compass ; they became known to the Spaniards early in the fourteenth century, but no regular attempt was made for their colonization.

In the early part of the fifteenth century, John I., king of Portugal, had effected some very important conquests over the Moors ; in which he had been very materially assisted by his son, Prince Henry, who being an able and active-minded cavalier, took delight rather in the more solid glories of learning and science, than in the fame of war, in which he had, however, of late so highly distinguished himself. Upon the cessation of hostilities he retired to the promontory of St. Vincent, and lived at the seaport town of Sagres, which he had himself founded, where he cultivated the science of astronomy, for the purpose of making it available to the mariner, in guiding him over the ocean, when he had quitted the servile tracking of the shore. He, in fact, established a naval college, and an observatory. He engaged to his assistance all the best-informed men of his time ; and the point to which he especially directed his attention, was the practicability of sailing round Africa, and of thus reaching the East Indies. Prince Henry did not live to see the whole of his views accomplished ; but the many minor discoveries which were effected under his auspices, laid up a fund of knowledge and experience for succeeding generations to profit by. Maps were formed under his superintendence : by which means all the geographical knowledge respecting the earth was brought together ; the different parts were marked out ; and the rocks, coasts, and quicksands, to be avoided, were all noted down.

The southernmost cape of Africa known in those days was Cape Non, which received this appellation from the idea that it was utterly impossible to get beyond this cape ; but the officers of Henry having at length doubled it, found Cape Bojador in the distance, whose violent currents and raging breakers, running for miles out to sea, seemed a barrier which could not even be approached with safety by mariners, who were

in the habit of coasting along the shore. Seamen now began to be more alarmed than ever at the idea of the torrid zone, and to propagate the notion, that he who should double Cape Bojador would never return. At length this awful cape was passed by; the region of the tropics was penetrated, and divested of its fancied terrors; the river Senegal was observed, the greater part of the African coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verde, was explored, and the Cape de Verde and the Azore islands were discovered; the Madeiras and Canaries having been visited for the first time by the Spaniards some years before. This prince died in the year 1473, after having obtained a papal bull, investing the crown of Portugal with sovereign authority over all the lands it might discover in the Atlantic, to India inclusive.

The passion for discovery languished after the death of Prince Henry, but it was revived by his grand-nephew, King John II., with additional ardor (A. D. 1481). In his reign, the Portuguese, for the first time, crossed the equator, and for the first time beheld the stars of a new hemisphere. They now discovered the error of the ancients, respecting the torrid zone, and practically refuted the common belief that the continent of Africa widened toward the south, for they beheld it sensibly contracting and bending toward the east. The hopes inspired by this discovery, induced the Portuguese monarch to send ambassadors in search of an unknown potentate supposed to profess the Christian religion, by whose aid it was hoped that a lucrative trade might be opened with India, and the progress of the true faith secured.

Early in the thirteenth century, reports were prevalent in Europe of some great potentate in a remote part of Asia having embraced the Christian faith.* In consequence, the pope, Innocent IV., sent two monks to preach Christianity in the Mongolian court (A. D. 1246); and soon after, St. Louis of France employed the celebrated Rubruquis to seek the aid of the supposed Christian sovereign, who was commonly called Prester John, in the crusade that he contemplated. A Venetian, named Marco Polo, visited the most distant parts of Asia (A. D. 1263), and penetrated to Pekin, the capital of China. He was followed by Sir John Mandeville, an Englishman (A. D. 1322), and the narrations of both, though deficient in accuracy of information, contributed to keep alive the feelings of interest and curiosity which had been excited in Europe.

While the Portuguese monarch's emissaries were engaged in a hopeless search for Prester John, and the more useful task of investigating the state of navigation in the Indian seas, an expedition from Lisbon, conducted by Bartholomew Diaz, had actually discovered the southern extremity of the African continent (A. D. 1483). A storm preventing him from pursuing his career, he named the promontory that terminated his voyage "the cape of Tempests;" but King John, aware of the vast importance of the discovery, called it "the cape of Good Hope." At the same time letters were received from the monks who had been sent overland, in which the practicability of reaching the East Indies, by sailing round Africa, was strenuously maintained. But the intervening

* It is probable that this error arose from some inaccurate description of Buddhism. Most persons are aware that the rituals and ceremonials of the Buddhist priests bear a striking resemblance to those of the Roman Catholic church.

discovery of America diverted, for a season, men's minds from this voyage round Africa; and fifteen years had nearly elapsed before Vasco de Gama, having rounded the cape of Good Hope, reached India, and anchored in the harbor of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar (May 22, A. D. 1498).

Among the adventurers who flocked to join the Portuguese from every part of Europe was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a native of Genoa. The narrative of Marco Polo had led to the belief that the extent of India, beyond the Ganges, was greater than that of the rest of Asia; and, as the spherical figure of the earth was known, he was naturally led to the conclusion that India might more easily be reached by sailing westward, than by the long and tedious circumnavigation of Africa. After enduring many disappointments, Columbus obtained a small armament, from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; and, on the third of August, A. D. 1492, sailed from the little port of Palos, in Andalusia, to discover a new world.

During the long voyage, the crew of Columbus was more than once on the point of mutinying and turning back in despair; at length land was discovered on the twelfth of October, and Columbus found himself soon in the midst of that cluster of islands, which, in consequence of the original error about the extent of India, were named the West Indies. On his return to Europe, he was received by Ferdinand and Isabella with the highest honors; a second expedition was prepared to extend and secure his discoveries, but, before his departure, application was made to the pope for a grant of these new dominions, and Alexander VI. shared all the unknown regions of the earth inhabited by infidels between the Spaniards and Portuguese, fixing as their common boundary an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, and assigning all west of that line to Spain, and all east of it to Portugal.

The colonies established by the Spaniards differed from those founded by other European countries. The Spaniards were not a trading people, indeed ignorance of the advantages that result from commerce has been always a characteristic of that nation; the precious metals were the only objects that excited their attention, and for a series of years they devoted themselves exclusively to the exploration of mines. It was only when the augmentation of the European population, and the diminished returns from the mines, forced their attention to agriculture, that they began to pay any attention to raising colonial produce. In consequence of these restricted views, the commercial and colonial policy of Spain was always the worst possible; it was fettered by monopolies, exclusions, and restrictions, equally injurious to the parent state and its dependancies; and perseverance in this erroneous system is a principal cause of the low state of civilization both in Spain and its late colonies.

Not only the Dutch, but the English and French, were roused to emulation by the success of the Spaniards and Portuguese. In the reign of Henry VII., Cabot, a mariner of Bristol, made some considerable additions to maritime knowledge; but it was not until the time of Elizabeth that regular plans of colonization were formed.

The growth of commerce in this age was very rapid, but there ap-

peared still room for further discoveries until the globe was circumnavigated by Magellan (A. D. 1521). From that time the attention of nations began to be directed more to completing old discoveries than to the search for new lands. The navies of Europe began to assume a formidable aspect; manufactures multiplied, and states, previously poor, became suddenly rich. Sovereigns and governments began to direct their attention to commerce, justly persuaded that mercantile wealth is equally the source of the prosperity and glory of nations.

SECTION II.—*Origin of the Reformation.*

THE extravagant claims of the popes to temporal, as well as spiritual supremacy, had been resisted by several men of learning, whose works did not die with them, but continued to exercise a powerful, though secret effect, on succeeding generations. This repugnance to ecclesiastical domination was greatly increased by the scandalous schism at the close of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth century. Two or three popes reigning at the same time, excommunicating each other, appealing to the laity for support, compelled men to exercise the right of private judgment, and directed attention to the ecclesiastical abuses that had produced such unhappy fruits. The partial reforms, or rather attempts at reformation, made by the councils of Constance and Basil, spread the disrespect for the Romish see still wider; their deposition of contending pontiffs taught men that there was a jurisdiction in the church superior to the papal power, their feeble efforts to correct abuse brought the evils prominently forward, and left them unamended to meet the public gaze. While this dissatisfaction was hourly increasing, the papal chair was filled successively by two pontiffs, whose career of unscrupulous guilt was sufficient to disgust even a less enlightened age. Alexander VI., profligate in private life, cruel and tyrannical in his public administration, was followed by Julius II., whose overbearing ambition led him to trample on the very semblance of justice and moderation when they interfered with the success of his schemes. The sovereigns of France and Germany, alternately engaged in active hostilities with these heads of the church, could not prevent their subjects from ridiculing papal pretensions, and assailing papal vices. Nor were these scandals confined to the papacy; the licentious lives of the ecclesiastics in Italy and Germany, the facility with which they obtained pardons for enormous crimes, their exorbitant wealth, their personal immunities, and their encroachments on the rights of the laity, had given just offence; and this was the more sensibly felt in Germany, because most of the great benefices were in the hands of foreigners.

When men's minds were everywhere filled with disgust at the existing administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and eager for some change, a dispute, trivial in its origin, kindled a flame, which rapidly spread over Europe, destroying all the strongholds that had been so laboriously erected for the security of tyranny and superstition. Leo X., on his accession to the papal chair, found the treasury of the church exhausted by the ambitious projects of his predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II Generous in his disposition, magnificent in his habits of life,

eager for the aggrandizement of his family, the princely Medicis, he could not practise the economy necessary to recruit his finances, and he therefore had recourse to every device that his ingenuity could suggest to raise money for the splendid designs he contemplated. Among these he introduced an extensive sale of indulgences, which often had proved a source of large profits to the church.

The origin of indulgences has been sometimes misrepresented by eminent writers; and as we have now reached a period when their abuse produced the most decisive blow which the papacy had yet received, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of their history. In the primitive church it was customary that those who had committed any heinous offence should perform a public penance before the congrégation, "that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend." In process of time rich and noble offenders became anxious to avoid public exposure, and private penances or a pecuniary compensation were substituted for the former discipline. On this change the popes founded a new doctrine, which, combined with the commutation of indulgences, opened the way for profitable traffic. They taught the world that all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary to their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter and his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for service in a crusade, or for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one, in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. These indulgences were first issued to those who joined personally in the expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land; subsequently to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and finally to all who gave money for accomplishing any work which it pleased the popes to describe as good and pious. Julius II. bestowed indulgences on all who contributed to the building of St. Peter's at Rome, and Leo continued the traffic under the same pretence.

Different orders of monks derived considerable profit from the sale of indulgences, and great indignation was excited among the Augustinian friars when the monopoly of the trade in Germany was granted to their rivals, the Dominicans. Tetzel, the chief agent in retailing them, was a man of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence.* He executed his com-

* The following is the form of absolution used by Tetzel:—"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by all the merits of his most holy passion; and I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see: and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that when you die, the

mission with little regard to discretion or decency, describing the merits of the indulgences in such a blasphemous style of exaggeration, that all men of sense were disgusted, and even the ignorant began to suspect the worth of pardons for sins dispensed by men whose profligacy was notorious and disgusting. The princes and nobles of Germany were enraged by witnessing the large sums of money drained from their vassals to support the lavish expenditure of the pontiff, and many of the higher ranks of the clergy viewed with jealousy the favor displayed to the monastic orders.

Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar of great learning and indomitable courage, had prepared his mind for the noble career on which he was about to enter by a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures; the question of indulgences early engaged his attention, and he convinced himself that the Bible, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and morals. Having vainly sought to procure the suppression of the traffic from the archbishop of Magdeburgh, he appealed to the suffrages of men of letters, by publishing ninety-five theses condemning the sale of indulgences as contrary to reason and Scripture.

Much has been written respecting the personal character of this daring reformer; his boldness frequently degenerated into violence, his opposition to the corrupt discipline of the church sometimes passed the bounds of decency; but these errors arose from the circumstances of his position; he was in fact the representative of the public opinion of his age; and before we pass too severe a censure on the aberrations that sully his career, we must remember that the age had scarcely emerged from barbarism, and that the human mind, as yet unaccustomed to freedom, when suddenly delivered from habitual restraint, necessarily rushed into some extravagances. While hostile writers describe Luther as the vilest of sinners, or the purest of saints, they forget that there is a previous question of some importance, the standard by which his conduct must be measured. We have no right to expect that Luther, engaged in a struggle for life and death, should display the moderation of a modern controversialist, or to look for the intelligence of the nineteenth century at the commencement of the sixteenth. Remembering the school in which he was educated, it is reasonable to believe that many monkish absurdities must long have been perceptible in his words and actions; we need not, therefore, deny that he was sometimes wrong, we need not disguise nor palliate his errors, for the cause which he promoted depends not on the character of him or of any other person. His adversaries, however, have never ventured to deny his courage, his sincerity, his integrity of purpose, and his superiority to all pecuniary considerations. He lived and died poor, though Rome would have purchased his return by wealth and dignity, though the leading reformers were ready to reward his perseverance by any grants he might have required.

gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Luther comprehended the state of public opinion; his publications were the manifestation of the revolt of reason against authority, rather than a thesis in his theology. His perseverance, the very violence and grossness of his invectives, showed that he felt human reason to be on his side. If he had not at first calculated the effect of his first blow, he showed great sagacity in measuring its results. Numerous echoes responded to his summons; Zuinglius began to preach in Switzerland, and the reform engaged the attention of enlightened men of letters; among others, the celebrated Erasmus pointed out corruptions in the church, though he had not moral courage enough to separate himself from it openly. The papal party accepted Luther's challenge, fully believing that the slightest exertion of power would at once stifle opposition (A. D. 1520). Leo X., too indolent to examine the state of the public mind, and too proud to trouble himself about the opposition of a simple friar, published a bull condemning the theses of Luther as heretical and impious (A. D. 1520). The bold reformer at once declared open war against the papacy, by appealing to a general council, and burning the bull of excommunication in presence of a vast multitude at Wittemberg. He treated the volumes of the canon law with the same contumely, and justified his action in a manner more offensive to the advocates of the papacy than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see, he published these, with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil governments. From this time, the interests of princes were even more deeply engaged on the side of Luther than popular reason. In fact, as a Romish historian has remarked, "policy became more Lutheran than religous reform!" Sovereigns naturally received with enthusiasm a doctrine which placed at their disposal the enormous wealth of the clergy, and gave them mastery over more riches than could be acquired by the most formidable force, or the most sanguinary combats. Thus, in Germany, Luther, who could at first with difficulty procure a horse when he had to appear before the diet, soon counted princes and entire nations among his disciples. Frederick the Wise, duke of Saxony, was the first among his converts, and the most powerful of his protectors.

It is assuredly very inconsistent in the advocates of the Romish church, to expose the mixture of secular and religious motives in the active supporters of the Reformation; for the abuses which they condemned were equally temporal and spiritual. Indeed, it is very obvious, that the corruptions of doctrine were introduced to serve the political purposes of the papacy; a sordid desire for wealth was the foundation of the system of indulgences, which first provoked the revolt; an ambitious lust for power had caused the subversion of the independence of the national churches, which it was the earliest object of the Lutherans to restore. Politics influenced the enemies of the papacy only because popery was itself a political system, and because in the struggle that now menaced its existence, it had at once recourse to secular auxiliaries.

John Calvin, another reformer, was a follower of Zuinglius; he was

a native of Noyon, in Picardy, and began first to publish his opinions at Paris (A. D. 1532). Driven thence by the persecutions of the French clergy, he removed to Strasburgh, where he soon rendered himself so eminent by his talents as a writer and a preacher, that the name of Calvinists were given to that section of the reformed congregations which had at first been named Zuinglians.

Calvin was subsequently invited to Geneva, where he organized a system of church-government on the presbyterian principle ; and under the pretence of providing for purity of morals and the continuance of sound doctrine, he contrived to transfer no small portion of the power of the state to the ecclesiastical courts. Unfortunately, these courts soon began to emulate the tyranny of the Romish inquisition, by persecuting those who differed from the standard of religious opinion adopted by the church of Geneva, and an unfortunate Spaniard, named Servetus, was burned alive for publishing some obnoxious doctrines on the subject of the Trinity. The differences which arose between the followers of Luther and Calvin, the obstinacy manifested by each of the parties in support of their own opinions, and the virulence with which they inveighed against each other, sadly checked the progress of the Reformation, and produced a reaction which enabled the court of Rome to recover several countries which it had very nearly lost.

Although much of the early success of the Reformation was owing to the general progress of intelligence and scientific research, there were many among the leading reformers who viewed all secular learning with suspicion, and thus enabled their adversaries to identify their cause with ignorance and barbarism. This was a serious injury to the progress of improvement, for there were many like Erasmus who would gladly have joined in overthrowing the monkish corruptions which had defaced Christianity, but who were alarmed at the prospect of being subjected to the bigoted caprice of the presbyteries and other bodies which began to claim and exercise a power of control over opinion in most of the cities where the reformed religion was established. Whether the Romish church would have displayed a greater spirit of concession, had the reformers exhibited more moderation in their demands for innovation, may be questioned, but it is certain that the papal party could not have made so effectual a struggle as it maintained, had it not taken advantage of the violence, the imprudence, and the dissensions of the reformers themselves.

The rapid progress of the new doctrines was attempted to be checked by the diet of Spires (A. D. 1529), where a decree was promulgated, forbidding any innovation until the assembling of a general council. Luther's friends and followers protested against this decree, and hence the professors of the reformed religion received the common name of Protestants. Soon afterward they presented a general confession of their faith to the emperor at Augsburgh; but unfortunately this celebrated document showed that there were irreconcilable differences between the Calvinistic and Lutheran sections of the reformers.

As the struggle, once begun, was maintained with great obstinacy, it soon led to serious political convulsions. Half of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, and Livonia, adopted the doctrines of Luther, as taught in the confession of Augsburg. England, Scotland,

Holland, and Switzerland, embraced the tenets of Zuinglius and Calvin; while efforts to establish similar principles were made in France, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland.

The means taken to end the controversy only aggravated the evil. It was proposed that the entire matter of dispute should be submitted to a general council, but it was impossible to determine the basis on which it should be convoked. After much delay, a council was assembled at Trent (A. D. 1545), whose sittings were continued, with some interruption, for several years; but when at the close (A. D. 1563), its decrees were published, they were rejected, not only by the protestants, but by many catholic princes, especially the king of France, as subversive of the independence of national churches, and destructive of the lawful authority of sovereigns.

SECTION III.—*History of the Negotiations and Wars respecting Italy.*

IN the midst of the civil and ecclesiastical changes produced by the progress of intelligence, a system of policy for regulating the external relations of states was gradually formed, and attention began to be paid to what was called the Balance of Power; that is, the arrangement of the European states in such a system that the weak might be protected from the aggressions of the powerful and the ambitious. This system first began in Italy, which was divided into a number of petty states; its chief members were the dutchy of Milan, and the republic of Venice, in the north; the republic of Florence, and the states of the church, in the centre; and the kingdom of Naples, in the south. Encouraged by the distracted condition of the peninsula, foreigners were induced to attempt its conquest; and the kings of France and Spain, and the emperors of Germany, made this country the battle-field of rival ambition.

After the expulsion of the house of Anjou from Italy, it was established in the petty principality of Provence, where the graces of courtly refinement and light literature were more sedulously cultivated than in any other part of Europe. Renè, the last monarch of the line, the father of the heroic English queen, Margaret of Anjou, had the prudence not to hazard his security by mingling in the troubled politics of France and Burgundy, but amused himself and his subjects by floral games and poetic contests, heedless of the sanguinary wars that convulsed the surrounding states.

On Renè's death Provence became a county under the French crown, and was justly deemed a most important acquisition (A.D. 1481). But with the substantial dominions of the house of Anjou, the French monarchs also inherited its pretensions to the thrones of Naples and Sicily. Louis XI. was far too prudent a monarch to waste his strength on the assertion of such illusory claims; he directed his attention to a far more useful object, the establishment of the royal power over the great vassals of the crown, several of whom possessed greater real power than the nominal sovereign.

Charles VIII. departed from his father's prudent line of policy; instead of securing the royal authority at home, he directed his attention to foreign conquests, and resolved to assert his imaginary claims to the throne of Naples. He was instigated also by the invitations of Ludov-

ico Sforza, duke of Milan, and by some romantic hope of overthrowing the Turkish empire. A French army crossed the Alps (A. D. 1494), and marched through the peninsula without encountering any effective opposition. Rome, Florence, and Naples, submitted to the conqueror, and Ferdinand II. fled to the island of Ischia. But during the progress of the expedition, a league was formed for the expulsion of all foreigners from Italy; the Venetian republic was the moving power of the confederacy, in which the pope and even Sforza were associated, while the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain, secretly favored its designs. Alarmed by the coming danger, Charles, leaving half his army to protect his conquests, led the remainder back to France. He encountered the Venetians on his road, and gained a complete victory; but the forces he left in Italy were compelled to capitulate, and Ferdinand II. was restored to the throne of Naples.

Charles VIII. was bent on vengeance, and the distracted state of the peninsula gave him hope of success; but before he could complete his arrangements for a second expedition, he was snatched away by a sudden death (A. D. 1498). The duke of Orleans, Louis XII., in addition to his cousin's claims on Naples, inherited from his grandmother a title to the dutchy of Milan. But the French monarch, before undertaking such an extensive conquest, deemed it necessary to strengthen himself by alliances with the republic of Venice, Pope Alexander VI., and Ferdinand, king of Spain. Thus strengthened, he found little difficulty in overrunning Italy; Milan was captured (A. D. 1499), and the turbulent Sforza, after vain attempts to re-establish his power, died in captivity. Naples was next attacked; Ferdinand of Spain had entered into alliance with the Neapolitan monarch Frederick; and his invader, Louis, secretly determined to cheat both. By his aid the kingdom of Naples was subdued, and the dupe Frederic imprisoned for life (A. D. 1501); but no sooner was the conquest completed, than the Spaniard prepared to secure the whole of the spoil. Aided by the abilities of Gonsalvo de Cordova, Ferdinand succeeded in expelling the French from Naples; and the kingdom was finally confirmed to him on his marriage with Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII., with whom the French monarch on the receipt of a million of ducats, assigned over his claims on Naples as a dowry (A. D. 1505).

Italy, however, was soon destined to have its tranquillity disturbed by the grasping ambition of Pope Julius II. Anxious to recover the dependencies of the holy see which had been seized by Venice, he organized a confederacy against that republic, of which he was himself the head; while Louis, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, were active members (A. D. 1509). The republic would have been ruined, had the union of the confederates been sincere and permanent; but, owing to the mutual jealousies of its enemies, it escaped when brought to the verge of destruction. The impetuous valor of the French disconcerted all the measures the Venetians had taken to preserve their territories; and the total ruin of their army at Aguadello (A. D. 1509), left them wholly without defence. Julius seized all the towns which they held in the ecclesiastical territories; Ferdinand added all their seaports in Apulia to his Neapolitan dominions; but at the moment when the dismemberment of the republic seemed inevitable, the mutual jealousies of

Louis and Maximilian dissolved the confederacy. The Venetians appeased the pope and Ferdinand, by large concessions, which were the more readily accepted, as Julius had now formed the design of expelling all foreigners from Italy, especially the French, of whose valor and ambition he was justly afraid.

From the fragments of the league of Cambray, a new and stronger confederacy was formed against France, and Henry VIII., who had just ascended the throne of England, was engaged to divert the attention of Louis from Italy, by an invasion of his dominions (A. D. 1511). The master-stroke, however, of the pope's policy was winning over the Swiss, whose mercenary infantry was the best body of troops then used in war. Louis XII. resisted all the efforts of this formidable conspiracy with undaunted fortitude. Hostilities were carried on during several campaigns in Italy, on the frontiers of Spain, and in Picardy, with alternate success. But weakened by the loss of his allies, Florence and Navarre, of which the former having been subjected to the Medicis, joined the league (A. D. 1512), and the latter was conquered and annexed to Spain, Louis would probably have been reduced to great distress, had not the death of Pope Julius (A. D. 1513) come to his relief. Leo, of the princely house of the Medicis, succeeded to the papacy, and immediately made peace with France. Spain, England, and the empire, followed this example, and the war terminated with the loss of everything which the French had acquired in Italy, except the castle of Milan and a few inconsiderable towns in that dutchy.

SECTION IV.—*The History of Burgundy under the Princes of the House of Valois.*

No feudal state was more important in the middle ages than the dutchy of Burgundy, and its history is the best calculated to illustrate the political condition of states, and the relations between powerful princes and their sovereign, produced by the institutions of feudalism. At the same time, the history of Burgundy must in some degree be regarded as an episode in the general annals of Europe, for though its existence was brilliant, it left no permanent trace behind, save the resentment between the houses of France and Austria, arising from the division of its spoils.

The dutchy of Burgundy lapsed to the crown of France soon after the liberation of King John from the captivity in which he had been detained by the English after the battle of Poictiers. He resolved to bestow this rich inheritance upon his third son, Philip, surnamed the Hardy, who had fought gallantly by his side in the unfortunate battle of Poictiers, though only sixteen years of age, and who when John was taken prisoner had accompanied him to England to share his captivity. John's bequest was honorably executed by his son and successor, Charles V. of France; he gave to Philip the investiture of the dutchy with all legal forms, and on the 2d of June, 1364, the new duke entered upon his inheritance; he soon afterward married the only daughter of the count of Flanders, and thus became involved in the wars which that nobleman waged against the insurgent citizens of Ghent, and at the same time he actively assisted his brother against the English.

After a long war, in which the burgesses of the free cities of Flan-

ders sustained with great bravery their municipal franchises against the feudal chivalry of their count and his allies, the insurgents suffered a severe defeat at Rosebecque, in which their gallant leader, the younger Artavelde, was slain. Philip took advantage of the crisis to mediate a peace between the count of Flanders and the revolted cities, which was finally concluded on very equitable conditions. When tranquillity was restored, the duke directed his whole attention to the affairs of France, and during the reign of his unfortunate nephew, Charles VI., took a principal share in the government of that kingdom. While he was thus engaged, ambassadors arrived from the king of Hungary to announce that the Turks not only menaced his territories with ruin, but avowed their determination to subdue the whole of Christendom. Sultan Bayezíd openly vaunted that his cavalry should trample on the cross in every European city, and that he would himself feed his horses on the altar of St. Peter's in Rome.

Duke Philip eagerly seconded the solicitations of the Hungarian ambassadors: under his auspices a crusade was proclaimed; the great body of French chivalry and all the young nobility embraced the project with the greatest ardor, and the young count de Nevers, heir of Burgundy, was appointed to command the expedition (1396).

Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary, was far from being gratified by the arrival of such auxiliaries. Bayezíd, engaged in suppressing some petty insurrections in his Asiatic dominions, had concluded a truce with the Hungarians, and the prudent king was far from being disposed to revive a war with so dangerous an enemy. His remonstrances were wasted on the proud chivalry of France; the count de Nevers at once crossed the Turkish frontier, and after capturing some places of minor importance, laid siege to Nicopolis. In the hurry of their advance the French had left their battering artillery behind; they were therefore compelled to blockade the place in the hope of reducing it by famine.

So little vigilance was exhibited by the Christians, that the garrison of Nicopolis had intelligence of the near approach of Bayezíd before the Christians knew that he had commenced his march. The news that the sultan was close at hand filled their camp with confusion; the siege of Nicopolis was precipitately raised, and in the first alarm the knights massacred all their prisoners, forgetting that the chances of war might expose them to a terrible retribution. They, however, were all eager to come to an immediate engagement; the Hungarians vainly advised them not to hazard a battle until they had ascertained the number of the Turks, and the tactics which the sultan intended to employ. Some of the more aged and experienced warriors seconded this advice, but they were overborne by the clamors of the young knights, whose ardor was far too great to be moderated by prudence.

Bayezíd had arranged his troops in the form of a crescent, with the convex side turned toward the enemy: he expected thus to induce the Christians to attack his centre, by gradually withdrawing which he might reverse the form of his line, and thus getting his enemies into the concavity of the crescent, avail himself of his vast superiority of numbers to overwhelm them on both flanks. The Christians fell into the snare, and were surrounded. The Hungarian infantry, left exposed

by the rapid advance of the French knights, was broken by a charge of a select body of the Turkish cavalry; Sigismund and the grand master of Rhodes escaped in a small boat, leaving their allies to their fate; the palatine of Hungary alone remained with a small body of his countrymen to rescue the French from the consequences of their rashness.

Friends and foes have equally celebrated the desperate valor of the French knights on this fatal day. The Turks at first gave no quarter; it was late in the day before Bayezíd commanded them to make prisoners, and even then he was induced to do so by no feelings of mercy, but by his desire to have an opportunity of revenging the fate of the Turks who had been slaughtered in the camp before Nicopolis.

Bayezíd recognised Sir James de Helly (one of the prisoners) as one of his old companions in arms, and ordered him to be set at liberty by his captors. He then commanded him to point out who were the greatest lords among the Christian captives, that they might be spared for the sake of their ransoms. The count de Nevers and several other princes were pointed out to the sultan as "of the noblest blood in France, nearly related to the king, and willing to pay for their liberty a great sum of money." The sultan said, "Let these alone be spared, and all the other prisoners put to death, to free the country from them, and that others may take example from their fate."

Heavy taxes were laid on the states of Burgundy to raise the enormous sum which the sultan demanded as a ransom for the heir of the dutchy. To increase the difficulty of the transaction, the king of Hungary refused to allow such rich treasures to pass through his dominions for the purpose of strengthening his enemies. It was not until after the lapse of several months that a Genoese merchant, named Pellegrini, in the island of Chios, undertook to arrange the terms of ransom; and the sultan more readily accepted the security of a commercial house, which could only exist by credit, than the plighted oaths of kings and princes, which he knew were too often most flagrantly and shamelessly violated.

While the count de Nevers was thus engaged in the east, his brother-in-law, the count of Ostrevant, aided by his father, Albert, duke of Bavaria, was carrying on a war scarcely less destructive against the Frisons. These barbarous tribes sent out piratical expeditions, which ravaged the coasts of Holland, Flanders, and sometimes of France; the naval forces maintained to keep them in check were found very expensive, and not always efficacious, so that the Flemings and Hollanders supplicated their princes to attack the Frisons in their native fastnesses. An immense armament was prepared for this hazardous enterprise; auxiliaries were obtained from England, France, and western Germany, while crowds of Hollanders and Flemings hastened to volunteer their services against enemies who had been their constant plague.

In about five weeks after the landing, winter set in with unusual severity, and at an earlier period than had been known for many years before. The duke was forced to evacuate the country and disband his army; but about three years after he took advantage of the civil dissensions among the Frisons to reduce the entire country to obedience.

The administration of the government of France by Philip, duke of Burgundy, was on the whole advantageous to the nation. It was chiefly owing to his prudence that the insanity of Charles VI. did not produce

the calamities of civil war. He had, however, one great fault; his expenditure, both public and private, was most extravagant, and at his death his sons were forced to sell his plate in order to defray the expenses of his funeral. He died of fever (April 27th, 1404), generally regretted, for it was not difficult to foresee the commotions that would ensue when the conduct of the state, which had taxed his talents and energies to the utmost, should be intrusted to a feebler hand.

Section V.—*The History of Burgundy (continued).*

John the Fearless succeeded Philip the Hardy, and immediately began to take measure for procuring to himself the same influence in the government of France which his father had possessed; he was opposed by the queen and the duke of Orleans, who justly dreaded his ambition. In the fury of civil contest he hired assassins to murder the duke of Orleans; and this atrocious crime was perpetrated in the very midst of Paris. Such, however, were the power of the duke and the apathy of the times, that he would probably have obtained a justification of his conduct from the court, had he not been obliged to retire to his territories to quell an insurrection of the citizens of Liege; the partisans of Orleans took advantage of his absence to raise a cry for justice, and being joined by all the enemies of Burgundy, they soon formed a very powerful faction.

The general belief that the duke had committed treason against the state, enabled the faction of Orleans to persuade the dauphin that his death was necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and to join in a perfidious plot for his assassination. Ambassadors were sent to invite John the Fearless to an interview with the dauphin on the bridge of Montereau, in order that they might in common concert measures for the defence of the kingdom. He went to the appointed rendezvous with a very scanty train, armed only with such weapons as gentlemen of the period usually wore on visits of ceremony. So soon as he came into the dauphin's presence, he took off his velvet cap, and bent his knee in token of homage; but before he could rise, he was struck down by the axes and swords of the royal guards, and butchered with such of his train as had entered the saloon (A. D. 1419). The murder of the duke of Orleans was almost the only stain upon the memory of John the Fearless; his Flemish subjects, whose franchises he had protected, and whose trade he had fostered, were most grieved for his loss; but they respected his memory most for his having intrusted the education of his eldest son to the magistrates of the free cities, and in fact the young prince had been educated as a Fleming rather than as a Burgundian.

Philip the Good, immediately after his accession, prepared to take vengeance for the murder of his father; his Flemish education had prevented him from having any very strong sense of the feudal obligations which bound the dutchy of Burgundy to the crown of France, he therefore did not hesitate to enter into alliance with Henry V. of England, and recognised him as the legitimate heir to the crown of France, on condition that Charles VI. should not be deprived of his regal dignity during the remainder of his unhappy existence.

The war between the English and French now became identified with the struggle between the Burgundians and Armagnacs, as the favorers of Orleans were called; the virulence of private animosities was thus added to the horrors of open war, and the atrocities committed on both sides were shocking to human nature.

The death of Henry V. of England, followed speedily by that of Charles VI. of France, produced a great change in the aspect of the war. Henry VI., who was proclaimed king of England and France, was an infant in the cradle, while the dauphin was in the very prime of life, surrounded by the greater part of the French nobility, and warmly supported by the bulk of the nation. Though severely defeated, and apparently brought to the brink of ruin, when his chief city Orleans was besieged, a deliverer suddenly appeared in the person of Joan of Arc, the tide of prosperity which had hitherto flowed in favor of the English, suddenly turned, and the duke of Burgundy opened negotiations with the dauphin. It was at this crisis that Philip instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, on the occasion of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal (A. D. 1430), an order of knighthood which soon became the most illustrious in Europe. Soon after his marriage, the alienation of the duke from the English interest continued to increase, and finally, under the auspices of the pope, he concluded a treaty with Charles VII., whom he consented to recognise as legitimate sovereign of France.

Having disengaged himself from the French wars, the duke of Burgundy devoted himself to the improvement of his dominions in the Low Countries. His brilliant court realized the visions of chivalry; the jousts and tournaments given under his sanction surpassed in magnificence any that had yet been witnessed in Europe; the wealth of the commercial cities in Flanders was freely poured forth to defray the expenses, and noble knights from all parts of Europe flocked to the court of Burgundy to prove their valor in the lists. Philip encouraged this taste for display among his subjects from political motives; he found that luxury diverted the attention of the turbulent municipalities and their magistrates from affairs of state, and suspended, if it did not eradicate, the ancient jealousies between commercial freedom and feudalism.

Nearly a century and a half had now elapsed since the Swiss cantons had emancipated themselves from the yoke of the house of Austria; the free states had become jealous of each other, some leagued with their ancient enemies, others sought alliances with the petty princes of Germany, and the feudal powers, to whom the example of Swiss independence seemed fraught with dangerous consequences, believed that an opportunity was offered for reducing the mountaineers to their former bondage. A league for the purpose was formed by the potentates of western Germany under the direct sanction of the emperor, and application was made to the duke of Burgundy for assistance. He received the proposal very coolly, upon which the imperialists sought the aid of the king of France, who was very anxious, now that the wars were over, to get rid of the Armagnacs, and other companies of soldiers, who lived at free quarters on the peasantry, and prevented the country from enjoying the blessings of tranquillity. An immense army was soon raised and placed under the command of the dauphin.

On the morning of the 24th of August, 1444, Switzers and Frenchmen met for the first time in mortal combat. The advanced guard of the French, which alone was ten times more numerous than the entire Swiss army, occupied the heights on the right bank of the river Pirse, while the main body remained on the left bank, urging forward the siege of Basle. The Swiss were routed, but the dauphin's victory was obtained with the loss of eight thousand of his best soldiers. The French were not willing to fight a second battle with such fearless warriors; in spite of the remonstrances of the Germans, the dauphin resolved to act the part of mediator, and a peace was concluded under his auspices, by which the liberties of the Swiss cantons were formally recognised. The duke of Burgundy took no share in this war; he was too deeply engaged by the troubles of Flanders, where a formidable revolt had been raised by the citizens of Ghent. After a sanguinary struggle, the insurgent Flemings were subdued, and Ghent was deprived of most of its municipal privileges.

The dauphin of France, afterward Louis XI., having provoked his father to war, was obliged to fly from his estates and seek shelter with the duke of Burgundy, who was at the time rendered uneasy by the turbulent disposition of his own son, the count of Charolais, subsequently known in history as Charles the Bold. These family disturbances embroiled the courts of France and Burgundy for several years, but at length the death of Charles VII. rendered the dauphin king of France; the duke escorted him safely to his dominions, rendered him homage as his sovereign, and assisted in the ceremonies of his coronation. Louis was far from being grateful for these benefits; he formed several plots to seize the person of the count of Charolais, foreseeing that he would become his most formidable rival, and he broke all the engagements he had made to restore the towns which had at various times been wrested from the dukes of Burgundy by the monarchs of France. The count of Charolais was not disposed to endure these wrongs with patience; contrary to the wishes of his father, he supported the nobles of France in their revolts against their sovereign, and had just organized a formidable league against Louis, when the death of Duke Philip compelled him to adjourn his warlike designs, until he had secured to himself his inheritance of the dutchy of Burgundy.

Few sovereigns were more generally and justly lamented than Philip the Good; during the fifty years of his reign, Burgundy was the most wealthy, prosperous, and tranquil of all the states of Europe; and had he pleased to assert his independence, he might have become a more powerful sovereign than the king of France himself. The general grief for his loss was increased by the dread which the character of his successor inspired; the rashness, the pride, the obstinacy, and the cruelty of Charles the Bold had stained his entire career as count of Charolais; his subjects and his neighbors were equally filled with alarm, lest the same qualities should be still more signally manifested in the duke of Burgundy.

Section VI.—*The History of Burgundy (concluded).*

Immediately on the installation of Charles the Bold, as duke of Burgundy, an insurrection was organized in Ghent. The duke was

forced to yield to the popular demands, but in doing so, he made a secret vow that he would exact deadly vengeance for the insult which had been offered to his authority. His indignation was increased by similar revolts in the cities of Brabant and in Liege, which he justly attributed to the example of Ghent, aided by the secret intrigues of French emissaries.

The troubles of Brabant were easily quieted; but the citizens of Liege, relying on the indistinct promises of aid made by the king of France, not only raised the standard of revolt, but committed such atrocious crimes, that Charles determined to destroy the city. With some difficulty his councillors dissuaded him from executing his design.

In revenge for the incentives to rebellion which the king of France was more than suspected of having supplied to the people of Liege, Charles entered into a close league with the discontented French princes who had taken up arms against Louis XI., while that monarch renewed his intrigues with the discontented burgesses in all the cities subject to the duke of Burgundy. Louis was, however, far the more successful in this species of unavowed warfare; cold, cautious, and cunning, he was able to conduct complicated intrigues, and to await their success with patience, while the violent temper of Charles frequently led him to frustrate the plans on which he had bestowed the most care and attention. In one memorable instance, the reliance of Louis on his own craft had nearly proved his destruction; finding that his envoys did not produce the effect he desired on the mind of his rival, he resolved to try the effect of a personal interview, and unexpectedly presented himself at the duke of Burgundy's court in Peronne, escorted by a feeble company of his personal retainers. The interview between the king and the duke was far from satisfactory; their mutual jealousies soon began to threaten a rupture, when the intelligence of a new revolt in Liege, and the massacre of all the partisans of Burgundy in that city, including the prince-bishop, so roused the fury of Charles, that he made his sovereign a prisoner, and would probably have proceeded to further extremities, but for the interference of his council.

Louis, taken in his own toils, was obliged to submit to the terms of peace dictated by Charles; the most mortifying condition of his liberation was that he should lead an army against the insurgent citizens of Liege, and thus aid his vassal in suppressing a revolt which he had himself secretly instigated. The ducal and royal armies were soon assembled, and they marched together against the devoted citizens of Liege, who had never imagined the possibility of such a combination. They did not however despair, but defended themselves with great courage, until the advanced guard of the Burgundians had forced its way through the breaches of the walls, and made a lodgement in the principal street. All resistance was then at an end; the city became the prey of the barbarous soldiers; it was cruelly pillaged for several days, and those citizens who escaped the sword either perished of hunger as they wandered through the woods and fields, or were delivered over to the executioner. After this scene of massacre had lasted eight days, Charles left the city, after having given orders that every edifice in Liege should be destroyed, except the churches, and the houses belonging to the clergy. As Liege was an episcopal city, the clergy pos-

sessed or claimed a very considerable portion of it, and the exception made in their favor saved it from ruin.

Louis never forgave the indignities which he had endured at Peronne, and in his forced march to Liege; without openly declaring war against Burgundy, he secretly raised up enemies against the duke in every quarter, and Charles, by the violence of his passions, constantly exposed himself at disadvantage to the machinations of his rival. Rendered insolent by continued prosperity, he alienated from him the brave chivalry of Burgundy, by bestowing all his confidence on a foreign favorite, the count of Campo-Basso, who flattered his vanity by an absolute submission to his caprices. Louis had the good fortune to win the friendship of the Swiss, whom his rival had changed from friends into foes by the most wanton violation of treaties; and Charles, to whom the very name of freedom was odious, on account of the revolts of Ghent and Liege, resolved to bring the independent mountaineers once more under the yoke of feudal bondage.

Rarely had Europe seen so splendid an army as that which Charles led to the invasion of Switzerland; it consisted of thirty-six thousand soldiers, long inured to military exercises, accompanied by the most formidable train of artillery that had ever yet been brought into the field. The duke advanced to besiege Granson; it was bravely defended, but the walls soon began to crumble under the heavy fire of the Burgundian artillery, and several of the citizens, seduced by promises and bribes, clamored for a capitulation. It was agreed that the governor and the best soldiers of the garrison should present themselves before Charles and demand to be admitted to mercy, as his emissaries had promised. The moment, however, that they appeared, Charles ordered them to be seized; the governor and his officers to be hanged, and all the rest to be hurled as they were, bound hand and foot, into the lake. About two hundred Swiss were thus treacherously massacred.

Intelligence of this event spread rapidly through the cantons; on every side the bold mountaineers flew to arms, while the duke, having formed an entrenched camp at Granson, advanced with a strong detachment toward Neufchatel. Pride had rendered him so regardless of ordinary precautions that he came unexpectedly in presence of the main body of the Swiss in the mountain defiles, when with his usual impetuosity he gave the signal to engage. The Swiss pikemen formed in close line, drove back the Burgundian cavalry, and steadily advancing in close order forced the squadrons of horse before them, destroying some of the bravest knights of the enemy as they got entangled in the press. Every effort which the duke made to extricate his gallant chivalry only added to the confusion, and while he vainly strove to form his lines, fresh troops appeared upon the heights on his left flank, raising the war-cry of "Granson! Granson!" to show that they came to revenge the massacre of their brethren. Soon after the horns of Uri and Unterwalden were heard in the distance; they were two enormous horns, which according to tradition had been bestowed upon these cantons by Pepin and Charlemagne; their sound had often filled invaders with dread during the old wars of Austria, and appeared on the present occasion scarcely less ominous to the Burgundians.

The retreat of the advanced guard of Charles became every moment more disorderly, it was at length converted into a precipitate flight, and the fugitives on reaching the entrenched camp, filled it with the same terror and confusion by which they were possessed themselves. In vain did Charles attempt to remedy the disorder; his artillerymen after a feeble and ineffectual fire abandoned their guns; his Italian auxiliaries fled without striking a blow, and at length, being left almost alone, he quitted his camp with a few attendants, leaving to the Swiss the richest booty that had been gained in war for several centuries. Among the spoils thus abandoned were three celebrated diamonds, of which one now adorns the tiara of the pope, a second is reckoned among the most splendid treasures of the emperor of Austria, and the third, usually called the Souci diamond, was long the richest brilliant in the crown of France.

Grief and rage for his defeat reduced Charles to a state bordering on insanity. It was not until after the lapse of several weeks that he began to take active measures for repairing his losses, and preventing the king of France from profiting by his reverses. All the wealth which he had hoarded during his reign; all the treasures which he could procure from the wealthy commercial cities in Flanders and Brabant, were freely poured forth to recruit his army; the bells of the churches were melted down and cast into cannon to repair the loss of his artillery at Granson; he hired auxiliaries from France, from Italy, and from England. On the other hand the Swiss employed themselves in fortifying Morat, which they regarded as the key of Berne, and sent pressing messages to their confederates to hasten the arrival of their respective contingents.

On the 27th of May, 1476, Charles quitted his camp at Lausaune to commence the siege of Morat; rarely has a place been more vigorously assailed or more obstinately defended; the walls were breached in several places, but every assault of the Burgundians was repulsed, and the duke himself was twice driven back from the ruined ramparts. This marvellous resistance gave the Swiss time to assemble their armies, but Morat was on the point of falling when they advanced to its relief. Several of his officers advised Charles to raise the siege on the approach of the Swiss, and retire to ground more favorable for a field of battle; but he was as obstinately deaf to good counsel as he had been at Granson, and his passions had produced a kind of fever which rendered him so irritable that his dearest friends were afraid to approach him. The Swiss formed their line of battle under the shelter of a line of hills covered with trees, which effectually concealed their movements from their enemies; Charles advanced to dislodge them from this position in a tempest of rain which injured his powder and relaxed the bowstrings of his archers. The Burgundians, finding that they could not get through the wood, nor entice the Swiss from their lines, began to retire toward their camp, drenched with rain and exhausted by their useless march. The Swiss general, Hans de Hallwyll, who had already earned high fame in the wars of Hungary, gave the signal of pursuit; Renè, the young duke of Lorraine, whom Charles had stripped of his paternal dominions, advanced at the head of the cavalry of the confederates, and the Burgundians were attacked in their in-

trenched camp. Charles could scarcely be persuaded that the Swiss would have hazarded so perilous an attempt; he hastened to bring up his men at arms to the place where the chief assault was made, and at the same time opened a heavy fire from his batteries on the advancing columns. His best artillerymen however had fallen at Granson; his cannon being ill-served did but little execution, while Hallwyll under cover of the smoke led a body of troops along the Burgundian lines and suddenly falling on their exposed flank, forced his way into the midst of the camp before the manœuvre was discovered. On the other extreme the Burgundians were equally surprised by an unexpected sally from the garrison of Morat; they fell into remediless confusion, the battle was no longer a fight but a carnage, for the Swiss sternly refused quarter, so that "cruel as at Morat," long continued to be a proverb in their mountains.

The states of Burgundy, Flanders, and Brabant, refused to grant the duke the enormous sums which he demanded to raise a third army, and while he was engaged in threatening them with his wrath, and collecting as many soldiers as he could procure from his own resources, he learned that Lorraine was nearly recovered by its young duke Renè, who, after making himself master of several towns, with little or no opposition, had laid siege to Nancy. The city was taken before Charles was ready to march, and Renè having secured it with a faithful garrison, proceeded to the Swiss cantons to solicit aid against their common enemy. Sieges were always unfavorable to the duke of Burgundy; he was unable to reduce Nancy, but he obstinately persisted in remaining before the walls, while his army suffered severely from an inclement winter and the increasing want of pay and provisions. In fact the unfortunate duke was now sold to his enemies by his favorite Campo-Basso, and his rash cruelty had led him to precipitate the execution of the chief agent of the plot, whom he had by chance made prisoner.

On the 4th of January, 1477, Renè of Lorraine, at the head of the Swiss confederates, was seen from the Burgundian camp advancing to the relief of Nancy. In the very beginning of the battle the desertion of the traitor Campo-Basso decided the fate of the day, but the brave chivalry of Burgundy in this, the last of their fields, maintained a desperate resistance until night put an end to the combat. The fate of the duke of Burgundy was for a long time uncertain, but after a tedious search his body was found covered with wounds, some of which had every appearance of being inflicted by assassins. Renè paid every possible respect to the remains of the unfortunate Charles, and he liberated all his Burgundian prisoners that they might attend the funeral.

The history of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter and successor of Charles the Bold, must be related briefly. No sooner was the news of her father's death known, than the king of France prepared to seize on her dominions in Burgundy, and the Flemings rose in insurrection against her authority. Louis at first was disposed to force her to marry the dauphin, and thus reunite Burgundy to France, but the tortuous course of policy which he pursued defeated his object. The Flemings discovered the intrigue; they seized on the favorite counsellors of the unhappy princess, and beheaded them before her eyes in the market-place of

Ghent. Mary was subsequently married to Duke Maximilian of Austria, but he only obtained possession of her dominions in the Netherlands; Burgundy was conquered by the French, and Maximilian had neither the energy nor the wisdom to recover it from Louis. This was the origin of the bitter hostility between the sovereigns of France and Austria, which for a long series of years kept the continent of Europe in almost perpetual war.

Section VII.—*The Age of Charles V.*

The political idea of maintaining a balance of power, which was first formed in Italy, began to spread north of the Alps, in consequence of the rapid and overwhelming increase of the Austrian power. Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic III., married Mary of Burgundy, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (A. D. 1477), as has been already related, and in her right obtained possession of the fertile and wealthy provinces of the Netherlands. His son, Philip the Fair, was united to Joanna, infanta of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose union had joined the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. The fruit of Philip's marriage with Joanna was two sons, Charles and Ferdinand; and the elder of these, at the age of sixteen, inherited the crown of Spain and its colonies, in addition to his paternal dominions in the Netherlands (A. D. 1516). The death of his grandfather Maximilian transmitted to him the Austrian territories, and the other domains of the house of Hapsburgh, and the electors chose him to fill the vacant throne of the empire. Thus Charles, the first of Spain, and the fifth of the empire, possessed greater power than any sovereign that had flourished in Europe since the days of Charlemagne. In the beginning of his reign, he resigned his hereditary dominions in Germany to his brother Ferdinand, who afterward succeeded him in the empire, and became the founder of the second Austrian line of emperors, which ended with Charles VI. (A. D. 1740). From the emperor Charles descended the Austrian family of Spanish kings, which was terminated by the death of Charles II. (A. D. 1700).

These two branches of the Austrian house, the German and the Spanish, long acted in concert, to procure reciprocal advantages, and were fortunate in strengthening their power by new alliances. Ferdinand married Anne, sister of Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia; and when that monarch fell in war against the Turks, added both these kingdoms to the hereditary dominions of Austria. Charles V., by his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, prepared the way for his son Philip's annexation of that country to Spain.

Two monarchs, contemporary with Charles, were almost equally bound by their interests to check the preponderance of the house of Austria—Henry VIII. of England, and Francis I. of France. Henry VII., after the victory of Bosworth-field had given him undisputed possession of the crown, labored diligently and successfully to extend the royal authority, and to raise the commercial prosperity of the nation. On his death (A. D. 1509), he bequeathed to his son a rich treasury and a flourishing kingdom. Possessing such advantages, Henry VIII. might

have been the arbitrator of Europe; but his naturally fine talents were perverted by flattery; he allowed free scope to all his passions, and his actions were consequently the result of caprice, vanity, or resentment—rarely, if ever, of enlightened policy. Many of the defects in his administration must, however, be ascribed to the pride and ambition of his prime minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who sacrificed the welfare of England and the honor of his sovereign to further his private ends or gratify his idle vanity.

Francis I. was a prince of higher character; he had many of the noble qualities, and not a few of the faults, usually ascribed to the spirit of chivalry; bold, enterprising, and personally brave, he did not always regulate his actions by prudence, and his rashness lost what his valor had won. Soon after coming to the crown, he undertook to recover Milan, and overthrew Sforza and the imperialists at Marignano. The defeated duke resigned his country for a pension; the pope and the northern Italian states assented to the arrangement, and the possession of the contested dutchy seemed secured to France by the conclusion of a treaty with the Swiss cantons (A. D. 1516). Nearly at the same time a treaty was made with Charles, who had not yet succeeded to the empire, which seemed to establish peace, but only rendered war more certain.

Henry and Francis were both candidates with Charles for the empire; the former, however, had no rational hopes of success, while Francis could not hide his anticipations of success, no more than his mortification when he failed. The mutual jealousies of the French and Spanish monarchs were aggravated by hostile claims; Charles, by right of descent, could demand the ancient possessions of the duke of Burgundy, and he was feudal sovereign, as emperor, over the northern Italian states, the chief dutchy of which had been recently annexed to France. On the other hand, Francis had claims to the thrones of Navarre and Naples, which he was very unwilling to resign. Peace could not long subsist between these potentates, neither were their forces so unequally matched as might at first be supposed. The extensive dominions of Charles were governed by different constitutions; in none, not even in Spain, was he wholly unfettered, while in Germany, where the Reformation was constantly raising embarrassing questions, and the princes ever anxious to circumscribe the imperial authority, added more to his nominal than to his real strength. His finances were also embarrassed, and he often found it an almost insuperable difficulty to provide for the payment of his troops, most of whom were necessarily mercenaries. On the other hand, Francis inherited almost despotic authority; his power concentrated, his own subjects were enrolled as his soldiers, and the regular organization of the French government freed him from the financial embarrassments of his rival. Both strengthened themselves by alliances: Charles gained the aid of the pope, and won Henry VIII. to his side by duping the egregious vanity of Wolsey; Francis, on the other hand, was supported by the Swiss and the Venetians. The war began nearly at the same moment in Navarre, the Netherlands, and Lombardy. The treachery of the queen-mother, who withheld from the French commander, Lautrec, the money necessary to pay the troops employed in Italy, led to the loss of Milan and the

greater part of the dutchy. An effort made to recover the lost ground led to the battle of Bicocca (A. D. 1522), in which the French were totally defeated, and finally expelled from Italy; and Genoa, their most faithful ally, was subjected to the power of their enemies. An event of scarcely less importance was the death of Leo, and the elevation of Adrian, a devoted adherent of Charles, to the papal chair; and this was soon followed by the desertion of the Venetians to the imperial side.

Francis might have still recovered the Milanese, where the emperor's troops had been disbanded for want of pay, had not the queen-mother, blinded by passion, induced him to treat the constable of Bourbon with such gross injustice, that this powerful noble entered into a secret intrigue with the emperor, and agreed to raise the standard of revolt. The discovery of the plot delayed the French king's march into Italy; and though he protected his own territories, the Milanese was irrecoverably lost. Encouraged by this success, Charles commanded the imperial generals to invade France on the side of Provence, while the king of England promised to attack it on the north. Had this plan been executed, Francis must have been ruined; but Wolsey, provoked by the elevation of Clement VII. to the papacy. on the death of Adrian, avenged himself for the broken promises of the emperor, abated Henry's ardor for the enterprise, and persuaded him to keep his forces at home, under pretence of resisting the Scots, who had embraced the side of the French king. Charles, unable to command money, could not make a diversion on the side of Spain or the Netherlands; and the imperialists, having uselessly wasted the country, were compelled to retire from Provence.

Elated by his success, Francis hastened to invade Italy; but instead of pressing the pursuit of the shattered imperialists, he laid siege to Pavia, and thus gave his adversaries time to strengthen and recruit their forces. With similar imprudence, he sent a large detachment to invade Naples, hoping that the viceroy of that kingdom would withdraw a large portion of the imperialists from the Milanese for its defence; but Charles's generals, having received a strong reinforcement raised in Germany by the constable of Bourbon, attacked the French in their intrenchments, and gained a decisive victory, in which Francis himself was made prisoner.

This great calamity was principally owing to the romantic notions of honor entertained by the French king: he had vowed that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt; and rather than expose himself to the imputation of breaking a promise of chivalry, he remained in his intrenchments, though the means of safe retreat were open to him. Never did armies engage with greater ardor than the French and imperialists before the walls of Pavia (February 24, 1525). On the one hand, a gallant young monarch, seconded by a generous nobility, and followed by subjects to whose natural impetuosity indignation at the opposition which they had encountered added new force, contended for victory and honor. On the other side, troops more completely disciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought, from necessity, with courage heightened by despair. The imperialists, however, were unable to resist the first efforts of the French valor, and their firmest battal-

ions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. The garrison of Pavia sallied out and attacked the rear of the French during the heat of the action with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara, falling on their cavalry with the imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerble number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack, against which they were totally unprovided. The rout became universal, and resistance ceased in almost every part but where the king was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage; many of his bravest officers, gathering round him, and endeavoring to save his life, at the expense of their own, fell at his feet. The king, exhausted with fatigue and scarcely capable of further resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman who had entered, together with Bourbon, into the emperor's service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers; at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded such triumph to his traitorous subject; and calling for Launoy, who also happened to be near at hand, gave up his sword to him; which he kneeling to kiss the king's hand, received with profound respect; and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to him, saying that "it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects."

Although Launoy treated his royal captive with all the marks of respect due to his rank and character, he nevertheless guarded him with the utmost precaution. He was solicitous, not only to prevent any possibility of his escaping, but afraid that his own troops might seize his person, and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide against both these dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to a strong castle, and committed him to the custody of an officer remarkable for the strict vigilance which such a trust required. Francis, who formed a judgment of the emperor's disposition by his own, was extremely desirous that Charles should be informed of his situation, fondly hoping that, from his generosity or sympathy, he should obtain speedy relief. He therefore gave a passport to an imperial officer to carry the intelligence of the battle of Pavia and his own capture through France, as the communication with Spain by land was the most safe and certain at this season of the year.

Charles received the account of this signal success with affected moderation, but at the same time deliberated with the utmost solicitude how he might derive the greatest advantages from the misfortunes of his

adversary. His first demands were that Francis should restore the dutchy of Burgundy, which, as we have seen, was dishonorably wrested from his ancestors by Louis XI.; that Provence and Dauphinè should be erected into an independent kingdom for the constable of Bourbon; that satisfaction should be made to the king of England for his claims on France; and that all the pretensions of France to territories in Italy should be renounced for ever. Francis was so indignant at being required to make such ignominious concessions, that he drew his dagger, and made an attempt to commit suicide; he was, of course, prevented, and it was hinted that a personal interview with the emperor would lead to the offer of more equitable conditions. Francis himself was of the same opinion. He was sent in a Spanish galley to Barcelona, whence he was removed to Madrid; but on reaching that city, he was sent to the Alcazar, and guarded more carefully than ever: and it appeared evident that the king's reliance on the emperor's generosity had been wholly misplaced.

But this triumph, which seemed to have made Charles master of Italy and arbiter of Europe, so far from yielding the substantial advantages which might reasonably have been expected, served only to array against him the jealousy of England, of the Italian states, and of the protestant princes of Germany. At the same time, the disorganized condition of his finances, and the consequent difficulty of finding pay, subsistence, or the munitions of war, for his soldiers, reduced his Italian armies to inactivity in the very moment of victory. Henry VIII. was the first of the imperial allies to set the example of defection; he entered into a defensive alliance with Louise, the queen-regent of France, in which all the differences between him and her son were adjusted; at the same time he engaged that he would employ his best offices in order to deliver his new ally from a state of captivity. Imprisonment soon began to produce such injurious effects on the mental and bodily health of Francis, that Charles began to fear that all his plans might be frustrated by the death of his captive, and he therefore sought a personal interview with him, in which he held out a hope of milder conditions of liberation.

The chief obstacle that stood in the way of Francis's liberty was the emperor's continuing to insist so peremptorily on the restitution of Burgundy as a preliminary to that event. But the history of Burgundy while an independent dutchy, as detailed in preceding sections, sufficiently proves that compliance with such a demand would have reduced the monarch of France to a state of complete dependance on his nominal vassals. Francis often declared that he would never consent to dismember his kingdom; and that, if even he should so far forget the duties of a monarch as to come to such a resolution, the fundamental laws of the kingdom would prevent its taking effect. Finding that the emperor was inflexible on the point, he suddenly took the resolution of resigning his crown, with all its rights and prerogatives, to his son the dauphin, determining rather to end his days in prison than to purchase his freedom by concessions unworthy of a king.

Charles was so alarmed by this resolution, that he consented to modify his demands so far as not to insist on the restitution of Burgundy until the king was set at liberty. The remaining conditions of the

treaty were sufficiently onerous; but a few hours before signing them, Francis assembled such of his counsellors as happened to be in Madrid, and having exacted from them a solemn oath of secresy, he made a long enumeration in their presence of the dishonorable acts as well as unprincely rigor which the emperor had employed in order to ensnare or intimidate him. For that reason, he took a formal protest in the hands of notaries that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void. By this disingenuous artifice, for which the treatment he had received was no apology, Francis endeavored to satisfy his honor and conscience in signing the treaty, and to provide at the same time a pretext on which to break it.

About a month after the signing of the treaty, the regent's ratification of it was brought from France, and two princes of the blood sent as hostages for its execution. At last Francis took leave of the emperor, whose suspicion of the king's sincerity increasing as the time of putting it to the proof approached, he attempted to bind him still faster by exacting new promises, which, after those he had already made, the French monarch was not slow to grant. He set out from Madrid, a place which the remembrance of so many afflicting circumstances rendered peculiarly odious to him, with the joy natural on such an occasion, and began the long-wished-for journey toward his own dominions. He was escorted by a body of horse, under the command of Alarçon, who, as the king drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more scrupulous exactness than ever. When he arrived at the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms, Lautrec, one of his favorite generals, appeared on the opposite bank, with a guard equal in number to Alarçon's. An empty bark was moored in the middle of the stream; the attendants drew up in order on the opposite banks; at the same instant Launoy put off with eight gentlemen from the Spanish, and Lautrec with the same number from the French side of the river; the former had the king in his boat; the latter the two princely hostages, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans; they met in the empty vessel; the exchange was made in a moment; Francis, after a short embrace of his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat, and reached the French shore. He mounted at that instant a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and, with a joyous voice, cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king!" then, putting spurs to his horse, he galloped at full speed to St. Jean de Luz, and thence to Bayonne. This event, no less impatiently desired by the French people than their monarch, happened on the 18th of March, 1526, a year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia.

The states of Burgundy afforded Francis the first opportunity of refusing to fulfil the conditions of his liberation. They represented to the monarch that he had no right to make a transfer of their allegiance without their consent, and that they would rather assert their independence than submit to a foreign dominion. Upon this, Francis, turning toward the imperial ambassadors, represented to them the impossibility of performing what he had undertaken, and offered, in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the emperor two millions of crowns. The ambassadors, who were well aware that the entire scene had been concerted between the

king and the states, refused to admit any modification of the treaty; they returned to Madrid, and Charles, who perceived that he had been overreached, exclaimed in the most public manner and in the harshest terms against Francis, as a prince void of faith and honor. The French king, on the other hand, asserted that no promise obtained by force was binding, and easily obtained from the pope a full absolution from all the obligations which he had contracted.

During this period, Germany was cruelly harassed by insurrections of the peasants, goaded to madness by the oppressions of their lords. In Thuringia, where a great part of the population had been converted to Lutheranism, Muncer, a wild fanatic, became the leader of the insurgents, and by stimulating their ignorant zeal, added religious bigotry to the horrors of civil war. Luther sincerely lamented the scandal that these disturbances brought on the cause of the reformation; but his own marriage with a nun who had broken her vows, gave such general offence, that his influence, for a season, was greatly diminished.

Francis was not long at liberty before he not only protested against the treaty of Madrid and refused to fulfil any of its stipulations, but organized a new league against Charles, which was named "Holy," because the pope was its nominal head. The Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the English king, joined the confederacy; but their operations were so slow and feeble, that the imperialists easily maintained their ascendency in the north of Italy. The constable of Bourbon, irritated by the vacillating conduct of the pope, marched against Rome, heedless of the truce that had been granted to the pontiff by the viceroy of Naples. "The eternal city" was taken by assault, and suffered more severely from the soldiers of a catholic king than from the barbarous pagans of an earlier age. Bourbon fell in the assault; but the command of the imperialists devolved on the prince of Orange, who besieged the pope in the castle of St. Angelo, and compelled him to yield himself a prisoner (A. D. 1527). Charles received the intelligence of this success with contemptible hypocrisy; he professed the most sincere sorrow for the captivity of the holy pontiff, and ordered prayers to be offered for his deliverance in all the Spanish churches, instead of sending orders for his liberation. So great was the indignation excited by the harsh treatment of the pope, that Francis was enabled to invade Italy and penetrate to the very walls of Naples. But here his prosperity ended; the pope, liberated from captivity, resolved to conciliate the emperor; the Venetians became jealous of the French power, and, finally, the Genoese hero, Andrew Doria, roused by the wrongs which Francis had inflicted on himself and his country, revolted to the emperor, and turned the scale of the war by making the imperialists superior at sea. Doria's first care was to restore the republic of Genoa; and such was the opinion entertained of his patriotism and disinterestedness, that he was universally called "THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY" (A. D. 1528). These circumstances, and the defeat of his army in the Milanese, inclined Francis to peace; a treaty was negotiated at Cambray by the emperor's aunt and the king's mother, but the fair diplomatists left enough of disputable points unsettled to furnish grounds for a future war.

Charles having thus prevailed over France, resolved to make a vigorous

struggle to crush the reformation in Germany, but the protestant princes, undismayed by his power, formed a league for their mutual protection at Smalkald (A. D. 1530), and applied to the kings of France and England to patronise their confederacy. Henry VIII. was eager to grant them support; he was desirous to be divorced from his wife, Catharine of Aragon, the emperor's aunt, and attributed the pope's reluctance to the intrigues of Charles. Hostilities were for a time averted by the emperor's making some important concessions, for he was anxious to have his brother Ferdinand chosen as his successor, with the title of king of the Romans, and the progress of the Turks, on his eastern frontiers, could only be resisted by the united strength of the empire.

Francis had concluded peace at Cambray, because he was no longer able to maintain war. He sought the earliest opportunity of renewing hostilities, and secured the friendship of the pope, by uniting his son, the duke of Orleans, to the pontiff's niece, Catherine de Medicis. But, though he thus gained one ally, he lost others. Henry VIII., inflamed by love of Anne Boleyn, and enraged by the pope's confirmation of his marriage with Catharine, no longer kept any measures with the court of Rome; his subjects seconded his resentment; an act of parliament was passed, abolishing the papal power and jurisdiction in England (A. D. 1534); by another act, the king was declared supreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the popes were deprived, was vested in him. Henry was thus disinclined to support the pope's ally, and the protestant princes of Germany viewed Francis with some suspicion, because he persecuted the reformed in his own dominions. The death of Clement VII., and the election of Paul III., an adherent of the emperor, suddenly deprived Francis of the papal aid, on which he had confidently calculated, and compelled him to delay his projects for troubling the peace of Europe.

The insurrection of the anabaptists, a new set of fanatics in Germany, and the emperor's expedition against the piratical states of Barbary, employed men's minds for a season. The suppression of the fanatics, and the conquest of Tunis, crowned the emperor with glory, yet it was at this moment that Francis chose to renew the war (A. D. 1535). Savoy was immediately overrun by the French troops, and its unfortunate duke in vain implored the aid of the emperor, whose resources had been exhausted in the African war. It was on this occasion that Charles challenged his rival to single combat, in which proposal he only imitated the former follies of Francis. On the other hand, the death of the dauphin, amid the joy occasioned by the repulse of the imperialists, who had invaded Provence, was absurdly attributed to poison, administered by emissaries of Charles. To complete the exhibition of folly, Francis summoned Charles, as count of Flanders, to appear before the parliament of Paris, and on his refusal, he was declared to have forfeited the Low Countries to his feudal superior. The war itself was languidly conducted, but the pope, alarmed by the progress of the Turks, personally interfered, and a truce for ten years was concluded between the two sovereigns at Nice (A. D. 1538).

The religious disputes in Germany between the princes of the protestant and those of the catholic league, the struggles made by the pope to prevent the meeting of a general council, unless under circum-

stances that would give him complete control over its deliberations, filled Charles with anxiety, which was not a little increased by the turbulent disposition of his Flemish subjects, and the success of the Turks in Hungary. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he undertook an expedition against Algiers (A. D. 1541), but his fleet was shattered by a storm, his army wasted by a pestilential disease, and his stores of provision rendered unavailing. He was compelled to return, overwhelmed with loss and disgrace, and his defeat raised the courage of his enemies so high that he had to encounter a new war in Europe.

Francis was eager to take advantage of his rival's distress, and the crime of the imperial governor of the Milanese furnished him with a decent pretext. This imprudent functionary seized two ambassadors, sent from the Parisian court to Turkey, and put them to death, in direct violation of the law of nations. Francis now changed his plan of operations; acting on the defensive in Italy, he invaded the Netherlands and Rousillon (A. D. 1542), but failed to make any permanent impression. Charles found an ally in the king of England: the death of his aunt had removed the great source of enmity between the emperor and Henry, and the close alliance between France and Scotland, recently cemented by the marriage of the Scotch king, James V., to a French princess, Mary of Guise, had excited great jealousy and alarm in England. Henry, with his usual impetuosity, having introduced the reformation into England, became anxious that Scotland should also withdraw its allegiance from the pope, and endeavored to win his nephew James to adopt his plan, by the most advantageous offers. The influence of the Scottish clergy prevailed over that of the English monarch, and Henry in his fury proclaimed war against Scotland. In the midst of these troubles, James V. died leaving his dominions to his infant daughter, Mary, the celebrated and unfortunate queen of Scots. This changed all Henry's plans; he aimed at uniting the two kingdoms, by effecting a marriage between his son Edward and Mary, but he knew that this could only be affected by crushing the French party in Scotland, and eager to accomplish this object he readily entered into the alliance against Francis.

The French monarch, on the other hand, entered into close union with the Turks, and courted the support of the German protestants; but the princes of the empire refused to join so bitter a persecutor of the reformed doctrines, and his only ally, the duke of Cleves, was forced to submit to Charles. The sultan afforded him more effective support; he invaded Hungary in person, and sent the celebrated admiral and pirate, Barbarossa, to join the French in invading Italy. Nice was besieged by their united forces: to the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom, the lilies of France and the crescent of Mohammed appeared in conjunction against a fortress, on which the cross of Savoy was displayed. The allies were finally compelled to raise the siege, and Francis had not even the poor consolation of success, in return for the infamy of having taken as auxiliaries the deadly enemies of Christianity. The battle of Cerisoles (A. D. 1544) gave his arms the fame of useless victory, but it did not prevent the contemporary invasion of France by the emperor on the side of Lorraine, and the English through Calais. Had Charles and Henry acted in concert, Francis must have

yielded unconditionally, but he took advantage of their disunion to conclude a separate peace with the emperor at Crespy (A. D. 1544). Henry VIII. continued the war for some time longer, but it did not produce any event of consequence. Charles had now secured his predominance in Italy, and was secretly preparing to restore the imperial authority in Germany. Death removed his two powerful contemporaries, Francis and Henry, in the same year (A. D. 1547), both of whom would have been dangerous antagonists. Though Henry's motives in favoring the reformation were not very pure, his intense hatred of the popes must have induced him to protect the protestant interest in Germany.

The secularization of Prussia, by Albert of Brandenburg (A. D. 1525), was the first example of the seizure of church property, consequent on the change of religion; but the indignation of the catholic princes, and the ambition of the protestants, were restrained by the Turkish and the French wars. Still the emperor's conduct at the diets of Spires and Augsburg, the pope's anxiety to convene a council subservient to his will, and the intrigues of the ecclesiastics in the states that retained their connexion with Rome, compelled the protestants to renew the league of Smalkald, and assign the fixed contingent of men and arms that should be supplied by the several members. When the council of Trent finally opened (A. D. 1545), its very form and its first decision rendered it impossible for the protestants to take any part in it. But the peace of Crespy left them unprotected, and their want of mutual confidence prevented them from acting in concert. At the very commencement of the war, Prince Maurice of Saxony deserted the league, and joined the emperor; John Frederic, the elector of Saxony, and chief leader of the protestants, was made prisoner at the battle of Mühlberg (A. D. 1547), and his dominions rewarded the treachery of Maurice. The landgrave of Hesse, the last hope of the reformers, was inveigled to visit the emperor, at Halle, and dishonorably detained as a captive.

This rapid success of the emperior alarmed the pope, who began to fear that Charles would prevail upon the council to limit his pontifical authority, and the two potentates, apparently believing the protestant cause crushed, began to seek for their own private advantages. Charles published a code of doctrines called the "Interim," because the regulations it contained were only to be in force until the convocation of a free general council, and this edict, which was strictly conformable to the tenets of the Romish church, he resolved to enforce on the empire (A. D. 1548). Catholics and protestants equally declaimed against this summary mode of settling a nation's faith, but the emperor scarcely encountered any open resistance, except from the free city of Magdeburgh, and an army sent to reduce this disobedient place, was intrusted to Maurice of Saxony.

Maurice was secretly dissatisfied with the conduct of the emperor, and was especially grieved by the detention of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. He formed a bold plan for compelling the emperor, by a sudden attack, to establish religious freedom, and liberate the landgrave, but concealed his projects until the most favorable moment for putting them into execution. On the surrender of Magdeburgh (A. D. 1551), he contrived to win the confidence of the garrison

and the citizens, without awakening the suspicions of the emperor, and he entered into a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, the son and successor of Francis. No words can describe the astonishment and distress of the emperor, when Maurice, having completed his preparations, published his manifesto, detailing the grievances which he required to be redressed. The active prince proceeded with so much promptitude and vigor, that Charles narrowly escaped being made prisoner at Innspruck. The council of Trent was broken up; the prelates tumultuously voted a prorogation for two years, but more than ten elapsed before its proceedings were renewed. The emperor had the mortification to see all his projects overthrown by the prince whom he had most trusted, and was compelled to sign a treaty at Passau, by which the captive princes were restored to liberty, and a free exercise of their religion secured to the protestants (A. D. 1552). The war with France lasted three years longer; it was conducted without any great battles, but on the whole, proved unfavorable to the emperor. From the hour that the treaty of Passau had wrested from Charles V. the fruits of his whole political career, he felt that his crowns were heavy on his brows. The principles of mutual toleration were formally sanctioned by the diet of Augsburg: Paul IV., who may be esteemed the successor of Pope Julius—for the twenty days' reign of Marcellus produced no political event—was so offended, that he became the avowed enemy of the house of Austria, and entered into close alliance with the king of France. A storm was approaching, when Charles, to the great surprise of the world, abdicated his dominions.

Though a prince of moderate abilities, Charles V. had reigned with more glory than most European sovereigns. A king of France and a pope had been his captives; his dominions were more extensive than those of Alexander, or of Rome. By his generals, or his ministers, he had acquired all the objects which usually excite ambition; he had gained even the distinction of being regarded as the champion of orthodoxy, in an age when toleration was a crime. But the triumph of civilization over the system of the middle ages, of which he was at once the last support and the last representative, was certain and complete, and he could not resist the mortification of finding himself vanquished; the peace of Passau was to him "the hand-writing on the wall;" it announced that his policy was past, and his destiny accomplished. The feebleness of old age overtook him at fifty-six; harassed by vain repinings, overwhelmed by infirmities, he felt that he could no longer appear a hero, and he desired to seem a sage. He became a hermit, removed all his diadems from his head, and sank into voluntary obscurity. He was, however, sure to be regretted, for he bequeathed to the world his successor, the sanguinary Philip, just as Augustus adopted Tiberius.

The protestant religion was first legally established in England by Edward VI., the pious son of the profligate Henry. But the troubles occasioned by his minority, and the ambition of his guardians, prevented the reformed church from being fixed on a permanent foundation. Edward died young (A. D. 1553), and the papal dominion was restored by his bigoted successor and sister, Mary. Charles, having failed to procure the empire for his son Philip, negotiated a marriage between that prince and Queen Mary, which was concluded, much to the dissatisfac-

tion of the British nation. Mary's cruel persecutions of the protestants failed to reconcile her subjects to the yoke of Rome, and on her death (A. D. 1558), the reformed religion was triumphantly restored by her sister Elizabeth.

The diet which assembled at Augsburg (A. D. 1555), did not secure to the protestants all the advantages they had a right to expect. Maurice had fallen in a petty war, and they had no leader fit to be his successor. With strange imprudence, the Lutherans consented to the exclusion of the Calvinists from the benefits of religious toleration, and left several important questions undecided, the pregnant source of future wars. When the labors of the diet terminated, Charles, mortified at being forced to resign the hope of securing the empire to his son, saddened by his experience of the instability of fortune, and broken down by illness, resolved to abdicate his double authority. He resigned the sceptre of Spain and the Netherlands to his son, Philip II., and the imperial crown some months after to his brother Ferdinand: he then retired to the monastery of St. Justus, in Valladolid, where he died (A. D. 1558).

The long struggle for religious freedom during the reign of Charles V. terminated in the favor of the Reformation; but the Romish church was far from being subdued, and it derived most efficient support from the institution of the Jesuits, a political rather than religious society, admirably organized for the support of the highest and most unyielding assumptions of papal authority. This body became formidable from its unity and the secrecy of its operations, but it at length excited the alarm of catholic princes, and was suppressed in the last century.

In the course of the wars between Charles and Francis, the republic of Venice, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had appeared so formidable that almost all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its destruction, declined from its ancient power and splendor. The Venetians not only lost a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigor of the state were exhausted by their extraordinary and long-continued efforts in their own defence, and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal consequences to their republic, which the sagacity of the Venetian senate foresaw on the first discovery of a passage to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, actually took place. Their endeavors to prevent the Portuguese from establishing themselves in the East Indies, not only by exciting the Mameluke sultans of Egypt and the Ottoman monarchs to turn their arms against such dangerous intruders, but by affording secret aid to the infidels in order to ensure their success, proved ineffectual. The activity and valor of the Portuguese surmounted every obstacle, and obtained such a firm footing in that fertile country, as secured to them large possessions with an influence still more extensive. Lisbon instead of Venice became the staple for the precious commodities of the east. The Venetians, after having possessed for many years the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almost any share in it. The discoveries of the Spaniards in the western world proved no less fatal to inferior branches of commerce. When the sources from which the

state derived its extraordinary riches and power were dried up, its interior vigor declined, and of course its external operations became less formidable. Long before the middle of the sixteenth century, Venice ceased to be one of the principal powers in Europe, and dwindled into a secondary and subaltern state. But as the senate had the address to conceal the diminution of its power under the veil of moderation and caution; as it made no rash effort that could discover its weakness; as the symptoms of political decay in states are not soon observed, and are seldom so apparent to their neighbors as to occasion any sudden alteration in their conduct toward them, Venice continued long to be considered and respected. She was treated, not according to her present condition, but according to the rank which she had formerly held. Charles V., as well as the kings of France, his rivals, courted her assistance with emulation and solicitude in all their enterprises. Even down to the close of the century, Venice remained, not only an object of attention, but a considerable seat of political negotiation and intrigue.

That authority which the first Cosmo de Medici and Lorenzo his grandson had acquired in the republic of Florence by their beneficence and abilities, inspired their descendants with the ambition of usurping the sovereignty in their country and paving their way toward it. Charles V. placed Alexander de Medici at the head of the republic (A. D. 1530), and to the natural interest and power of the family added the weight as well as the credit of the imperial protection. Of these his successor Cosmo, surnamed the Great, availed himself; and establishing his supreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican constitution, he transmitted that, together with the title of grand duke of Tuscany, to his descendants. Their dominions were composed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, and formed one of the most respectable of the Italian states.

Section VIII.—*The Age of Elizabeth.*

The accession of Elizabeth was the crisis of the Reformation in Great Britain; as she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, whose marriage with Henry VIII. had not been sanctioned by the Romish church, her title was not recognised by the catholics, and the king of France permitted his daughter-in-law, Mary, queen of Scots, to assume the arms and title of England. Elizabeth secured herself by entering into secret alliance with the heads of the protestant party in Scotland, who succeeded in withdrawing that kingdom from its allegiance to the pope, and so fettering the royal authority, that the queen dowager, who acted as regent for her daughter, was too much harassed at home to make any hostile attempt on England. Connected with the cause of the Reformation by her own interests, Elizabeth was naturally regarded as the head of the protestants in Europe, while Philip II. was the champion of the catholics. Hence England became the counterpoise to Spain in this age, as France had been in the preceding. But the ancient rivalry between France and Spain was of the highest importance to England; it prevented a cordial union between the catholic powers of Europe for checking the progress of the Reformation, and it secured

support for her doubtful title, ere her noble qualities becoming known, earned for her the best of all securities, the affections of the English nation.

Mary, queen of Scots, was the niece of Henry VIII., and next heir to his crown if the illegitimacy of Elizabeth were established; she was wedded to the heir-apparent of the French monarchy; her maternal uncles, the princes of Lorraine, were remarkable for capacity, valor, and daring ambition, and she had reasonable prospects of success at a time when Scotland was divided between the contending communions, Ireland altogether catholic, and while catholics predominated in the north of England. The death of Henry II., by a mortal wound in a tournament, raised Mary's husband, the feeble Francis II., to the French throne, and through the young queen's influence transferred the power of the monarchy to the princes of Lorraine. The bigoted Philip II. was so alarmed at the probable accession of power to his great rivals, that he not only acknowledged Elizabeth's title, but proffered her marriage. She declined the offer, and Philip gave his hand to the princess Elizabeth of France, and concluded a treaty with that power at Château Cambresis. Though no express stipulations were made, it was well known that the extirpation of heresy formed a part of this alliance between the two great catholic powers; it led to a furious war of religion, which ended in the establishment of a new European state.

Before entering on the history of the religious wars in France and the Netherlands, it is of importance to examine the state of England and Scotland during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. On the death of Francis II. (Dec., 1560), Mary was compelled to return to her native dominions by the jealousy of her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, who secretly envied the power of the princess of Lorraine. She left France with a heavy heart, and from the very first moment of her landing had to endure indignities the most mortifying to her proud spirit. Popery had been overthrown in Scotland, but the protestantism erected in its stead was just as bigoted and as intolerant as the ancient creed had been in the worst of times. Still, the winning manners of the queen, and the weakness of her party, prevented any immediate outbreak; and the confidence of the protestants in the earl of Moray restrained the violence of their fanaticism. The marriage of Mary to the young Lord Darnley, in spite of the remonstrances both of Elizabeth and Lord Moray (A. D. 1565), led to the first open breach between the queen and her subjects. Several lords, indignant at the refusal of security to the protestant religion sought safety in England, and they soon gained Darnley himself to join their association. An Italian, of mean birth, David Rizzio, having been appointed private secretary to the queen, gained such an ascendency over her, that Darnley's jealousy was roused; he entered into a conspiracy with the exiled lords, introduced an armed band secretly into the palace, arrested Rizzio in the queen's presence, and murdered him at the door of her chamber. The birth of a son led to an apparent reconciliation between Mary and her husband; but its hollowness was proved by Darnley's being excluded from witnessing the baptism of his own child. The appearance of renewed affection was maintained notwithstanding this insult; Darnley fell sick, Mary visited him with apparent anxiety, and, under the pretence that quiet

was necessary to an invalid, removed him to a solitary house called the Kirk of Field. On the 9th of February, 1567, this house was blown up with gunpowder, and the unfortunate Darnley's lifeless body carried to some distance, where it was found without any external mark of violence. The measures taken by Mary to screen Bothwell, universally regarded as the author of this crime, and her subsequent marriage to that nobleman, seemed conclusive evidence that she had countenanced her husband's murder. The Scottish lords flew to arms; Mary was forced to yield herself a prisoner to her irritated subjects, and Bothwell fled into exile.

The unfortunate queen, confined in Lochleven castle, was forced to abdicate in favor of her son, who was crowned with the title of James VI. She escaped from her prison, and soon found herself at the head of a numerous army, but within eleven days from her deliverance she was completely defeated in the battle of Langside, and forced to seek refuge in England (A. D. 1568). Elizabeth placed the fugitive in close custody, a measure which her safety perhaps demanded, but which was scarcely consistent with her honor. The insurrections of the catholic lords in the northern counties, and Mary's intrigues with the duke of Norfolk, combined with the open attempts of the catholic states against Elizabeth, rendered the unfortunate queen's detention a matter of prudent expediency, if not of prime necessity.

The imbecile Francis II. succeeded his father Henry on the throne of France; during his brief reign he was the mere tool of the Guises, whose great anxiety was to establish the inquisition in France. Philip II. was engaged in a similar attempt in the Netherlands, and both provoked a desperate resistance. Like his father Charles V., Philip was ambitious of universal monarchy, but he used different means; he hoped to gain the clergy by his zeal, to win the nobles by the bribes which the wealth of Spanish America enabled him to offer, and to subdue the people by the united efforts of ecclesiastical and aristocratic influence. But in the Netherlands, as in France, the proposal to establish the inquisition was a fatal error of despotism; it provoked the fierce resistance of all who were worthy of their country, it identified the papacy with cruelty and slavery, it gave to the reformed leaders the proud title of deliverers of their country. The election of Pius IV. to the chair of St. Peter precipitated the civil war in France (A. D. 1560). A conspiracy was formed for removing the Guises, in which many ardent catholics joined; it was discovered and defeated, but the sanguinary cruelty of the Lorraine princes rendered their victory injurious to their cause; the memory of the martyrs they slaughtered won proselytes, and confirmed opposition. So powerful were the Huguenots, that liberty of conscience was sanctioned in an assembly of the Notables at Fontainebleau; and it was proposed to convoke a national council for regulating the affairs of the Gallican church. Had France been ruled by an energetic sovereign, acquainted with the interests of his crown and the wishes of the nation, the French church at this moment might have been rendered as independent of Rome as the English: the pope saw the danger, and he induced Francis to abandon the national synod, by promising the speedy convocation of a general council. Both the emperor and the king of France objected to reassembling the bishops

at Trent, declaring that its name was odious to the protestants ; but the ill health of Francis II., who was fast sinking into the grave, induced Pius to quicken his proceedings, and bulls for the continuation of the council were issued. In the meantime the states-general assembled in France. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, the great leaders of the Huguenot party, were arrested when they appeared at court, and the former received sentence of death. But the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, dreading that the regency would be seized by the Guises when the king died, secretly intrigued with the Huguenots to secure their support, and the life of Condé was the pledge and the reward of their assistance. But while she thus courted the alliance of the protestants, she secretly informed Philip II. that her hatred of the Reformation was unabated, and that she only waited a favorable opportunity to imitate his example of merciless butchery and persecution. She intrigued with both parties, a fatal error ; for had she frankly embraced one, she would have stamped the other with the character of revolt ; her Italian cunning only served to render civil war inevitable.

The duke of Guise saw clearly that, to sustain the part he designed to act, it was necessary to attempt something of more than ordinary magnitude ; he raised the cry "the church is in danger ;" ignorance and bigotry responded to the summons ; he placed himself at the head of the zealous supporters of papal infallibility, hoping to destroy, by one blow, the queen-regent, who was suspected of culpable indifference to the interests of the faith, the government, which seemed ready to recognise the principles of toleration, and the Huguenots. Like his opponents, he appealed to the people, and attempted to guide public opinion ; like them, too, he declared himself the steadfast friend of the monarchy : thus the struggle between the two parties had for its prize the throne of France, and for its pretext the defence of royalty.

In the meantime, the council of Trent continued its deliberations, without showing any symptom of a desire to conciliate the spirit of the age, by improving either the doctrine or the discipline of the church. The bishops wasted their time in scholastic disputations, and proved how delusive were their professions of a desire for peace, by celebrating the victory obtained over the Huguenots at Dreux, by a public thanksgiving. In fact, the council terrified nobody but Pius IV., who saw his power attacked on every side. Maximilian, the son of the emperor Ferdinand, having been elected king of the Romans, refused for a long time to receive the sanction of his election from the pontiff, and finally accepted it as a mere ceremony, venerable on account of its antiquity ; it would have been better for the holy see to have abjured such a privilege, than to have it preserved as a subject of ridicule and mockery.

But though the public proceedings at Trent were far from injuring the progress of the Reformation, there were secret plans devised fraught with imminent peril to the protestants. One of these was revealed, by the imprudence of the cardinal of Lorraine. On the 10th of May, 1563, he read a letter from his niece, Mary, queen of Scots, "submitting herself to the council, and promising that when she succeeded to the throne of England, she would subject both her kingdoms to the

obedience due to the apostolic see." He added, verbally, that she would have sent prelates, as representatives of Scotland, to the council, had she not been restrained by the necessity of keeping terms with her heretical councillors. The Italians were engaged everywhere alarming monarchs with the republican tendency of the Reformation; a charge which seemed to derive some support from the revolts of the peasants in Germany, the troubles in Flanders, and the confusion of France. Philip II. was not the only sovereign who regarded heretics as rebels, and believed that the papacy would be found an efficient aid to despotism in crushing civil as well as religious liberty.

At length the council of Trent terminated its sittings; eighteen years of debate had produced no plan of reform for ecclesiastical morals, discipline, or doctrine (A. D. 1564). One of the last acts of the assembled fathers was to issue an anathema against heretics, which justified the protestants in their refusal to recognise the acts of the council. But we should commit a great error if we supposed that this last of the general councils produced no change in the constitution of the papacy, it organized the spiritual despotism of the popes, clearly perceiving that the temporal empire was irrecoverably lost, and it placed the holy see in the position of an ally to the monarchs who were eager to maintain despotic power. From the time of this council to the present day, every sovereign of France and Spain, remarkable for hostility to constitutional freedom, has been equally conspicuous for his attachment to the holy see, and the articles of faith ratified by the council of Trent. It was by this assembly that the marriage of priests was definitely prohibited. We have already shown how necessary an element this law has been to the spiritual despotism possessed, and temporal supremacy claimed, by the pope. Family and country had no ties on the bishops of the catholic church; Rome enjoyed exclusive possession of every feeling that can render man a good subject or a good citizen; the infallibility and omnipotence of the pope were made articles of faith, by prelates whose whole heart was engaged in supporting the supremacy of the holy see; the popes could rouse nations to revolt, and trouble empires, because they had obedient emissaries in every parish; the doctrine of implicit submission to the successors of St. Peter was taught by priests, when it could not be enforced by armies, and it was found sufficiently efficacious to harass Europe with a century of war. Pius IV. comprehended the immense value of an unmarried clergy; though he had violently condemned the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, he relaxed the prohibition at the instance of the emperor Maximilian, and permitted the cup to be given to the laity in Germany; but on the point of celibacy he was inflexible, for he was justly convinced that it was the great bond by which all the portions of papal domination were united, and that if it should be relaxed, the entire edifice would fall in sunder.

After the dissolution of the council, a general suspicion was diffused through the protestants of Europe, that a league for their destruction had been formed by some of the leading catholic powers. It is now sufficiently notorious that these suspicions were not groundless, and that Pius IV. was weary of the slow steps by which the members of this pretended holy alliance advanced to the verge of an exterminating

war. He earnestly urged a personal interview between Catherine de Medicis and Philip II.; it was declined by the latter on account of his ill health, but he sent a worthy representative, the duke of Alva, to hold a conference with the queen-regent and her son, Charles IX., at Bayonne. The pretext for the meeting was an interview between the young queen of Spain and her mother, Catherine de Medicis; but the presence of the duke of Alva, the avowed enemy of the protestants, whose extirpation he openly proclaimed to be his most solemn duty to God or man, was a clear proof that more important designs were contemplated. The days were spent in all the sports and festivities that are to be found in a luxurious and licentious court. But at the dead hour of midnight, when the courtiers, exhausted by the tournament, the table, and the dance, retired to repose, Catherine held secret conferences with Alva in the apartments of her probably unconscious daughter, Elizabeth. They agreed in their object, the destruction of the Huguenots, and all the parties disposed to place restrictions on the royal authority in the French and Spanish dominions, but they differed very widely as to the means by which this might be most effectually accomplished. Alva recommended the most violent measures, edicts of extermination supported by powerful armies, military execution of all who ventured to offer any opposition, and a general massacre of the Huguenot congregations. But though Catherine would not have shown any scruple in adopting these, or even more atrocious plans, she was well aware that Alva's projects could not be executed without the aid of a Spanish army, and she was too jealous of her own authority to allow a foreign court to exercise any influence in the kingdom which she governed as regent. She relied on her own craft and cunning to retain power, for her zeal for religion was always made subservient to her ambition, and she was infinitely more afraid of any combination of the nobles of France to restrain the royal authority, than of the real or supposed progress of heretical opinions. She hated the Huguenots rather as a political than as a religious body, for the aristocratic leaders of the sect were more bent on rendering the nobles independent of the crown, than of delivering the Gallican church from the power of the pope, and it was the aristocratic character thus imprinted on the principles of the reformation in France, which prevented the protestant movement from ever becoming popular with the great body of the middle and the lower ranks in France. In their minds it was associated with feudalism, which had become so odious to the French people that they would have accepted the worst form of oriental despotism in preference.

Philip began to execute his part of the agreement by a vigorous effort to establish the Inquisition in Flanders; and to put an end to the insurrection which such a measure provoked, he appointed the duke of Alva lord lieutenant of the Netherlands, with almost absolute authority. Many of the Flemish merchants and manufacturers left their country; they brought their industry and their capital to England; a circumstance which had no small share in the rapid growth of England's commercial prosperity. The cruelties of Alva, the noble resistance of the prince of Orange, long the head and hope of the protestant party in Europe, and the final establishment of the independence of the Seven United Provinces, belong to general history; but in this narrative we

must not omit to mention, that Philip's brutal obstinacy was frequently blamed by the court of Rome; the crafty Italians would have preferred fraud to violence, and assassination to the perils of open war (A. D. 1572). It must also be mentioned, that the Turks joined in the contest as the protectors of the Flemings, and that their defeat by Don John of Austria, at Lepanto, finally delivered Europe from the perils with which it was menaced by Mohammedan barbarism. Pius V., who ascended the papal throne (A. D. 1566), was disposed to take advantage of the victory at Lepanto, and organize a league against the Turks; but Philip was jealous of the glory acquired by his brother, and he declared that nothing should divert him from the prosecution of the war in Flanders. This pontiff, who was afterward canonized as a saint, was inflexible in his hatred of the protestants, but he made some efforts to remedy the evils of the church by founding schools and colleges, and excluding persons of immoral life from ecclesiastical dignities. He was succeeded by Gregory XIII.

In the spring of 1560, the French protestants were detected in a conspiracy for taking the infant king out of the hands of the persecuting Guises, and expelling the entire Lorraine family from France. The massacres with which this crime was punished, produced retaliation; a civil war ensued, which, interrupted by short and unsteady truces, lasted to 1570, when a treaty, favorable to the Huguenots, was concluded at St. Germains. To cement this peace, a marriage was proposed between the young king of Navarre, the hereditary leader of the French protestants, and the princess Margaret, the beautiful sister of the king of France. The proposal diffused such universal joy, that even the more violent of the catholic party were forced to acquiesce, and preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials at Paris with extraordinary magnificence. Admiral Coligni and the other protestant leaders were invited to witness the festivities, and the chief catholic lords, headed by the duke of Guise, came to share in the general reconciliation.

The events which led to the fearful tragedy that accompanied this marriage, have been so misrepresented by party writers on every side, that it is desirable to state the facts at some length, as they have been narrated by the principal actors themselves. At this period the populace of Paris was the most bigoted and sanguinary mob to be found in Europe. They went beyond the most cruel edicts of their rulers in persecuting all who were suspected of heretical opinions, and not unfrequently took the law into their own hands, against the wishes of the court and the clergy. The presence of Coligni and the protestant lords, was, therefore, a source of indignant grief to the fanatical multitude, and nothing but the presence of the royal guards prevented outburst of popular violence. Guise and his friends, opposed to the Huguenots as heretics, and to their leaders as rivals, fostered this general discontent, while the queen-mother, Catherine, negotiated with both parties, believing that she could only retain power by balancing one against the other.

Charles IX., feeble in body, and weak in intellect, had just attained his legal majority, but the real power of the state was wielded by Catherine and her favorite son, Henry, for whom she always showed herself

willing to sacrifice the rest of her children. In some of his conversations with the protestant lords, Charles complained very bitterly of the state of thraldom in which he was held, and Coligni, commiserating the unhappy monarch, promised to aid in his deliverance. The king soon began to vaunt of his design to assume the reins of power, and to remove his mother and brother from the court. They took the alarm, and easily discovering by whose counsels the king was influenced, resolved to assassinate the admiral Coligni. Henry hired a man for the purpose, and lent him his own gun; but in order to avert suspicion, he stationed the assassin in the lodgings of a retainer of the duke of Guise. Coligni was shot as he passed the house, but the wound was not mortal; before his friends could break open the door, the assassin had escaped, leaving his gun behind him. At first, the suspicions of the protestants were directed against the duke of Guise, but the gun, and some other circumstances, soon led them to discover the real instigators of the plot, and they very imprudently proclaimed their intention to exact heavy vengeance upon Catherine and her favorite son.

In this emergency, Catherine convoked a secret council of her friends, and there it was resolved to massacre all the Huguenots on the eve of St. Bartholomew (A. D. 1572), and thus crush the entire party at one blow. The conspirators, seven in number, were well aware that they could rely on the royal guards, who were still animated by all the passions of the late religious wars, and they also knew that the Parisian populace waited but a signal to indulge in the excesses of savage bigotry. It was further resolved that the atrocious plot should be kept secret from the king until it was on the eve of execution, but that all arrangements for effectually accomplishing the general slaughter should be made, and everything kept in readiness to begin, the moment that his consent had been obtained.

It was late in the evening when Catherine went to Charles, accompanied by her chosen advisers, and told him that the protestants had formed a plan for the extermination of the royal family, which could only be frustrated by the most immediate and decisive measures. The feeble monarch, who was not many degrees removed from idiotcy, exhibited every sign of helpless alarm. While in this condition, his mother placed before him the dreadful decree of extermination, and demanded his signature; Charles at first refused, and for some time it was doubtful whether his consent could be obtained. At length, in a paroxysm of rage mingled with insanity, he exclaimed, "I consent, provided that you kill them all, and leave no survivor to reproach me."

It was about midnight that the sounding of the tocsin summoned the bands of murderers to commence the work of destruction. Most of the unsuspecting Huguenots were massacred in their beds, or shot on the roofs of their houses while attempting to escape. Charles himself, armed with a gun, stationed himself in a tower, from which he fired upon such fugitives as attempted to escape across the Seine; the palace itself was not respected; several of the attendants of the young king of Navarre were murdered in the royal apartments, and he was himself exposed to considerable danger.

The massacre lasted for eight days and nights without any apparent diminution of the fury of the murderers. Several catholics perished, the victims of mistake or of private animosity, and similar atrocities were perpetrated in the principal cities of the kingdom. At first, the court seemed disposed to throw the blame of this fearful atrocity on the duke of Guise and his faction, but finding that the guilt could not be concealed, it was openly avowed, and a royal manifesto issued in its justification. The wish of Charles that none should survive to reproach him was not fulfilled: nearly two millions of Huguenots still survived to avenge the fate of their murdered brethren. The civil war was renewed with greater fury than ever; the protestants felt themselves strengthened by the sympathy of all whom bigotry had not rendered callous to every feeling of humanity; and the authors of this unparalleled crime had the mortification to discover that it had been perpetrated in vain.

While public rejoicings were made at Rome and Madrid, for the supposed overthrow of heresy in France, the horror and indignation excited by the massacre in northern Europe, not only among protestant, but even catholic princes, proved a serious injury to the catholic cause. The prince of Orange placed himself at the head of the revolters in the Netherlands—the Gueux, or Beggars, as they were contemptuously called by their oppressors. Though at first unsuccessful, he gave the insurrection a determinate character by the capture of Brille (A. D. 1572), a conquest which secured him a naval station for his daring cruisers, and encouraged the cities of Holland and Zealand to reject the Spanish yoke. The massacre of St. Bartholomew weakened the insurgents, by depriving them of the aid of the French Huguenots; but instead of quelling their courage, it only stimulated them to perseverance. Defeated by land, and deprived of their strongest cities, they attacked the Spaniards on sea, and captured several rich freights. At length Alva retired in despair, and was succeeded by Zunega y Requesens (December, 1573).

In the very commencement of his administration, Requesens gained a decisive victory over the insurgents at Monher Moor, near Nimeguen. The three brothers of the prince of Orange fell in this fatal battle, which would probably have terminated the war, but for a mutiny of the Spanish soldiers. The turbulence of the royal army, the insolence and licentiousness of the Spaniards, and the pillage of Antwerp by the mutineers, excited the indignation of catholics and protestants. Five of the Batavian and six of the Belgic provinces entered into the pacification of Ghent, which provided for the expulsion of foreigners, the repeal of Alva's sanguinary edicts, and restoration of the ancient power of the states-general (A. D. 1576). Don John of Austria, who had succeeded Requesens in the government, disarmed suspicion by acceding to the league of Ghent; but this confederacy soon fell to pieces, owing to the jealousy between the protestant and catholic states. It now became manifest that freedom could only be attained by a close union of the northern provinces, and a final rupture with Spain. Acting on this belief, the prince of Orange organized the confederacy of Utrecht, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned under the name of the Republic of the United Provinces (A. D. 1579).

But, notwithstanding these precautions, the nomination of the duke of Parma to the regency threatened to ruin all the projects of the prince of Orange. The southern provinces, inspired with a jealousy of the protestant designs on the catholic religion, entered into an alliance with the regent, and levied an army against the insurgents of the north. But the Hollanders, thus deserted, did not lose courage; they formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish crown, and chose the duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France, for their sovereign (A. D. 1581). But this choice did not produce the expected advantages; and the duke of Anjou, after a brief struggle, abandoned all hopes of competing with the duke of Parma, and returned to France. It is probable that the states would have chosen the prince of Orange for their constitutional sovereign, but that hero was stabbed by a fanatic, whether instigated wholly by bigotry, or partly seduced by Spanish gold, it is now difficult to determine (A. D. 1584). Amid the general gloom spread over the protestant confederates by the loss of their illustrious leader, the Hollanders and Zealanders chose Maurice, his son, a young man of eighteen, their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land. The war still continued; but though the duke of Parma prevailed in the field, and finally captured the important city of Antwerp (A. D. 1585), the confederates never dreamed of submission. They offered the sovereignty of their republic to Queen Elizabeth on certain conditions; and though she rejected the proffer, she sent the earl of Leicester to their aid with a considerable army. The misconduct of Leicester prevented the Hollanders from gaining all the advantages from the English auxiliaries that might have been expected; but the breaking out of war between England and Spain, the death of the duke of Parma in the civil wars of France, and the heroism of Prince Maurice, gave them such a decided superiority by sea and land, that their independence was secured and finally recognised by Spain (A. D. 1609).

Before entering on the history of the war between England and Spain, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the state of France. On the death of Charles IX., his brother Henry III., resigned the throne of Poland for that of France (A. D. 1574). This prince, on his return, began a war of persecution, and concluded by an ignominious peace with his own subjects, in less than a year. He then abandoned himself to the lowest debaucheries, strangely combined with the practice of the most degrading superstitions. Opposed to the king, were the princes of Lorraine, whose chief, Henry, duke of Guise, was deservedly regarded as the leader of the violent catholic party in France. Noble in person, polished in demeanor, endowed with superior talents, and animated by grasping ambition, he seemed formed by nature to become the leader of a faction, and art had lent its aid to improve all these advantages. The utter contempt into which Henry III. had fallen, and the rage of the catholics at the tolerance granted to the protestants by the late pacification, encouraged the duke of Guise to raise the cry of religion, and the fanatic populace, roused by this hypocritical pretext, began to take arms to defend their church. The Holy League, drawn up by Guise's uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, for the defence of the catholic religion, was signed and sworn to by catholics of all ranks and conditions in Paris and the provinces. The duke of Guise was ap-

pointed head of the league; the pope and the king of Spain declared themselves its protectors, and the wretched Henry was forced to yield to the faction, assemble the states at Blois, and revoke the freedom of conscience granted to the Huguenots. The consequence was a civil war, the ninth which afflicted France since the death of Francis II.

The fate of the unhappy queen of Scots, which had been determined ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was precipitated by the formation of the Holy League. Some enthusiastic English catholics entered into a conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth; Mary was cognizant of their plans, but her participation in the plot is very doubtful. However, an act of parliament was passed authorizing her trial; commissioners were sent for the purpose to Fotheringay castle, the place of her confinement, and after an investigation, in which the forms of law and the principles of justice were little regarded, she was condemned to death. Elizabeth, with much apparent, and some real reluctance, signed the warrant of execution, and placed it in the hands of Davison, her private secretary, enjoining him not to use it without further orders (A. D. 1587). Davison, however, showed the warrant to the members of the council, and they, without further consulting Elizabeth, had the unhappy Mary beheaded. Henry III. of France, soon afterward, had his capital enemies, the duke and cardinal of Guise, assassinated; but this atrocious crime only roused the leaguers to more vigorous measures. They assembled a parliament, deposed the king, and created the duke of Mayenne lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Philip II., in the meantime, prepared an expedition which he fondly hoped would conquer England, and thus destroy the great stay of protestantism in Europe. Ships were prepared in all the ports throughout his extensive dominions; Spain, Portugal, Naples, and those parts of the low countries which still recognised his authority. An army of 30,000 picked men was assembled under the most experienced officers of Italy, Spain, and Germany, and the chief command was intrusted to the celebrated duke of Parma. The pope blessed an expedition that seemed destined once more to restore the supremacy of the holy see; and the catholics throughout Europe were so confident of success, that they named the armament "The Invincible Armada." Elizabeth undauntedly prepared to meet the danger. She intrusted the command of her fleet to a catholic nobleman, Lord Howard of Effingham, while the land army was placed under the command of the earl of Leicester. Nothing could exceed the enthusiastic determination of the English people to defend their religion and liberties, though the queen had but one ally on whose assistance she could reckon, James, king of Scotland; she trusted to the attachment of her people, and found that the love of her subjects was the best security of her throne.

On the thirtieth of May, 1588, the armada sailed from Lisbon: but having been shattered by a storm, it was forced to stop at Corunna, and it did not reach the English channel until the nineteenth of July. Here the Spanish admiral, the duke of Medina Sidonia, was surprised to find that the duke of Parma was not prepared to join him with a fleet and army. While he hesitated, the light English squadrons assailed

his heavy vessels on all sides, and after seven days, three of which only passed without warm actions, though there was no decisive engagement, the armada was so shattered by English skill and bravery, that it was forced to take shelter in the roads of Calais. The earl of Effingham, following up his advantage, sent in fireships during the night, which destroyed several vessels, and threw the others into such confusion, that the Spaniards no longer thought of victory, but escape. The duke of Medina Sidonia, dreading again to encounter the English fleet, attempted to return home by sailing round the north of Scotland; but dreadful storms overtook the armada, many of the ships were driven on the shores of Norway, Ireland, and the north of Scotland, and out of the triumphant navy that sailed from Lisbon, only a few shattered vessels returned to bring intelligence of the calamity that had overwhelmed the rest.

This glorious success was deservedly regarded, not so much as the triumph of England, as of the protestant cause throughout Europe; it virtually established the independence of the Dutch, and it raised the courage of the Huguenots in France. It completely destroyed the decisive influence that Spain had acquired in the affairs of Europe; ever since the shipwreck of the armada, the Spanish state and people seem to have lost all energy, and sunk into almost hopeless decay.

Henry III. of France, obliged by the violence of the league to seek the aid of his protestant subjects, was murdered by a fanatic monk, just as he was upon the point of driving his enemies from Paris. By his death, the house of Valois became extinct, and the right of inheritance passed to the Bourbon family, descended from Robert, the sixth son of St. Louis. Its representative was Henry of Navarre, who now claimed to be Henry IV. of France, a warlike, chivalrous prince, endowed with many amiable qualities, but disliked by his new subjects on account of his attachment to the protestant religion. After a long struggle, Henry found it necessary to abjure his faith, in order to secure his crown; but he atoned to the Huguenots for his compulsory desertion, by issuing the celebrated edict of Nantes. Still he had to make good his rights by the sword; for his abjuration could not induce either the pope or Philip II. to give up their plans. He received some aid from Elizabeth, but his final success was mainly due to his own eminent abilities; his triumph was virtually completed by the capture of Paris (A. D. 1594), but Spain persevered in its hostility until the peace of Vervins (A. D. 1598).

The close of Elizabeth's reign was clouded by sanguinary wars against her Irish subjects, whose insurrections were too often provoked by the injustice of their rulers, and by the execution of her ill-fated favorite, the earl of Essex. But notwithstanding these domestic calamities, she maintained the war against Spain with great vigor, and encouraged her subjects to undermine the strength of that kingdom by enterprises against its commerce. The annexation of Portugal to the crown of Spain, apparently gave the subjects of Philip II. complete command of the Indian, as well as the South American trade; but the wars of that monarch with England and Holland, raised both countries to a rivalry that terminated to the disadvantage, if not to the ruin of the Spanish commerce. In 1591, the English, for the first time, performed

the voyage to India; and in 1600, the year in which the East India company was founded, they took possession of the island of St. Helena. The Hanseatic league, now fast sinking into decay, complained loudly of the encouragement given by the English government to its native merchants, and prohibited the English from trading in Germany; but this unwise attempt to enforce monopoly produced measures of retaliation that speedily proved fatal to their privileges and their power. During Elizabeth's reign, England attained the highest rank among European states, and may be said to have held the balance of power in Christendom; that this was owing, in no small degree, to the personal character of the sovereign, is manifest from the rapid decline of British influence, when the sceptre passed to the feeble house of Stuart.

Section IX.—*The Age of Gustavus Adolphus.*

From the death of Charles V. to the accession of Ferdinand II., there were few events in German history that produced any important result in the general politics of Europe. Ferdinand I. and his son Maximilian II. were sincerely attached to peace, and Rudolph II. was willing to leave the world in quiet, if the world would have left him undisturbed. From the time of his accession (A. D. 1576), Rudolph's great anxiety was to unite the Germanic princes in a firm league against the Turks; but theological discussions, united with political ambition, served to prepare the way for fresh convulsions. The influence of the Jesuits in the imperial court so alarmed the protestants, that they formed a new alliance, called "The Evangelical Union," of which the elector-palatine was declared the chief (A. D. 1609), and this was opposed by a catholic league, in which foreign as well as German princes were joined. In this unsettled state of affairs, the competition for succession to a small principality had nearly involved Europe in a general war. Henry IV. of France, after having secured himself on the throne, intrusted the chief management of his affairs to the duke of Sully, under whose wise administration the finances were so improved, and the strength of the kingdom so consolidated, that France began to take the lead in European policy. Henry had formed a great scheme for making all Christendom a federate republic, in which the rights and independence of the several states should be firmly secured. A more immediate project was the humiliation of the house of Austria, whose increasing power in Germany and Spain was deemed dangerous to all the surrounding countries. The vacancy in the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers, which, on the death of the duke without male heirs, had been seized by the emperor as lapsed fiefs, gave Henry a pretext for interfering in the affairs of Germany; he formed alliances with several of his neighbors, and especially with the king of England and the Italian princes. But while preparing to assist at the coronation of his queen, Mary de Medicis, he was stabbed by a fanatic, named Ravaillac (A. D. 1610), and the disturbances that ensued prevented the French from making further exertions in Germany. The dissensions in the Austrian family contributed to avert a general war. Rudolph was gradually driven from his whole dominions by his brother Matthias; deserted by his ancient partisans, he became melancholy and distrustful, shutting

himself up in his palace, where grief and want of exercise soon produced a mortal disease, which brought him prematurely to the grave (A. D. 1611).

Matthias succeeded to the imperial crown, and though he had been previously befriended by the protestants, he threw himself into the arms of the catholic party, and thus increased the dissatisfaction which had led to the evangelical union; he procured the crown of Bohemia for his cousin Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, and this bigoted monarch soon forced his protestant subjects to revolt. While the war was yet in progress, Matthias died, and Ferdinand, to the great alarm of the protestant party, was elected emperor (A. D. 1619). Ferdinand entered into close alliance with the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburgh, but this family compact was not so formidable as it had been heretofore. The union of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain had not added much real strength to Philip II.; the Portuguese hated the Spaniards, especially as they were compelled to abandon their lucrative commerce with the revolted Hollanders, and were finally deprived of the greater part of their Indian colonies by the successful republicans. The defeat of the armada, followed by these colonial losses, rendered the reign of Philip II. calamitous to the peninsula; but on his death (A. D. 1598) it was destined to suffer still greater losses from the bigotry of his successor. Philip III. expelled the Moriscoes or Moors, who had remained in the peninsula after the overthrow of the last Mohammedan dynasty, and thus deprived himself of the services of more than a million of his most industrious subjects (A. D. 1610). He intrusted the administration of the kingdom to favorites, chosen without discrimination, and made the custom of governing by ministers a maxim of state. On his death (A. D. 1621), Spain, though still respected and even feared, was in reality deplorably weak; but the reign of Philip IV. almost completed its ruin; the Catalans revolted, and placed themselves under the protection of France; the Portuguese, choosing for their monarch the duke of Braganza, achieved their independence (A. D. 1640), and the Neapolitans, harassed by the premier, the count-duke of Olivarez, attempted to form a republic.

These events were not foreseen when Ferdinand became emperor. The Bohemian protestants, dreading his bigotry, chose Frederic, the elector-palatine, son-in-law of the British monarch, for their sovereign, and in an evil hour for himself, Frederic assumed the royal title. James I. was a monarch of much learning and little wisdom; the natural timidity of his disposition, and his anxiety to secure the hand of a Spanish princess for his son, induced him to observe a neutrality in this dispute, contrary to the ardent wishes of his subjects. Duped by vanity, he believed himself a consummate master of diplomacy, and entered into a series of negotiations, which only showed his weakness, and rendered him contemptible in the eyes of Europe. Deserted by his father-in-law, and by many of the protestant princes, on whose assistance he relied, the elector-palatine lost not only Bohemia, but his hereditary dominions, which were shared by his enemies (A. D. 1623).

Circumstances, in the meantime, had occurred to change the neutral policy of England. The young prince Charles, accompanied by his favorite, the duke of Buckingham, had made a romantic journey to

Madrid, which, contrary to general expectation, led to the breaking off of the Spanish match. The discovery of a conspiracy for blowing up the British king and parliament with gunpowder (A. D. 1605), inflamed the English nation against the catholics, because the plot had been devised by some fanatics of that religion, who hoped in the confusion that must have ensued, to restore the supremacy of their church. Finally, Count Mansfelt, the ablest of the protestant leaders, succeeded in convincing James that he had been egregiously duped by the Spaniards. A new protestant union was formed, of which Christian IV., king of Denmark, was chosen the head, and the war burst forth with fresh violence. The imperial generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, were far superior to their protestant adversaries. Wallenstein, having been created duke of Friedland and chief commander of the imperial army raised by himself, acted with so much vigor, that Christian, threatened with the loss of his own dominions, was forced to purchase peace by renouncing all right to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and abandoning his allies, especially the dukes of Mecklenburg (A. D. 1629). Wallenstein obtained the investitute of Mecklenburg, and claimed henceforth a rank among the princes of the empire.

England had borne little share in this arduous contest. On the death of James (A. D. 1625), his son Charles I. ascended the British throne, and was almost immediately involved in a contest with his parliament, which effectually diverted his attention from foreign affairs. The principal causes of this were the growing love of liberty in the English people ; the suspicions of danger to religion from the king's marriage with so bigoted a catholic as the princess Henrietta Maria, of France ; the unpopularity of Buckingham, the royal favorite ; and the increasing hostility of the puritans to the episcopal form of church government. The troubles and distractions by which France was weakened during the minority and the early part of the reign of Louis XIII. began to disappear when Cardinal Richelieu was placed at the head of the administration. His great talents and singular firmness acquired for his country a new and vigorous influence in the political system of Europe, at the very moment when a counterpoise was most wanting to the overgrown power of the house of Austria.

Richelieu's first operations were directed against the Huguenots, whom he completely subdued and rendered utterly helpless by the capture of Rochelle. Scarcely had the reduction of this important city been effected, when the cardinal commenced his war against Austria by endeavoring to secure the dutchy of Mantua for the duke of Nevers, in opposition to the emperor, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy. The war was terminated by the treaty of Chierasio (A. D. 1631), which destroyed the Spanish supremacy in Italy, restored the old influence of France, and gave that power possession of several of the most important fortresses on the frontiers. But far more important was the share which Richelieu had in renewing the war in Germany, and bringing forward a protestant leader, able and willing to cope with the imperial generals.

During the war of the Mantuan succession, the emperor Ferdinand published an edict at Vienna, commanding the protestants to restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the treaty of Passau. Some submitted, others remonstrated ; imperial

commissioners were sent to decide on the claims of the bishops and monks to restitution; the execution of the decree was intrusted to Wallenstein, who acted with so much rigor that the protestants were inflamed with just rage, and even the catholics joined in demanding justice against him from the emperor. So great was the clamor, that the emperor was forced to dismiss his general, and confer the command of the imperial army upon Count Tilly. Scarcely had this important step been taken, when Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, secretly urged by some of the discontented protestant princes, published a declaration of war against the emperor, and after having captured the important island of Rugen, landed in Germany (June 24, 1630). An alliance was formed between the king and the leading protestant princes of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Hesse; Saxony, after some efforts to preserve neutrality, was forced to accede to the league; and Richelieu, who had no small share in forming the original plan, secured for the confederates the active co-operation of France. The early successes of Gustavus would have been more decisive but for the jealousy of the Saxon princes, who prevented his passage through their dominions, and thus hindered him from relieving the city of Magdeburg, hard pressed by Count Tilly and the imperial forces. The unfortunate city was finally taken by assault; the cruel Tilly would show no mercy, thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished by water, fire, and sword; and of this once flourishing city nothing was left standing except the cathedral and about one hundred and fifty fishing huts on the banks of the Elbe.

This atrocious cruelty cemented the alliance between Gustavus and the protestant princes; the elector of Saxony, justly alarmed by the fate of his neighbors, and irritated by the menaces of Tilly, whom his recent success had filled with presumptuous pride, joined the king with all his forces at Wittemburg. A resolution to try the chances of battle was taken; and at Leipsic the imperialists were so decisively overthrown, that if Gustavus had marched immediately to Vienna, that city would probably have fallen. All the members of the evangelical union joined the king of Sweden; the measures of the catholic confederates were disconcerted, and the whole country between the Elbe and the Rhine was occupied by the protestant forces. Early in the following year Count Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech, and Gustavus overrun Bavaria.

The emperor, in his distress, had recourse to Wallenstein, who was restored to command with unlimited powers. Gustavus attacked the imperialists in their intrenchments at Nuremberg, and was defeated with some loss; but, anxious to retrieve his fame, he sought an early opportunity of bringing his rival to a second engagement. The armies met at Lutzen (Nov. 16, 1632), the confederates attacked the imperialists in their intrenchments, and after a dreadful contest, that lasted nine hours, put them completely to the rout. But the victors had little cause to triumph; Gustavus fell, mortally wounded, in the middle of the engagement, and died before the fortune of the day was decided. His death produced great changes in the political state of Europe. The elector-palatine, believing all his hopes of restoration blighted, died of a broken heart; the protestant confederates, deprived of a head, were divided into factions; while the Swedes, overwhelmed with sorrow,

saw the throne of their heroic prince occupied by a girl only seven years old. But the council of regency, appointed to protect the minority of the young queen Christina, intrusted the management of the German war to the Chanceller Oxenstiern, a statesman of the highest order; under his guidance, the protestant alliance again assumed a formidable aspect, and hostilities were prosecuted with vigor and success by the duke of Saxe Weimar and the generals Banier and Horn. An unexpected event added to their confidence; Ferdinand became jealous of Wallenstein, and suspected him, not without cause, of aiming at sovereign power. The emperor was too timid to bring this powerful leader to a legal trial; he, therefore, had recourse to the dishonorable expedient of assassination (A. D. 1634), and Wallenstein was murdered in his own camp.

The confederates did not gain all the advantages they anticipated from the fall of the duke of Friedland; the emperor's eldest son, the king of Hungary, having succeeded to the command, gained several advantages, and twenty thousand Spaniards arrived in Germany to the aid of the imperialists, under the duke of Feria. The protestant leaders, anxious to stop the progress of the king of Hungary, attacked him at Nordlingen. The battle was one of the most obstinate recorded in history; it ended in the complete rout of the confederates, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the Swedes. The emperor improved his victory by negotiation; he concluded a treaty with all the protestant princes, except the landgrave of Hesse, at Prague (A. D. 1635), and thus the whole weight of the war was thrown on the French and the Swedes.

SECTION X.—*Administration of the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine.*

RICHELIEU ruled France with a rod of iron; hated alike by the nobility and the people, he continued to hold the reins of government, and all conspiracies formed against him ended in the ruin of the contrivers. Jealousy of Gustavus prevented him from cordially co-operating with that prince, and Oxenstiern afterward was unwilling to give the French any influence in Germany. But the battle of Nordlingen rendered a change of policy necessary, and the Swedish chancellor offered to put the French in immediate possession of Philipsburg and the province of Alsace, on condition of their taking an active share in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily entered into a treaty so favorable to his projects for humbling the house of Austria. He concluded treaties with the Dutch republic and the duke of Savoy, proclaimed war against Spain, and in a very short space equipped five armies to act at once in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. The balance now turned against the imperialists; the duke of Saxe Weimar proved a worthy successor to the king of Sweden, and Banier restored the lustre of the Swedish arms by the victory he gained over the elector of Saxony at Wislock. The death of the emperor Ferdinand II. (A. D. 1637), and the accession of his son Ferdinand III., made little alteration in the state of the war; the victorious leaders of the confederates invaded the hereditary dominions of Austria, but in the midst of their triumphant career, the duke of Saxe Weimar fell a victim to poison (A. D. 1639), said to have been administered by an emissary of Richelieu, for the cardinal had reason

to fear that the prince's patriotism would prove a serious obstacle to the aggrandizement of the French power.

The war was still continued, but though the imperialists were generally worsted, disunion crept into the councils of the confederates, and prevented them from improving their advantages. Banier's death might have proved their ruin, had he not been succeeded by Torstenson, a general of scarcely inferior abilities. While the Swedes, under their new leader, maintained their former eminence in Germany, and gained a complete victory at Leipsic, almost on the very ground where Gustavus had triumphed, the French were equally successful in Spain, having reduced Colioure and Perpignan.* The death of Richelieu, and his master, Louis XIII., the accession of the infant Louis XIV. (A. D. 1643), and some changes in Germany, for a time inclined the Swedes to peace; but when it was found that Cardinal Mazarine had resolved to pursue Richelieu's plans, and that France possessed such generals as Condé and Turenne, the hopes of the confederates were once more revived, and the Swedes had even the courage to provoke a fresh enemy by invading the dominions of Denmark. After several vicissitudes, the triumph of the confederates was so decided, that the emperor found it necessary to solicit terms of peace. After long and tedious negotiations, which varied according to the vicissitudes of the war, the celebrated peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster (A. D. 1648), and became a fundamental law of the empire.

While the protestant cause was thus triumphant in Germany, England was convulsed by civil war. The failure of the expedition to relieve Rochelle, and the complete overthrow of the Huguenots in France, had caused great discontent in England, and embittered the dispute between the king and his parliament respecting the extent of the royal prerogative. The Petition of Right, extorted from Charles I., might have laid the foundation of a constitutional monarchy, had the king adhered strictly to its spirit; but he continued to levy taxes by his own authority, and when the remonstrances of the commons became too energetic, he dissolved the parliament (A. D. 1629), with a fixed resolution never to call another until he should see signs of a more compliant disposition in the nation. Religious disputes aggravated these political animosities. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was wrested from the see of Rome, the people of England had submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince, and the sovereign obtained absolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the church and the consciences of the people. An ecclesiastical tribunal, called the high commission court, was established under the immediate direction of the crown. Its judges enforced conformity with established ceremonies by fines and imprisonment. There were many who thought the English reformation incomplete; they deemed that the church had not been sufficiently purified from Romish errors, and they wished for the simpler forms of worship that had been estabished in Scotland and Germany. Many of the puritans, as these reformers were called, had more justifiable reason for discontent; they regarded the ecclesiastical sovereign-

* Richelieu had just detected and punished a conspiracy, when Perpignan was taken. He sent intelligence of both events to Louis XIII., in the following laconic letter: "Sir, your enemies are dead, and your troops in possession of Perpignan."

ty of the monarch as dangerous to general liberty, and they were anxious to transfer a portion of the authority to parliament. About this time, a sect, called from their founder, the Arminians, had rejected the strict doctrines of predestination and absolute decrees, maintained by the first reformers. Their number, in England, was yet small, but by the favor of James and Charles, some who held the Arminian doctrines were advanced to the highest dignities of the church, and formed the majority of the bench of bishops. They, in return for this countenance, inculcated the doctrines of passive obedience and unconditional submission to princes. Hence Arminianism was regarded by the patriots in the house of commons with as much horror as popery, and the preacher of either doctrine was voted a capital enemy to the state.

The success of Charles I. in his struggle with the commons depended very much upon the character of his ministers. The chief of these were Wentworth, earl of Strafford, a deserter from the popular party, and Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; they were both men of arbitrary principles, and Strafford, especially, was very unscrupulous in the use of means to gain a favorite end. Without any regard to the petition of right, which was directly opposed to such measures, tonnage, poundage, and other taxes were levied; the penal laws against catholics were suspended on the payment of stipulated sums; and such extensive jurisdiction given to those arbitrary tribunals, the courts of star-chamber and high commission, that the ordinary constitutional administration of justice almost entirely ceased.

While these innovations spread secret discontent throughout England, Laud's efforts to model the Scottish church after the English form produced a dangerous outbreak in Scotland. The attempt to introduce a liturgy, similar to that used in the English church, provoked a formidable riot; and finally, "The solemn League and Covenant," a bond of confederation for the preservation of the national religion, was signed by a vast number of the higher and lower classes (A. D. 1638). Cardinal Richelieu, fearing that the English government might oppose his designs on the Low Countries, and aware that he was disliked by the English queen, Henrietta, secretly encouraged the Scottish covenanters, and supplied their leaders with money, which, in spite of their exaggerated pretensions to patriotism and sanctity, they did not scruple to accept. Armies were levied, but neither party wished to merit the imputation of commencing civil war. A treaty was concluded at Berwick (A. D. 1639), by which Charles displeased his friends, who thought that he made concessions unworthy of a prince, and did not conciliate his opponents, who were resolved to be satisfied with nothing less than his full acceptance of the covenant.

As might have been foreseen, the treaty of Berwick proved to be merely a suspension of arms. Strafford and Laud considered the rebellion of the Scots to be so manifest, that they deemed the people of England could not entertain a doubt on the subject, and that the king would be supported in its suppression by a parliament. Charles adopted the same opinions, and called a parliament, hoping to obtain a sufficient grant for carrying on the war (A. D. 1640); but the house of commons, postponing all consideration of taxes, applied itself directly to the redress of grievances, and an examination of the recent measures

of the government. Incensed by this conduct, Charles dissolved the parliament, and attempted to raise money by new and unconstitutional expedients. The Scotch, not waiting to be attacked, crossed the borders, defeated the earl of Northumberland at Newburn, and occupied Newcastle and Durham. The king was unable to cope with them in the field, and he therefore entered into a treaty by which he agreed to provide subsistence for the hostile army, until terms of pacification could be arranged. A new parliament was convoked, and, on the very first day of its meeting, the house of commons manifested its uncomplying disposition, by choosing as its speaker a vehement opponent of the court. A more important and decisive step, was the impeachment of the earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud on a charge of high treason; after which, the armistice with the Scottish army was prolonged, and the Scots described not as enemies or rebels, but brethren! Strafford's trial soon engrossed public attention; he was condemned to death by an act of attainder, and Charles, after a long delay, was forced to consent to the public execution of his favorite minister. An attempt was next made to exclude the bishops from parliament; a bill for the purpose passed the commons, but was rejected by the lords; as, however, the public excitement continued, the bishops resolved to abstain from further attending their duty in parliament, and twelve of them published a protest, declaring everything null and void that should be determined during their absence. For this ill-advised proceeding they were accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower (A. D. 1641).

Charles, dismayed by the hostility of the English, resolved to seek a reconciliation with his Scottish subjects, and for this purpose undertook a journey to Edinburgh. His measures were not well suited to effect his object, and before anything satisfactory could be done, the insurrection of the Irish catholics produced a change in the position of parties most fatal to the royal interests. Few events have been so much misrepresented as the Irish civil war, and in order to view it correctly, we must go back to an earlier period of history.

The Norman settlers in Ireland paid but a nominal allegiance to the English crown, the most powerful of them acted as independent princes, and adopted the customs of the native Irish. The Tudor monarchs were anxious to break the power of this aristocracy, which was as injurious to the national happiness, as it was opposed to the royal power; but unfortunately, they combined this object with the reform of religion, and with a system of confiscation equally impolitic and unjust. The Irish lords took up arms, to defend at once their religion and their power; they were defeated by Elizabeth's generals, and many of them were deprived of their estates, which were shared among English colonists. James I., under the pretence of a meditated rebellion, confiscated the greater part of the province of Ulster, and deprived all the innocent vassals of their property, for the unproved guilt of their chiefs. Property was rendered still more insecure by an inquisition into titles, on the legal pretence that the right to land belongs primarily to the king, and consequently, that every estate ought to be forfeited for which a royal grant could not be produced. The effect of this principle would be, not only to strip all the native Irish of their estates, but also to con-

fiscate the lands belonging to the greater part of the lords descended from the companions of Strongbow and Henry II. When Strafford became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he began to enforce the system of confiscation with a rigor which exceeded all former precedent. Every legal pretext was employed to expel the Irish from their possessions, and transfer them to strangers; judges were bribed, juries threatened, and witnesses suborned with the most shameless effrontery. The English nation was induced to countenance this injustice by the belief that it would be useful to substitute a more noble and civilized race of men for the barbarous Irish; though, in fact, the new settlers were for the most part rapacious adventurers, or indigent rabble. Religious intolerance was united to political wrongs; catholics were excluded from all public offices and the acquisition of landed property; their churches and chapels were violently closed, their clergy expelled, and their children given to protestant guardians. They applied to the king for protection, and gave a large sum for a charter of graces, which would secure their persons, property, and religion. Charles took the money, but refused the graces; instigated by Strafford, who had devised a plan for rendering his master absolutely despotic in Ireland, as a preparatory step to his becoming supreme in England.

The success of the Scots in securing their national religion, and placing restrictions on the royal power, induced many of the Irish lords to devise a plan for obtaining similar advantages. Accident precipitated an outbreak; the Ulster Irish, who had been expelled from their lands, hastened to attack the settlers that occupied them as intruders, and they sullied their cause by many acts of violence, which were easily exaggerated by persons who had derived much profit, and expected more, from the trade of confiscation. The English house of commons regarded the Irish as a degraded and conquered people; they deemed their efforts acts of treason, not so much against royal power as English supremacy, while the difference of religion embittered this feeling of national pride, and rendered a peaceful termination of the contest hopeless. It was studiously reported that Charles himself had instigated this revolt in order to obtain unlimited power by aid of the catholics; to refute this suspicion, he intrusted the conduct of Irish affairs to the English parliament; and that body, with inconceivable precipitation, resolved that the catholic religion should no longer be tolerated in Ireland; that two millions and a half of acres should be confiscated to pay the expenses of the war; and that no quarter should be given to the insurgents or their adherents. These ordinances led to a civil war, whose history may be told in a few words: the Irish catholics, after having gained possession of nearly the entire kingdom, were broken into parties more opposed to each other than to the common enemy: in the midst of this disunion, Cromwell, with a mere handful of men, conquered them in detail, and gave their estates to his victorious followers. The new settlers were confirmed in their possession after the restoration of Charles II., and the greater part of the ancient Irish landowners were reduced to beggary.

Charles gained little by sacrificing the Irish to the parliament; finding that his concessions only provoked fresh demands, he attempted to arrest five of the leading members for high treason, but the popular in-

dignation compelled him to abandon the charge, and soon after to quit the capital. Negotiations were tried to avert the horrors of civil war, but the requisitions of the commons, if granted, would have destroyed all royal authority, and Charles, on the 25th of August, 1642, caused the royal standard to be raised at Nottingham. War immediately commenced; it was conducted with spirit, and was at first favorable to the king. The English parliament, alarmed at the progress of Charles, entered into an alliance with the Scottish covenanters, and on the 15th of January, 1644, a Scotch auxiliary army, commanded by General Leslie, entered England. Fairfax, the parliamentary leader in the north, united his forces to those of Leslie, and both generals immediately laid siege to York. Prince Rupert, the son of the unfortunate elector-palatine, hasted to the relief of this important city, and effected a junction with the army of the marquis of Newcastle. Fairfax and Leslie retired to Marston Moor, whither they were followed by the royalists, who were urged to this rash proceeding by the fiery Rupert. Fifty thousand British combatants engaged on this occasion in mutual slaughter; the victory was long undecided; but, finally, the skill of Lieutenant-General Cromwell prevailed over the rash valor of Rupert, and the royalists were signally defeated, with the loss of all their baggage and artillery. A second defeat, at Newbury, so weakened the royal cause, that the king must have been forced to immediate submission, but for the divisions that arose among his adversaries.

The presbyterians and the independents had combined against the church of England as their common enemy; but when episcopacy was abolished, the latter saw with great indignation the presbyterian efforts to establish a system of ecclesiastical tyranny, differing from the papal only in form, the power being lodged in the general assembly of the clergy instead of a single head. The presbyterians had the majority in parliament, but the great bulk of the army favored the views of the independents, which were also supported by some of the most active members of the house of commons. A law, called the Self-denying Ordinance, prohibiting members of parliament from holding military commissions, gave the greater part of the army into the hands of the independents, especially as an exception was made in favor of Oliver Cromwell, their principal leader. The battle of Naseby was decided in favor of the parliamentarians, principally by Cromwell's prudence and valor, an event which gave so much strength to his party, that the presbyterian majority in the house of commons feared to accept the king's proposals for an accommodation, contrary to their open professions and secret wishes. Meanwhile Charles, being unable to keep the field, threw himself on the mercy of his Scottish subjects; and having opened negotiations with their leader, through the French ambassador, ventured on the faith of uncertain promises to present himself in their camp. He had the mortification to find himself treated as a prisoner, while all the towns and fortresses that had hitherto supported his cause fell into the hands of the parliament.

The war was at an end, but civil dissensions raged with more fury than ever. The presbyterians and independents were each anxious to gain the king over to their side; and the former, by a treaty with the Scots, gained possession of his person. Scarcely had they acquired

this advantage, when the discontent of the army threatened them with unexpected danger; Cromwell encouraged the soldiers to resist the orders of the parliament, and by a bold measure gave fresh confidence to his party. Cornet Joyce, acting under his orders, removed the king from Holmby house, and brought him to the army. Cromwell and his friends made such a judicious use of the advantage thus obtained, that the presbyterian party soon lost all their influence. The behavior of Charles at this crisis was very injudicious; he negotiated with both parties, and, by his obvious insincerity, displeased all. Finally, he attempted to escape; but seeking shelter in the isle of Wight, he was seized by its governor, Hammond, and from that moment Cromwell became the master of his fate. Another opportunity of escaping from the perils that surrounded him was offered to the king; the Scotch took up arms in his favor, but they were routed by Cromwell with great slaughter, and all hopes from their assistance destroyed. But the parliament having reason to dread Cromwell's ambition, opened negotiations with the king on receiving the news of this victory, and the wisest of the royal counsellors entreated their master to seize this opportunity of concluding a treaty. Unfortunately he hesitated and delayed the arrangements for more than three months, until the army once more took possession of his person, and conveyed him to Hurst. The two houses, indeed, voted that the royal concessions were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom; but two days afterward the avenues to the house of commons were beset with soldiers, and all the members supposed favorable to the king forcibly prevented from taking their seats. In this diminished house the resolutions leading to a reconciliation with the king were revoked, and proposals were made for bringing him to a public trial. The final resolution for impeaching the king of high treason before a court of justice constituted for the purpose, was adopted by the house of commons (January 2, 1649): it was at once rejected by the lords; but their opposition was disregarded, and the court regularly constituted. The form of trial was but a solemn mockery; Charles with great spirit refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, upon which some witnesses were called to prove what everybody knew, that he had appeared at the head of his army, which his judges declared to be treason against the people, and a crime worthy of death. Sentence was pronounced on the 27th of January; and, on the 30th of the same month, the misguided and unhappy Charles was beheaded in front of Whitehall, amid the unaffected sympathy of crowds of spectators.

The death of Charles was followed by the usurpation of Cromwell, and Great Britain was subjected to a despotism more galling and severe than that of any monarch who ever swayed its sceptre.

Section XI.—*Formation of the States-system in the Northern Kingdoms of Europe.*

The revolutions in the northern kingdoms during the progress of the Reformation were scarcely less important than those in central Europe. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, united by the treaty of Calmar, were never blended into a uniform goverment: the Swedish nobles kept their

country in continued agitation; without severing the union, they chose administrators of the kingdom whose allegiance to the crown of Denmark was merely nominal. Christian II., a tyrannical prince, resolved to destroy the Swedish independence, he overthrew the administrator at the battle of Bagesund, and had the ceremony of his coronation performed at Stockholm (A. D. 1520). A few days after this solemnity, Christian perfidiously violated the amnesty he had published; and to gratify the vengeance of the archbishop of Upsal, whom the Swedes had deposed, caused ninety-four of the principal nobles to be publicly executed. This massacre was the signal for a revolution; Gustavus Vasa, son of one of the murdered nobles, escaped to the mountains of Dalecarlia, and supported by the hardy peasants of that province, proclaimed the freedom of his country. Victory crowned his efforts, and he finally became king of Sweden (A. D. 1523). Christian II. was deposed by the Danes, and the crown conferred on his uncle Frederic; he wandered about for some years, vainly seeking support, but was finally seized by his subjects, and thrown into a prison, where he ended his days. The Danish monarchs, for nearly half a century, renewed their pretensions to the Swedish throne; but finding that their efforts only exhausted their own resources, they recognised the independence of Sweden by the treaty of Stettin (A. D. 1570).

Denmark thus lost the ascendency which it had long maintained, and it was further injured by a disastrous change in its internal constitution. The aristocracy established a vicious supremacy over the prerogatives of the crown and the rights of the people. The senate, composed entirely of nobles, seized on all the authority of the state; the national assemblies ceased to be convoked; the elections of the kings were confined to the aristocratic order, and the royal power was restricted by capitulations, which the senate prescribed to the kings on their accession to the throne.

It was in the reign of Frederic I., the uncle and successor of the tyrannical Christian, that the principles of the Reformation were first established in Denmark. The king invited several of Luther's disciples to preach the new doctrines in his kingdom; he openly professed them himself, granted liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and sanctioned the marriages of priests throughout his dominions. Christian III. completed the religious revolution; in a general assembly of the states he procured the abrogation of episcopacy, and the suppression of the Romish worship (A. D. 1536). The castles, fortresses, and vast domains of the bishops, were reunited to the crown; and the rest of their revenues applied to the maintenance of protestant ministers, the purposes of general education, and the relief of the poor. From Denmark the revolution extended to Norway; and about the same time this kingdom, having supported the deposed Christian II., was deprived of its independence, and reduced to a Danish province.

Christian IV. was distinguished among the northern sovereigns by the superiority of his talents, and the zeal that he showed in reforming the different branches of the administration. In his reign the Danes first directed their attention to Asiatic trade, and founded an East India company; a commercial establishment was formed at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel, which was ceded to the company by the

rajah of Tanjore. Several large manufactories were established, and many cities founded by this wise monarch, who was also a judicious patron of science and literature. He was less successful in his wars against Austria and Sweden, but this was owing rather to the restrictions which the nobles had placed on his power, than to any want of talent.

Sweden, from having been subject to Denmark, rose to be its successful rival, and even menaced its total overthrow. It owed this preponderance to two of the greatest men of the period, Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus. After Vasa had liberated his country, he was raised to the throne, and by his wise government justified the choice of the nation. He directed his attention both to the political and religious reformation of the country; instead of the aristocratic senate, he introduced a diet, composed of the different orders of the state, and by his influence with the commons, introduced Lutheranism, though opposed by the bishops and nobles. He also established the hereditary succession of the crown, which was extended to females in the reign of his son Charles IX.

Gustavus Adolphus, the grandson of Vasa, raised Sweden to the summit of its greatness. Involved in wars at his accession (A. D. 1611), he gained signal advantages over the Russians and Poles, which so extended his fame, that he was chosen, as we have seen, to be the leader of the protestant confederacy against the house of Austria. After a glorious career of two years and a half, he fell in the battle of Lutzen: but the victory which the Swedes won after his death was chiefly owing to his skilful arrangements. The war was continued under the minority of Christina, and brought to a successful issue, as was also the war waged at the same time against Denmark. By the peace of Bromsebro (A. D. 1645), Sweden obtained the free navigation of the Sound, and the cession of several important islands in the Baltic.

Prussia, under the electors of Brandenburg, gradually increased in strength and power, especially during the administration of Frederic William, the true founder of the greatness of his house. His abilities were particularly conspicuous in the protestant wars of Germany; and he obtained such an accession of territory by the treaty of Westphalia, that his son Frederic assumed the title of king of Prussia.

The dismemberment of Livonia led to a fierce struggle between the northern powers, each of which sought a portion of the spoil. Russia, which had slowly acquired consistency, obtained a considerable portion, which, however, it was forced to yield to Poland. After having long submitted to the degrading yoke of the Mongols, the grand-dukes of Moscow, strengthened by the union of several small principalities, began to aspire after independence, which was achieved by Iwan III. This able ruler, having refused to pay the customary tribute to the barbarians, was attacked by the khan of the Golden Horde, as the leading sect of the Mongols was denominated. Instead of acting on the defensive, Iwan sent a body of troops into the very centre of the horde, and ruined all their establishments on the Volga. So great were the losses of the Mongols, that the Golden Horde disappeared, and left no traces but a few feeble tribes. Iwan IV. labored to civilize the empire acquired by the valor of his predecessors: he invited artisans from

England and Germany, established a printing-press at Moscow, and raised the standing army of the Strelitzes to curb his turbulent nobles. It was in his reign that Siberia was discovered and annexed to the Russian dominions, but the complete reduction of that country belongs to the reign of his son Fédor (A. D. 1587), who founded the city of Tobolsk.

On the death of Fédor, without any issue (A. D. 1598), Russia was involved in a series of calamitous civil wars, which ended in the elevation of Michael Fedrowetsch to the crown. He found his dominions exhausted by the late commotions, and could only procure peace from Sweden and Poland by the cession of many valuable provinces (A. D. 1634).

During the reigns of the Jagellons, Poland was one of the most flourishing northern powers. The reformation was favored by Sigismond Augustus II., the last of this dynasty; but the want of a middle order of society, which has ever been the cause of Polish misery, prevented evangelical principles from taking deep root in the country, and producing the benefits that had resulted from them in other states. When the male line of the Jagellons became extinct on the death of Sigismond (A. D. 1572), the throne of Poland became elective (without any restriction),* and the right of voting was given to all the nobles, who met in arms to choose a sovereign. These elections were generally marked with violence and bloodshed; but though the nobles were divided among themselves, they readily united to restrict the royal authority; every sovereign, on his accession, was obliged to sign certain capitulations, which greatly limited his rule, and secured the chief powers of the state to the aristocracy. Under its new constitution, Poland was internally weak and miserable, though some of its monarchs still distinguished themselves by foreign conquests, especially Vladislaus IV., who wrested the dutchy of Smolensko from Russia.

SECTION XII.—*Progress of the Turkish Power in Europe.*

THE successors of Mohammed II. on the throne of Constantinople imitated the vigorous policy of that conqueror, and for nearly a century were the terror of Christendom. Bayezíd II. subdued Bessarabia, and acquired some important provinces in Asia. He was forced to resign the throne by his son Selim (A. D. 1510), and was murdered in prison. Selim I., surnamed Gavúz, or the Savage, was obliged to maintain the throne he had so criminally gained, by a series of sanguinary wars with the other members of his family. Having triumphed over these competitors, he turned his arms against the Persians, and gained a complete victory over Ismael Sofí at Tabríz (A. D. 1514). In consequence of this and other successes, Diarbekr and several other provinces beyond the Tigris were annexed to the Turkish empire. The Mameluke sultans of Egypt having assisted the Persians in this war, Selim led an army into Syria, and encountered Sultan Gaurí near Aleppo. After a sanguinary engagement, the Mamelukes were defeated and their leader slain, upon which Aleppo and Damascus submitted to the Turks. This

* See page 486.

success opened the way for invading Egypt: Túmán Bey, who had been elected sultan in place of Gaurí, assembled the remnants of the Mamelukes under the walls of Cairo, and having procured some auxiliary forces from the Arabs, prepared to meet the enemy. Selim advanced steadily, and attacked the hostile camp. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but the superior fire of the Turkish artillery, which was served principally by Christian gunners, decided the fate of the day; and Túmán Bey, after having done everything that could be expected from an able officer and a brave warrior, was driven into Cairo (A. D. 1517). Selim stormed the city; but Túmán, not yet disheartened, fled across the Nile, and by incredible exertions once more collected an army. The Turks pursued him closely, and forced him to a final engagement, in which the Mamelukes were utterly routed, and their gallant sultan taken prisoner. Selim was at first disposed to spare the captive, but his officers, who feared and envied Túmán, persuaded him that such clemency might inspire the Mamelukes with the hope of recovering their dominions, and the unfortunate sultan was hanged at the principal gate of Cairo.

Soleyman, usually surnamed the Magnificent, succeeded his father Selim, and emulous of the fame acquired by the conquest of Egypt, resolved to turn his arms against the princes of Christendom. Hungary, during the reign of Matthew Corvinus, had become a powerful and flourishing kingdom. Inspired by the example of his father, the renowned Hunniades, Corvinus wrested Bosnia from the Turks, and maintained his supremacy over Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. But during the reigns of his indolent successors, Uladislaus II. and Louis, who were also kings of Bohemia, Hungary was distracted by factions, and ravaged by the Turks. Soleyman took advantage of the minority of Louis, and the weakness of Hungary, to invade the kingdom. He captured, with little difficulty, the important fortress of Belgrade, justly deemed the bulwark of Christian Europe (A. D. 1521). Inspired by his first success, he returned to the attack; having traversed the Danube and the Drave, without meeting any resistance, he encountered the Christians in the field of Mohatz, and gained over them one of the most signal victories that the Turks ever won (A. D. 1526). King Louis, and the principal part of the Hungarian nobility, fell in this fatal battle, the entire country was laid at the mercy of the invaders; but Soleyman, instead of securing a permanent conquest, laid waste the land with fire and sword, and carried myriads of the inhabitants as slaves to Constantinople.

A triumph of even greater importance was gained by the Turks during the Hungarian war. Rhodes, the seat of the heroic knights of St. John, was besieged by Soleyman's vizier. All the arts of assault and defence that had yet been devised by human ingenuity were used in this siege, which lasted more than five months. The assailants and the garrison fought with such fury that it seemed a contest rather for the empire of the world than the possession of a single city. The sultan himself came in person to superintend the operations of his army, while the knights were not only neglected by the Christian powers, but exposed to the open hostilities of the Venetians. They protracted their resistance until every wall and bulwark had crumbled beneath the over-

whelming fire of the Turkish batteries, when they surrendered on honorable conditions; and on Christmas day (A. D. 1522), Soleyman made his triumphant entry into what had been a city, but was now a shapeless mass of ruins.

On the death of Louis, Ferdinand of Austria, who had married the sister of the unfortunate monarch, claimed the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. He received quiet possession of the latter kingdom; but the Hungarians chose for their sovereign John Zapolya, prince palatine of Transylvania. Zapolya, finding himself unable to resist the power of Ferdinand, claimed the protection of the Turks. Soleyman marched in person to his aid, and, not satisfied with expelling the Austrians from Hungary, pursued them into their own country, and laid siege to Vienna (A. D. 1529). He failed in this enterprise, and was compelled to retreat, after having lost eighty thousand men.

The emperor Charles V., alarmed at the progress of the Turks, tried to form a general confederation of the German princes against them, but found that the troubles occasioned by the progress of the Reformation would prevent any cordial union. He resolved, however, to check the growth of their naval power in the Mediterranean, where Khair-ed-dín,* or Barbarossa, a pirate whom Soleyman had taken into his service, captured Tunis and Algiers, and was collecting a formidable naval force. Charles took advantage of Soleyman's being engaged in conquering the pachalic of Bagdad from the Persians, to invade Africa, where he made himself master of Tunis. Soleyman, returning victorious from Asia, was so enraged at his losses in Africa, that he resolved to attempt the conquest of Italy. The imprudence of a Venetian captain turned the wrath of the sultan upon the republic of Venice; he attacked two Turkish galleys in the Adriatic, for some mistake about their signals, and satisfaction being refused, Soleyman proclaimed war.

But while thus engaged in the west, Soleyman did not neglect the enlargement of his eastern dominions. His generals conquered the whole of Arabia, and his admirals issuing from the Red sea, attacked, but without success, the Portuguese dominions in India. In the meantime the Venetian senate entered into an alliance with the emperor, Charles V., and the pope, Paul III.; their united navies were placed under the command of the celebrated Doria, but his success was far from according with the expectations that the allies had formed. The war, however, led to no decisive result; it was suspended by occasional truces, during which Soleyman took the opportunity of enlarging his Asiatic dominions at the expense of Persia.

The knights of St. John, expelled from Rhodes, obtained a settlement in the island of Malta; they directed their attention to naval affairs, and inflicted severe damages on the Turks by sea. Soleyman, roused by the complaints of his subjects, resolved that Malta should share the fate of Rhodes, and collected all his forces for the siege (A. D. 1565). The knights maintained their character for obstinate valor with more success than on the former occasion: after a sanguinary contest for five months, the Turks were forced to retire, with the loss of twenty-four thousand men and all their artillery. Soleyman prepared to take revenge by com-

* Khair-ed-dín signifies "the goodness of the faith." This terror of the Christians was named Barbarossa, on account of his "red beard."

pleting the conquest of Hungary ; but while besieging Sigeth, he fell a victim to disease, produced by old age and fatigue (A. D. 1566), after having raised the Turkish empire to the highest pitch of its greatness.

Selim II., soon after his accession, made peace with the Germans and Persians, but renewed war with the Venetians, from whom he took the important island of Cyprus (A. D. 1571). But while the Turkish army was thus engaged, their fleet was utterly destroyed in the battle of Lepanto, by the allied Venetian, imperial, and papal navy. The allies neglected to improve their victory, and Selim soon repaired his losses. But this sultan sank into the usual indolence of oriental sovereigns, his successors followed his example, and the Ottoman power began rapidly to decline. The Austrian rulers became convinced of the impolicy of harsh measures, and conceded to the Hungarians full security for their political and religious liberties, at the diet of Presburg. Hungary was thenceforth united to Austria, and the last war, directly resulting from the Reformation, happily terminated.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AUGUSTAN AGES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

SECTION I.—*State of the Continental Kingdoms after the Peace of Westphalia.*

THOUGH the treaty of Westphalia restored tranquillity to northern Europe and Germany, France and Spain continued the war in which they had originally but a secondary share, with all the obstinacy of principals. At the same time, France was distracted by civil broils less fatal than those of England, but scarcely less sanguinary. The prime mover in these disturbances was the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterward known as the Cardinal de Retz; he wished to gain the post of prime minister from Cardinal Mazarine, and he induced several princes of the blood, with a large portion of the nobility, to espouse his quarrel. The parliaments of France resembled those of England only in name; they were colleges of justice, not legislative assemblies, and the members purchased their seats. This was the body with which Retz commenced his operations; instigated by the ambitious prelate, the parliament of Paris thwarted all the measures of the queen-regent and her minister, until Anne of Austria, irritated by such factious opposition, ordered the president and one of the most violent councillors to be arrested. Her orders were scarcely executed when the populace arose, barricaded the streets, threatened the cardinal and the regent, and procured the release of the prisoners. Alarmed by the repetition of similar outrages, the queen, attended by her children and her minister, retired from Paris to St. Germains, where their distress was so great that they were obliged to pawn the crown jewels to procure the common necessaries of life. These intrigues led to a desultory civil war, which began to assume a serious aspect after the arrest of the ambitious duke of Condé, who had repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal; the factious took up arms in all the provinces, and the duke of Orleans, uncle to the young king, placed himself at the head of the malcontents (A. D. 1650). Mazarine was unable to resist the confederacy; he liberated Condé and his associates, in the vain hope of conciliating their favor, but was obliged to fly to Cologne, where he continued to govern the queen-regent as if he had never quitted Paris. By his intrigues, which were now seconded by de Retz, the duke of Bouillon, and his brother Turenne, were detached from the confederates, and by their aid Mazarine was enabled to enter the kingdom at the head of an army, and resume his former authority. Condé, proclaimed a traitor by the parliament of Paris, threw himself upon the

protection of Spain, and obtained from that power a body of troops, with which he pursued the court from province to province, and finally entered Paris. Turenne, who commanded the royal forces, brought the young king within sight of his capital; and Louis witnessed a fierce conflict in the suburb of St. Antoine, which terminated in the defeat of his army.

Encouraged by this success, the parliament of Paris proclaimed the duke of Orleans "lieutenant-general of the kingdom," and the prince of Condé, "commander-in-chief of the armies of France." But the danger with which these appointments threatened the monarchy, was averted equally by the rashness of Condé and the prudence of the king. Condé instigated a tumult, in which several citizens lost their lives; Louis conciliated his subjects by sending the cardinal into temporary exile, and was received into his capital with the loudest acclamations. No sooner was the royal authority re-established, than Mazarine was recalled and invested with more than his former power.

During these commotions, the Spaniards had recovered many of the places which they had previously lost to the French, and Louis de Haro, who governed Spain and Philip IV. as absolutely as Mazarine did France and its youthful sovereign, hoped by means of Condé's great military talents to bring the war to a triumphant issue. But the French found a general in Marshal Turenne, who was more than a rival for Condé; he compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of Arras, and seized all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition (A. D. 1656). He was himself soon after compelled to raise the siege of Valenciennes, but he made a masterly retreat as honorable as a victory, and even took the town of Capelle in the presence of his enemies. Still the fortune of the war was doubtful, when Mazarine, by flattering the passions of the usurper Cromwell, engaged England to take a share in the contest. Dunkirk, the strongest town in Flanders, first engaged the attention of the allies; the English blockaded it by sea; Turenne, with an auxiliary British force united the French army, besieged it by land (A. D. 1656). The Spaniards sent an army to its relief; Turenne did not decline an engagement; the obstinate valor of the English, combined with the impetuosity of the French troops, procured him a decided victory; Dunkirk surrendered in a few days, and was given to the English according to treaty, while France obtained possession of the strongest towns in Flanders.

Peace was now necessary to Spain, and it was also essential to the success of Mazarine's favorite policy; the procuring for the house of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy, by uniting King Louis to the infanta, Maria Theresa. The preliminaries were adjusted by Mazarine and Louis de Haro, in person, at a conference in the Pyrenees, and France obtained an extent of territory and the prospect of an inheritance, which soon made it formidable to the rest of Europe. About a year after the conclusion of this treaty, Mazarine died (A. D. 1661); and Louis, who had borne the ministerial yoke with secret impatience, took the reins of government into his own hands.

Germany, exhausted by tedious wars, remained undisturbed after the peace of Westphalia until the death of Ferdinand III. (A. D. 1657), when the diet was agitated by fierce debates respecting the choice of

a successor. Recent events had shown how dangerous was the ambition of the house of Austria to the independence of the minor states, and several of the electors wished to have as their head some monarch whose hereditary dominions would not be of sufficient importance to raise him above the control of the Diet. But these considerations were forced to yield to more pressing circumstances; the presence of the Turks in Buda, of the French in Alsace, and of the Swedes in Pomerania, required a powerful sovereign to prevent further encroachments; and Leopold, the son of the late emperor, was unanimously chosen. His first measure was to form an alliance with Poland and Denmark against Sweden, a power which, ever since the victorious career of Gustavus Adolphus, menaced the independence of the neighboring states.

We have already mentioned that the renowned Gustavus was succeeded by his daughter Christina. She was fondly attached to study, and assembled in her court the most distinguished professors of science, literature, and the fine arts. Her favorite pursuits were, however, too antiquated and abstruse for practical life; she was pedantic rather than wise, and her great learning was never applied to a useful end. She consented to the peace of Westphalia, not from any regard for the tranquillity of Europe or her own kingdom, but simply to indulge her passion for study, with which the cares of state interfered. The Swedish senate felt little sympathy in the learned pursuits of their sovereign; they pressed her to marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus, for whom she had been designed in her infancy, but Christina dreaded to give herself a master, and she only nominated this prince her successor. The states renewed their importunity, and Christina offered to resign the crown to her cousin; after some delay, occasioned by reasonable suspicions of her sincerity, she carried her design into execution, and abdicated in favor of Charles Gustavus, who ascended the throne under the title of Charles X. (A. D. 1654). The remainder of Christina's life was disgraceful to her character. Designing to fix her residence at Rome, she renounced Lutheranism, and embraced the catholic faith at Innspruck, not because she deemed it the preferable religion, but because she thought it convenient to conform to the tenets of the people with whom she intended to reside. Her profligate life, her want of any valuable information, and her loss of power, soon rendered her contemptible in Italy; she made two journeys into France, where she was received with much respect, until her infamous conduct excited general abhorrence. In a fit of jealousy, she commanded one of her paramours to be assassinated in the great gallery of Fontainebleau, and almost in her very presence (A. D. 1657). This atrocious violation of the laws of nature and of nations, perpetrated in the midst of a civilized kingdom, and a court that piqued itself on refinement, was allowed to pass without judicial inquiry; but it excited such universal detestation, that Christina was forced to quit France and seek refuge in Italy. There the remainder of her life was spent in sensual indulgence and literary conversation, if such a term can be applied to the language of a capricious woman, admiring many things for which she had no taste, and talking about others which she did not understand.

While Christina was thus disgracing her sex and country, Charles

X. indulged the martial spirit of his people by declaring war against Poland. After the death of Sigismond III. (A. D. 1632), his son Ladislaus was elected to the throne, and proved to be a prince of great courage and capacity. He gained several victories over the Russians and the Turks; he forced the Swedes to resign the places which Gustavus Adolphus had seized in Prussia; but unfortunately he combined with his nobles in oppressing the Cossacks, and thus drove those uncivilized tribes to a general revolt. In the midst of this war Ladislaus died (A. D. 1648); he was succeeded by his brother John Casimir, who would gladly have entered into terms with the injured Cossacks, but was forced to continue the war by his turbulent nobles. Alexis, czar of Russia, took advantage of these commotions to capture Smolensko and ravage Lithuania, while Poland itself was invaded by Charles X. The progress of the Swedes was rapid, they obtained two brilliant victories in the field, captured Cracow, and compelled the terrified Casimir to seek refuge in Silesia. But the insulting demeanor of the Swedes, and the cruel massacre perpetrated at the capture of Warsaw, confirmed the Poles in the determined spirit of resistance, of which the burghers of Dantzic set them a noble example; while the chief powers of the north combined to check the dangerous ambition of Sweden. Attacked at once by the czar of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Denmark, Charles, though deserted by his ally the elector of Brandenburg, did not lose courage. He led an army over the ice to Funen, subdued that and several other Danish islands, and laid siege to Copenhagen. The city was saved by an insincere peace, which proved to be only a suspension of arms; but when Charles renewed his exertions, he was opposed by the republics of Holland and England. Negotiations for peace were commenced under the auspices of these great naval powers; but ere they were brought to a conclusion, Charles died of an epidemic fever (A. D. 1660). The Swedes, deprived of their active and ambitious monarch, were easily brought to resign their pretensions to Poland of the treaty of Oliva; and the general desire of preventing the minority of Charles XI. being disturbed by foreign wars, induced the regency to adjust a pacification with Denmark and the other powers.

SECTION II.—*History of England under the Commonwealth.*

THE civil and religious constitution of England was dissolved by the execution of Charles I.; the great body of the nation was dissatisfied with the result of the civil war, but it was overawed by an army of fifty thousand men, entirely devoted to the service of Cromwell; and the commonwealth parliament, as the inconsiderable remnant of the house of commons was called, found itself in possession of the supreme authority. The state of affairs in Ireland and Scotland soon engaged the attention of the new government, and they were especially interested to maintain the dominion that England claimed over the former country. The revolt of the Irish, like the revolt of the Americans in later days, was regarded as treason against the English people, rather than rebellion against their joint sovereign; the partial successes of the insurgents were viewed as national wrongs, and the use of the phrase "*our* kingdom of Ireland" made every Englishman imagine that he

would be robbed of some portion of his hereditary rights, were that island to establish its independence. Cromwell, aware of the great celebrity which might be gained in a war so popular as that undertaken for the recovery of Ireland, successfully intrigued to have himself appointed lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the army.

The state of Ireland could not be more favorable to the purposes of an invader. When Charles I. entered into a treaty with his revolted Irish subjects, he disgusted one party without conciliating the other; for he gave both reason to suspect his sincerity. He appointed the marquis of Ormond lord-lieutenant, a nobleman possessed of many high qualities, but who had imbibed the principles of the unfortunate earl of Strafford, and was bigotedly attached to the support of the royal authority and the episcopal church. Ormond conciliated Inchiquin and some other protestant leaders who had refused to acknowledge the cessation of arms which Charles had granted to the insurgents, but he protracted the negotiations with the catholic confederates until their aid was useless to the royal cause. Alarmed at length by the progress of the parliament, while the confederates were at the same time incensed by the intolerant ordinances of the English commons, he concluded a treaty with the catholic deputies at Kilkenny (A. D. 1646), on the basis of a general pardon and full toleration. The native Irish were dissatisfied with this pacification, which did not restore to them lands of which they deemed themselves unjustly deprived; the bigoted catholics sought the supremacy, not the toleration of their religion, and many of the more moderate entertained suspicions of Ormond's good faith. Under such circumstances they were influenced by Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, to reject the treaty of Kilkenny, and Ormond at once was deprived of all authority. As the king was unable to assist him, he delivered up the fortified towns to an officer of the English parliament, a fatal measure, which rendered the restoration of the royal power impossible.

The Irish soon grew weary of Rinuccini's pride, bigotry, and incapacity; a powerful body of the catholic nobles, headed by the earl of Clanricarde, expelled the nuncio, and invited Ormond to resume the government. The lord-lieutenant returned, and found the royal authority established everywhere except in the towns which he had himself surrendered to the parliament. His first care was to remedy this blunder; he subdued several important garrisons, but he allowed himself to be surprised near Dublin by an inferior force, and was routed with great loss. At this crisis Cromwell landed with an army of enthusiastic soldiers trained to arms, and flushed by recent victories. He besieged Drogheda, took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. The town of Wexford was next assailed, and its defenders similarly butchered; and this cruelty produced such alarm, that thenceforth every town, before which Cromwell presented himself, surrendered at the first summons. The declining season, a failure of provisions, and epidemic disease, soon reduced the invaders to great distress; but they were relieved by a revolution as sudden as it was unexpected. The protestant royalists in Munster, always jealous of their Irish allies, revolted to the parliament at the instigation of the lords Broghill and Inchiquin, and the gates of all the important garrisons in the south of Ireland were opened to Cromwell's sickly troops. The Irish could

no longer be brought to pay obedience to a protestant governor, Ormond quitted the country in despair, and the confederates, having no longer any bond of union, were overpowered in detail. Cromwell freed himself from all future opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. About forty thousand catholics went on this occasion into voluntary exile.

The young king, Charles II., had intended to place himself at the head of the Irish royalists; but when their cause was ruined, he entered into negotiations with the Scottish covenanters, and submitted to terms the most ignominious that ever a people imposed upon its prince. He was forced to publish a proclamation, banishing all malignants, excommunicated persons from his court—that is, the royalists who had perilled their lives and fortunes in the service of his family; to pledge his word that he would take the covenant and support the presbyterian form of government; and promise, that in all civil affairs, he would conform to the direction of the parliament, and submit all ecclesiastical matters to the general assembly of the kirk. Charles did not consent to these disgraceful conditions, until the royal cause in Scotland was rendered desperate by the overthrow of its greatest supporter, the marquis of Montrose. This gallant nobleman, immediately after the execution of Charles I., renewed the war in Scotland, but was made prisoner by the covenanters, and ignominiously put to death as a traitor (A. D. 1650).

Soon after this tragical event, Charles landed in Scotland, and found himself a mere pageant of state in the hands of Argyle and the rigid covenanters, at whose mercy lay his life and liberty. The intolerance of these bigots was not assuaged by the approach of an English army under the command of Cromwell, whom the parliament of England had recalled from the Irish war, so soon as the treaty between Charles and the covenanters was published. Cromwell entered Scotland, but found a formidable competitor in General Leslie, the head of the covenanters. The English were soon reduced to great distress, and their post, at Dunbar, was blockaded by a Scottish army on the heights that overlook that town. Cromwell was saved by the fanatical and ignorant preachers in the hostile camp; they pretended that a revelation had descended to them, promising a victory over the sectarian host of the English, and forced Leslie, in despite of his urgent remonstrances, to quit his advantageous position. Cromwell took advantage of their delusion; he attacked the Scotch, disordered by their descent from the hills, before they could form their lines, and in a brief space gained a decided victory. Edinburgh and Leith were abandoned to the conquerors, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling.

This defeat was by no means disagreeable to Charles; it so far diminished the pride of the bigoted party, that he was permitted to accept the aid of the episcopal royalists, the hereditary friends of his family. Still the king felt very bitterly the bondage in which he was held, and when Cromwell crossed the Forth, he embraced a resolution worthy of his birth and cause, and disconcerting that general by a hasty march, he boldly entered England at the head of fourteen thousand men. But the result disappointed his expectations; the English royalists disliked the Scotch, and detested the covenant; the presbyterians

were not prepared to join him, and both were overawed by the militia which the parliament raised in the several counties. At Worcester the king was overtaken by Cromwell with thirty thousand men (Sept. 3, 1651). The place was attacked on all sides: Charles, after giving many proofs of personal valor, saw his cause totally ruined, and sought safety in flight; the Scots were all killed or taken, and the prisoners, eight thousand in number, were sold as slaves to the American plantations. Charles wandered about for forty-five days in various disguises and amid the greatest dangers: more than fifty persons were intrusted with his secret, but they all preserved it faithfully, and he finally escaped to France. In Scotland the presbyterian clergy, formerly all-powerful, found themselves treated with scorn by the English army. Their assembly at Aberdeen was dispersed by a military force, their persons were paraded through the town in insulting mockery, and they were forbidden to assemble in greater numbers than three at a time.

In the meantime, the English republic was engaged in a foreign war. The increase of the naval and commercial power of the Dutch had been viewed with great jealousy by the English nation; but the common interests of religion, and afterward the alliance between the Stuart family and the house of Orange, had prevented a rupture. After the death of William II., prince of Orange, the Dutch abolished the office of stadtholder; and this advance toward a purely republican constitution induced the English parliament to seek a closer alliance with Holland. Their ambassador, however, met but an indifferent reception at the Hague,* and on his return to London it became obvious that the mutual jealousies of the two commonwealths would soon lead to open hostilities.

The English parliament passed the celebrated *Act of Navigation*, which enacted that no goods from Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into England, except in English vessels; and the prohibition was extended to European commodities not brought by ships belonging to the country of which the goods were the growth or manufacture. This, though apparently general, particularly affected the Dutch, whose commerce consisted chiefly in the carrying trade, their own country producing but few commodities. The war commenced in a dispute on a point of naval etiquette: the English required that all foreign vessels in the British seas should strike their flags to English ships-of-war; Van Tromp, a Dutch admiral, with a fleet of forty sail, met Blake, the commander of the British fleet, in Dover road. Conscious of his superior force, he refused to conform to the degrading ceremony, and answered the demand by a broadside. Though Blake had only fifteen ships, he immediately commenced an engagement, and being reinforced during the battle by eight more, he gained a glorious, though not a very valuable victory. A fierce naval war ensued between the two repub-

* Mr. St. John, the English plenipotentiary, was a stern republican, and a haughty man. He had the presumption to take precedency of the duke of York, who was then at the Hague, in a public walk. The prince-palatine, happening to be present, struck off the ambassador's hat, and bade him respect the son and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his sword, refusing to recognise either the king or the duke of York; but the populace, compassionating fallen royalty, took part with the prince, and forced the stern republican to seek refuge in his lodgings.

lics; it was, on the whole, disadvantageous to the Dutch, though they were commanded by such excellent admirals as De Ruyter and Van Tromp. The death of the latter in an engagement that lasted three days (A. D. 1654), decided the contest, and the Hollanders were forced to beg peace from Oliver Cromwell, who had, in the meantime, dissolved the parliament and usurped the government of England.

When Scotland and Ireland were subdued, the parliament became jealous of Cromwell's power, and resolved to diminish it by disbanding a portion of the army. But the parliament, if such a name could fairly be given to a minority of the house of commons, had lost its sole strength, the confidence of the people, by its obstinacy in retaining the power with which it had been invested by circumstances; it would not dissolve itself, but seemed determined to perpetuate its sovereignty.* An angry remonstrance from the army was rejected, and the soldiers reproved for interfering in public affairs. This brought affairs to a crisis: on the nineteenth of April, 1653, Cromwell turned out the members with military force, locked the doors, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings at Whitehall. The council of state was similarly dismissed, and so weary were the people of their late rulers, that addresses were sent to Cromwell from almost every part of England, thanking him for his boldness and courage.

It was necessary still to preserve the forms of the constitution, but Cromwell could not venture on an appeal to the people, and allow them their ancient liberty of election, much less a more extended franchise; he therefore adopted a middle course, and by the advice of his officers, nominated one hundred and sixty persons on his own authority, to form a new parliament. This extraordinary body was named the Barebones parliament, from one of its fanatic members, named Praise-God Barebones, who rendered himself conspicuous by his affectation of superior sanctity. Cromwell, finding this convention not so pliant as had been expected, contrived, by his creatures, that a majority should vote for an immediate dissolution, and when about thirty members continued to meet, they were unceremoniously ejected by a file of musqueteers.

A new constitution was formed, by which the legislative power was granted to a lord protector and parliament, and the executive to the protector and a council of state. On the 16th of December, 1653, Cromwell took the oath of fidelity to the new form of government, and was invested with the dignity of lord protector. On the 3d of the following September, the new parliament assembled, but though the strictest regulations consistent with the forms of election had been devised to exclude all but partisans of the government, the protector's authority was menaced on the very first day of debate, and it was resolved, by a majority of five, to refer the examination of the new constitution to a select committee. Cromwell first excluded half the members for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the protector, and finding that the house, even after this mutilation, continued refractory, he dissolved

* Ludlow asserts, without a shadow of proof, that the parliament was about to dissolve itself, and give the nation a free general election on a reformed plan, when Cromwell interfered. Such a project, indeed, was discussed, but there appear no proofs of its being intended to put it into execution.

the parliament before it had sat the five months required by the constitution, which he had himself framed and sworn to support.

A new parliament was summoned, but notwithstanding the interference of Cromwell and the major-generals that ruled the twelve districts into which England was divided, so many opponents of the government were returned, that Cromwell posted soldiers at the door to exclude those members to whom he had not granted tickets of admission. The parliament, thus modified, proved sufficiently subservient, and on the 26th of March, 1656, it gratified Cromwell's secret ambition, by offering him the title of king. But Fleetwood, the protector's son-in-law, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, disconcerted the entire plan by joining the republicans in the army, and procuring a petition from the officers against royalty, which it would have been dangerous to disregard.* Cromwell was forced to resign his darling object at the moment it seemed within his grasp, and to content himself with the protectorate for life, and the power of nominating his successor.

To divert the attention of the nation from its internal affairs, Cromwell resolved to engage in some foreign war, but was at first undecided whether he should attack France or Spain.† Mazarine's cunning decided the question; he conciliated the protector by banishing the English princes from France, and thus obtained auxiliaries at a critical moment, whose support, as we have already seen, he paid by the cession of Dunkirk. Two formidable fleets were prepared in England; one, under the command of Blake, was sent to cruise in the Mediterranean; the other, intrusted to admirals Penn and Venables, proceeded to the West Indies. To justify hostilities, Cromwell demanded of the Spanish ambassador, that his master should abolish the Inquisition, and open the trade of South America to the English. The ambassador replied, that this was asking for his master's two eyes; indeed, neither demand, under the circumstances, was reasonable. The Spanish Inquisition certainly exercised an unjust tyranny toward protestants, but Cromwell did not treat the Irish catholics with greater mildness; and when England had just given an example of monopoly by passing the navigation act, it showed little regard for consistency to demand free trade from Spain. But both proposals were in accordance with the spirit of the times, and the knowledge of their having been made, brought back to Cromwell a considerable share of the popularity he had forfeited.

Admiral Blake first sailed to Leghorn, and having cast anchor before the town, demanded and obtained satisfaction for the injuries which the duke of Tuscany had done to English commerce. Repairing thence to Algiers, he compelled the dey to restrain his piratical sub-

* "Certain persons," said the petition, "are endeavoring to reduce the nation to the old state of slavery, and urge the protector to assume the royal title, wishing by this means to ruin him. We, therefore, petition the parliament to oppose such intrigues, and to abide by the old cause, for which we are ready to hazard our lives."

† "In order to maintain himself, he, in common with Lambert, and some of the council, wishes for war, and is only revolving whether it were better for him to raise it against France or Spain."—*Report of the French Ambassador, April* 20, 1654.

jects from further depredations on the English. Failing to obtain similar satisfaction at Tunis, he battered its fortifications with his artillery, and burned every ship in the harbor. His fame spread through the entire Mediterranean, and no power dared to provoke his vengeance. Penn and Venables attempted to take Hispaniola, then considered the most valuable island in the West Indies, but failing in this effort, they conquered Jamaica, which has ever since been annexed to the dominions of England. Cromwell, however, was so little satisfied with the conduct of the two admirals, that on their return, he committed them to the Tower. The English, through the entire war, maintained their supremacy by sea; several of the galleons, laden with the precious metals from South America, were taken or destroyed, and an entire fleet burned by the heroic Blake in the bay of Santa Cruz.*

These conquests silenced many opponents for a time, but secret dissatisfaction pervaded the nation, and pamphleteers bitterly assailed the protector, both in verse and prose.† Public attention was roused by the assembling of parliament on the 20th of January, 1658; the house of commons showed its hostility to the government, by admitting the members who had been previously excluded by the privy council, and still more by severely scrutinizing the constitution of the upper house. After a vain effort to conciliate his opponents, Cromwell dissolved the parliament on the 4th of February, and resolved to hazard the perilous experiment of governing alone. But he encountered violent opposition, even in his own family; Elizabeth, his second daughter, keenly reproached him on her dying bed, and the father, who loved her fondly, felt his grief for her loss sharpened by the pangs of conscience. A pamphlet was published, and widely circulated, in which the assassination of the protector was recommended as an act of justice and patriotism; Cromwell read it, and never smiled again. He lived in continual fear, always wore a coat of mail, never slept two successive nights in the same chamber, had guards posted everywhere, and secret avenues contrived, by which he might escape on the least alarm. In such a condition, his death must be considered a happy release; it took place on the 3d of September, 1658, the anniversary of his great victories at Worcester and Dunbar. He was interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, but the conduct of the populace evinced anything but sorrow for the loss of their ruler.‡

* April 21st, 1657.—"This was the last and greatest action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican, and only his zeal for the interests of his country induced him to serve under the usurper. Though he was above forty-four years of age before he entered into the military service, and fifty-one before he acted in the navy he raised the maritime glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merits, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore testimony to his valor, generosity, and public spirit."—*Dr. Johnson's Life of Blake.*

† Satirical poems were published, in one of which is the following passage:—

> "A protector! what's that? 'Tis a stately thing
> That confesses himself but the ape of a king;
> A tragical Cæsar, the actor a clown,
> Or a brass farthing, stamped with a kind of a crown."

‡ Evelyn says, "This was the merriest funeral that I ever saw, for no one howled but the dogs, with which the soldiers made sport, amid barbarous noise, parading through the streets, drinking and smoking." Ludlow adds, "The folly

Richard Cromwell had hitherto lived a thoughtless and rather extravagant life, but on his father's death he was acknowledged as protector both at home and abroad, without opposition. He had, however, soon to contend against a powerful republican minority in parliament, while still greater dangers menaced him from the discontent of the army, which was equally dissatisfied with the protector and the parliament.* The officers urged Richard to dissolve the refractory commons, and when he had taken this imprudent step, seized the reins of government into their own hands. Having deliberated on several projects, the military junta came to the resolution of re-assembling the Long parliament. About ninety members were hastily collected, but those who displeased the new rulers were excluded, and the deliberations of the rest were fettered, by what was called "an humble petition and address from the officers to the parliament of the commonwealth of England." Richard, weary of his situation, resigned the protectorate, and the chief power of the state passed to the cabal of officers, at whose head were Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough. In the contests that followed between the parliament and the council of officers, the nation generally took no interest. It was a period of complete anarchy; principle was forgotten, every one was guided by his caprice, or by some prospect of private advantage. All true friends of their country were heartily tired of this confusion, and the illusion of the republicans had so completely vanished, that if we except those who wished for a protector, or expected the personal reign of Christ, not more than a few hundreds could be found anxious to restore the commonwealth. In this state of affairs, George Monk, afterward duke of Albemarle, resolved to act a decided part. He had been intrusted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, and the command of the army: though suspected of a secret attachment to the royal cause,† he continued to hold his place during the protectorates of Oliver and Richard. On the abdication of the latter, he professed the utmost anxiety for a reconciliation between the parliament and the English army; but if that could not be effected, he declared that he would support the former, because the establishment of a commonwealth was dear to his heart. This declaration gave so much confidence to the opponents of the officers, that Fleetwood found it necessary to permit the parliament to assemble; and the Rump parliament, as the house of commons so often mutilated was ignominiously termed, met amid the loudest acclamations of the soldiers, who only two months before had dispersed it by military violence. The house promptly made use of the power which it had

and profusion (of the lying in state) so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset house."

* Richard derided the fanatical pretensions of his father's officers; when a remonstrance was made against his granting commissions to "the ungodly," he replied, "Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all." "These imprudent, as well as irreligious words," says Ludlow, "so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and city of London, to his great prejudice."

† Cromwell once wrote to him, "I have been informed that there is in Scotland, a certain cunning fellow, George Monk by name, who has a scheme for restoring Charles Stuart; endeavor to catch him, and send him hither."

regained; the members and officers of whom it did not approve were removed; Desborough, with some others, fled to Lambert. Fleetwood was overwhelmed with consternation.

On the 1st of January, 1660, Monk, at the head of six thousand men, commenced his march toward London; he was received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm; in all the towns on his road the people rang the bells, lighted bonfires, and declared their ardent wish for a free parliament. Lambert's army melted away as he advanced; but Fleetwood's soldiers excited so much alarm, that the speaker wrote to Monk to hasten his march. On the 6th of February he appeared in parliament, and first excited some suspicions of his real designs by refusing to take the oath of abjuration against the Stuarts. The parliament tried to embroil him with the citizens of London, by sending him to arrest some members of the common council for resolving that no taxes should be paid until the parliament was filled. Monk performed this disagreeable duty; but immediately after reconciled himself to the city, and sent a letter to the speaker, demanding a dissolution of parliament and a new election. While this letter was fiercely debated, Monk took the decisive step of introducing the old excluded members, by which he gained a triumphant majority.

On the 17th of March the Long parliament concluded its sittings, to the great joy of the nation, and a new house of commons met on the 25th of April. In the interval, Lambert made a desperate effort to place himself at the head of a new army, but by Monk's promptitude and vigor he was taken prisoner and sent to the Tower.

When the new parliament, consisting both of upper and lower house, met, it was manifest that the royalists had such a preponderance that the only question remaining to be decided was, whether Charles II. should be restored with or without conditions. The latter course was unfortunately chosen, perhaps because it would have been impossible to frame terms, the discussion of which would not have roused the slumbering feuds of hostile parties.

On the 29th of May, the day on which he completed his thirtieth year, Charles triumphantly entered London. He was accompanied by the members of parliament, the clergy, the civic authorities, and about twenty thousand persons on foot or horseback. The streets were strewed with flowers, the houses decorated with tapestry, the bells rung in every church, the air resounded with acclamations. The monarch, so recently a hopeless exile, might well ask, as he witnessed the tumult of universal joy, "Where then are my enemies?"

Section III.—*History of England, from the Restoration to the Revolution; and Rise of the Power of Louis XIV.*

Few monarchs ever had such an opportunity of rendering himself popular, and his subjects happy, as Charles II.; there is scarcely one who failed more lamentably. His first measures promised well; a few of the regicides and their adherents were indeed excepted from the act of indemnity, and executed; but pardon was granted to the chief parliamentary leaders, and many of them received into favor. Ecclesiastical affairs, however, began to disturb the harmony of the nation, when

a new parliament was assembled, in which the episcopal and royalist party had a triumphant majority. An act was passed, requiring that every clergymen should possess episcopal ordination, declare his assent to everything contained in the book of common prayer, take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and the right of taking up arms against the king under any pretence whatever. About two thousand of the clergy rejected these conditions, and resigned their benefices, rather than do violence to their religious opinions. The ejected clergymen were persecuted with unwise rigor; severe laws were enacted against conventicles, and a non-conformist minister was prohibited from coming within five miles of a corporation.

The marriage of the king to Catherine of Portugal, when his subjects hoped that he would make a protestant princess his queen, and the sale of Dunkirk to the French monarch, tended still further to diminish the royal popularity; and a war, equally unjust and impolitic, undertaken against the Dutch, completed the public dissatisfaction. Hostilities were commenced without a formal declaration of war; the English seized several of the Dutch colonies in Africa and America, especially the province of Nova Belgia, which Charles, in honor of his brother, named the state of New York. Holland was at this time ruled by the Louvestein, or violent republican party; its head, the celebrated John de Witt, who, with the title of pensionary, enjoyed almost dictatorial power, feared that Charles might make some effort to restore William III., prince of Orange, to the office of stadtholder, which his ancestors had enjoyed; and to avert this danger, entered into close alliance with France. The pensionary found, however, that he must rely upon his own resources; he fitted out a powerful fleet; the English exerted themselves with equal diligence, and a furious engagement took place upon the coast of Holland (A. D. 1665). Victory declared in favor of the English; more than thirty of the enemy's ships were taken or destroyed, and the whole would probably have fallen had not the pursuit been stopped by the oversight or cowardice of the duke of York, who had been created lord high-admiral of England by his brother.

The joy occasioned by this victory was diminished by the ravages of the great plague, which swept away seventy thousand citizens of London in the course of a year. De Witt, in the meantime, exerted himself to restore the naval power of the Dutch; he formed an alliance with the king of Denmark, procured aid from France, and soon sent out a more powerful fleet than that which had been defeated. But the English still maintained their wonted superiority; and the Dutch, disheartened by repeated defeats, began to murmur against the government of the grand pensionary. Scarcely had the plague ceased, when London was subjected to a second calamity; a dreadful fire, which raged for four days, destroyed four hundred streets and lanes, including thirteen thousand houses; but it is remarkable that not a single life was lost by the conflagration. Great discontents were excited by the severity with which the non-conformists were treated in England and Scotland; about two thousand of the discontented, in the western counties of Scotland, had recourse to arms, and renewed the covenant, but they were overpowered by the royal forces, and their insurrection

punished with remorseless cruelty. One of the first stipulations made with Charles on his accession was, that he should not disturb the grants which Cromwell had given to his followers in Ireland. But as many, if not most, of these estates had been forfeited for the attachment of the proprietors to the royal cause, it was necessary that some compensation should be made to the sufferers. After a long struggle, the best arrangement that was perhaps possible, under the circumstances, was effected by the act of settlement; and though many of those who had been dispossessed complained of injustice, the island was restored to tranquillity. It was fast recovering its prosperity, when the unwise jealousy of the English parliament produced considerable distress, by prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle.* While these circumstances embarrassed the British government, the pensionary, De Witt, sent out a new fleet, which destroyed several vessels at the mouth of the Thames, reduced Sheerness, insulted Portsmouth and Plymouth, and for several week rode triumphant in the channel (A. D. 1667). The conclusion of a peace at Breda dissipated the alarm, but at the same time increased the discontent, of the English nation; it was felt that the prodigality of the king had exhausted the treasury and left the kingdom exposed to insult and disgrace.

The ambitious projects of Louis XIV. began now to excite general alarm; his personal qualities won him the affections of his people; the splendor of his court dazzled the nobility, and changed the factious lords of France into a body of the most subservient courtiers that had ever been seen in modern Europe. On the death of Philip IV. of Spain, Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, the daughter of Philip by his first marriage, asserting that females could inherit according to the custom of Brabant, and that his queen should have precedence of her infant brother, the offspring of a second marriage. Anna Maria of Austria, queen-regent of Spain, was a weak woman, entirely governed by her confessor, a German jesuit, named Nithard, who was more anxious to check the growth of heresy than to protect the monarchy.† Louis entered Flanders at the head of a powerful army, and found the Spaniards almost wholly unprepared for resistance. The principal towns surrendered immediately; Lisle, though a place of considerable strength, capitulated after a siege of nine days, and Louis secured his conquests by intrusting the repair of their fortifications to the celebrated Vauban, and garrisoning them with his best troops. The Dutch were alarmed at the prospect of having their frontiers exposed to such a powerful neighbor; they received succor from an

* The discussion of this act, in the house of lords, gave rise to some singular debates. It was secretly opposed by the king, who felt its obvious impolicy; it was urged forward by the eccentric duke of Buckingham, who hoped to force himself into power by means of the house of commons. The commons declared the importation of Irish cattle "a nuisance." The lords rejected a term so revolting to common sense, and substituted "a grievance." The duke of Buckingham insisted on retaining the obnoxious phrase; another noble lord moved that the importation of Irish cattle should be deemed "a felony," or a "præmunire:" a third, with more wit and as much reason, proposed that it should be accounted "adultery."

† His arrogance and ignorance were displayed in his reply to a nobleman who had addressed him in a tone of disrespect. "You ought," said he, "to revere the man who has every day your God in his hands and your queen at his feet."

unexcepted quarter. Charles II., either jealous of Louis, or eager to acquire popularity, concluded a defensive alliance between England and Holland (A. D. 1668); and Sweden soon after concurred in the treaty. Louis found it necessary to stop short in his career; he made peace with Spain, retaining a great portion of his conquests, which, however, were not sufficient to console him for the brilliant prospects he was compelled to resign. He had to endure another mortification; the Turks one more became formidable, under the administration of the vizier Kuproeli, and compelled the German emperor to conclude peace on terms highly favorable to their interests; and they wrested the important island of Candia from the Venetians, in spite of the efforts made by the French monarch to save the place.

Louis saw that his designs on the Netherlands, and his revenge against Holland, could not be accomplished without the active participation of England. Knowing the profligate habits of Charles, whose court was a scene of extravagance and dissipation, he concluded a secret treaty with that monarch, in which it was agreed that Charles should receive a large pension from Louis, in return for which he should co-operate in the conquest of the Netherlands, propagate the catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly announce his conversion to that religion. France and England commenced the war by atrociously outraging the laws of nations; Louis, without the shadow of a pretext, seized the dutchy of Lorraine; Charles attempted the capture of a rich Dutch fleet, before he had announced his dissatisfaction with the recent treaty. The Dutch were wholly unable to resist this storm; at sea they maintained their equality, but the armies of France bore down all opposition; Louis crossed the Rhine, advanced to Utrecht, and had he not delayed there, might have conquered Amsterdam. The Dutch populace vented their rage on the unfortunate pensionary, to whom they unjustly attributed all their calamities. John de Witt and his brother Cornelius were arrested, but ere they could be brought to trial, a furious mob burst into their prison and tore them to pieces. William III., prince of Orange, was immediately chosen stadtholder; his exhortations revived the sinking spirits of the Dutch; they resolved, that rather than submit to disgraceful terms, they would abandon their country, seek their settlements in the East Indies, and re-establish their republic in southern Asia.* Louis soon found the results of this determined spirit; the emperor, thoroughly alarmed, sided with the Dutch, and many of the northern German states followed his example. Indecisive engagements were fought at sea; but the conquest of Cologne by the Dutch and Germans, intercepted the communication between France and the United Provinces, in consequence of which Louis was compelled to withdraw his forces and abandon his conquests. A more important change was the secession of England; Charles, distressed for want of money, loaded with debt, and rendered anxious by the progress of public discontent, concluded peace with Holland on very equitable conditions (A. D. 1674). He then offered his mediation to the contending powers.

* Several efforts were made to corrupt the prince of Orange, but he sternly rejected them. When told that the ruin of his country was inevitable, he replied, "There is one way by which I can be certain not to see the ruin of my country; and that is, to die disputing the last ditch."

Louis surprised all Europe by the magnitude of his efforts, but they did not produce any corresponding result; and the desolation of the Palatinate by Marshal Turenne excited such general indignation, that Louis bribed Charles to dissolve the parliament, lest it should force its sovereign to declare war against France. The war was maintained with great fury during the ensuing campaigns; it was on the whole favorable to the French, but the rapid progress of Louis, in the year 1677, excited so much alarm, that the English parliament addressed the king to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland. Charles, however, had sold his neutrality, and would not abandon his pension to promote either the honor or advantage of his kingdom; but he tried to conciliate the nation by giving his niece, the daughter of the duke of York, in marriage to the prince of Orange. Louis continued his victorious career uninterrupted by England, until the Dutch sought peace on any terms, and a treaty was concluded at Nimeguen (A. D. 1678), by which France acquired an increase of power dangerous to all the neighboring states.

The jealousy of the English nation at the exaltation of a rival, long regarded as their natural enemy, the feeling that the national honor had been sacrificed, and the fear of the design of the court to establish the Romish religion and arbitrary power, spread a deep gloom over England, and disposed the people to suspicions that led them to become the dupes of the vilest impostors. Just as the account of the cruelties practised on the covenanters in Scotland excited most alarm and indignation, the three kingdoms were roused to sudden phrensy by the announcement of a popish plot. A wicked impostor, named Titus Oates, framed a tale of a conspiracy by the jesuits for the subversion of the protestant religion and the murder of the king; his narrative was improbable, confused, and contradictory, but it suited the temper of the nation, and it was favorable to the ambition of some designing men, anxious to obtain power at any hazard. Before censuring too severely the credulity of the nation, we must remember that a plot for the re-establishment of the Romish religion really existed, but it was formed by the king, not against him; many catholics, aware of the king's secret attachment to their religion, and encouraged by the duke of York's open profession of it, indulged hopes of the speedy reconciliation of the British kingdoms to the holy see, and several enthusiastic phrases in their letters were capable of being distorted into confirmation of a plan formed to accelerate such a consummation.* The inexplicable murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, an active magistrate who had taken Oates's depositions, completed the delusion; to deny the reality of the plot was now to be reputed an accomplice; even to doubt of it was criminal. Several catholics were brought to trial; the evidence against them was a tissue of palpable falsehoods, but, in the phrensy of the moment, every absurdity received credence; they were condemned and executed. The parliament at the same time passed a law excluding from both houses all who would not swear that "the sacrifice of the

* This is especially the case with the letters of the first victim to the national delusion, Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York. Dryden has well described the plot in a single line :—

"Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies."

mass was damnable and idolatrous," and it was with great difficulty that an exception was made in favor of the king's brother, the duke of York. The covenanters in Scotland were driven to such desperation by the severities of the royal government, that they murdered Archbishop Sharpe, and broke out into open rebellion. Their revolt was suppressed, and those who had shared in it, or who were suspected of favoring the views of the covenanters, were punished with remorseless cruelty. It deserves to be remarked that, during this turbulent period, Ireland, to the great discredit of the popish plot, continued perfectly tranquil. Still its name was dragged into the controversy, and it lent a title to a party. The supporters of the court were named tories, from the Irish robbers, who, under that name, harassed the Cromwellian settlers; the leaders of the opposition were denominated whigs, the appellation of the fiercest of the Scottish covenanters (A. D. 1681). A bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession passed the commons, but was rejected by the lords; Charles seized the moment when the violence of his adversaries disgusted the sound part of the nation, to dissolve the parliament, and to summon a new one to assemble at Oxford. This second parliament proving refractory, it was suddenly dissolved, and a declaration vindicating the king's proceedings was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels.

Charles won the support of the clergy by vigorously enforcing the act of uniformity and persecuting sectaries, and at the same time chose some of the most pliant lawyers to be judges. By these means the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived, and the bench and the pulpit seemed to contend with each other which should show most zeal for the unlimited power of the crown. He next assailed his opponents with their own weapons; the spies, the informers, and false witnesses, who had been employed by the popular party to establish the reality of the popish plot, were now enlisted against their former patrons, and gave their perjured support to one party as freely as they had done to another. The spirit of independence still reigned in the hearts of the citizens of London, but, on the most flimsy legal pretexts, the capital was deprived of its charter, and the power of the corporation virtually transferred to the king. The popular leaders, not disheartened, formed a plan of insurrection; they were betrayed by one of their party: Lord Howard, who had been a leader, became a witness against his associates; several of them were tried, condemned, and executed; but the victims whose fate excited the most sympathy were the popular Lord Russell and the virtuous Algernon Sydney. The duke of York was now placed at the head of the royal councils, but Charles soon became weary of his brother's violence and bigotry; he is even said to have meditated a change in the government, and the adoption of popular measures, when he died suddenly (A. D. 1685), not without strong suspicions of poison. It was supposed that some of the violent catholics attached to the duke of York perpetrated the crime without that prince's knowledge or participation.

While England was thus convulsed at home, its foreign interests were wholly neglected by its profligate sovereign, who continued to be the pensioner of the French king. Louis XIV. thus had full scope to gratify his ambition; he continually enlarged his frontiers on the most

frivolous pretences, while Spain and Holland were too weak, and the Germanic empire too much harassed by other enemies, to check his progress. The emperor Leopold, by flagrantly violating the privileges of his Hungarian subjects, provoked a formidable revolt; it was headed by Count Tekeli, a leader possessing great courage and resolution, and he called the Turks to the assistance of his countrymen. While these allies were ravaging Silesia, the sultan Mohammed IV. was preparing one of the most formidable armies that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom. Leopold, convinced that his own resources were not equal to the crisis, entered into close alliance with the celebrated John Sobieski, who, in the year 1674, had been raised to the throne of Poland.

Before the Polish levies could be completed, the Turkish army, commanded by the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, entered Austria; the duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperialists, was unable to resist the progress of the invaders; they advanced rapidly, and at length laid siege to Vienna. During several weeks the city was vigorously defended, but, at length, its fortifications crumbled under the heavy fire of the Turkish artillery; the suburbs were destroyed, and the final assault was expected every moment (A. D. 1683). The garrison, reduced to despair, was about to resign all thoughts of resistance, when the banners of John Sobieski, approaching to their relief, were seen on the hill of Schellenberg. Kara Mustapha led the main body of his forces to meet the Poles, while a body of twenty thousand men attempted to storm the city. But the courage of the garrison was now revived, and the confidence of their enemies abated; the assailants were repelled; a panic seized the Turks; they broke at the first charge of the Polish cavalry, and fled in such confusion, that they abandoned their artillery, baggage, and treasures. Even the consecrated banner of Mohammed became the prize of the victors, and was sent as a trophy to the pope. Leopold, in consequence of this decided triumph, recovered possession of Hungary, but his ingratitude to his deliverers was as signal as their merits.

Louis XIV. had raised the siege of Luxemburg when he heard of the advance of the Turks, declaring that he would not attack a Christian prince while Christendom itself was endangered by the invasion of the infidels. No sooner, however, had Sobieski's valor crushed the Mohammedans, than he renewed his aggressions. Spain was thus provoked into a war which it had not strength to support, and a hasty peace confirmed Louis in his conquests. His naval power was steadily increased at the same time; he humbled the Algerines, compelled the republic of Genoa to submit to the most degrading humiliations, and did not even spare the pope. But while his ambition was provoking the resentment of Europe, he weakened his kingdom by a display of ferocious bigotry, at the moment when all its strength was required to resist justly-provoked hostility. The religious toleration of the Huguenots had been secured by the edict of Nantes, which was designed to be perpetual; Louis, after the death of his wisest minister, the virtuous Colbert, revoked this edict, and attempted to impose his religion on his subjects by the sword. He began by issuing an edict, authorizing Huguenot children, above seven years of age, to change their religion

without the consent of their parents; this pernicious law introduced dissension into the bosom of families; children were enticed to ingratitude and disobedience by the arts of clerical kidnappers who overspread the country. The parents were next persecuted; they were excluded from all public employments and the incorporations of the trades. Bribes were offered on the one hand, punishments were menaced on the other; apostacy was assured of reward, and the payment of conversions became a heavy charge on the state. Finally, a brutal and licentious soldiery was let loose on the hapless protestants; dragoons were sent as missionaries among them, and the edict of Nantes, their last security, was formally revoked. Exposed to all the cruelties and horrors that bigotry could dictate, or brutality execute, nearly four hundred thousand of the Huguenots abandoned their country, and carried into lands hostile to France, their wealth, their commercial intelligence, their manufacturing industry, and their desire of vengeance. The accounts of their sufferings published by the exiled Huguenots in England, Holland, and Germany, aggravated the hatred of France, which was spreading through these countries, and accelerated a general war. A league was formed by all the princes of Germany to restrain the encroachments of Louis; Spain and Holland joined it as principals; Sweden, Denmark, and Savoy, were afterward gained: and a sudden revolution in England placed that country at the head of the confederacy.

James II. succeeded to the English crown on the death of his brother Charles; he commenced his reign by liberal promises, which procured him general popularity, notwithstanding his open adhesion to the Romish church, and his going to mass with all the ensigns of regal dignity. But there were many discontented spirits who lamented his accession, and these secretly instigated the duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles II., to assert his mother's marriage, and his own consequent claim to the throne. Monmouth was a weak, vain man; he readily adopted the scheme, and in concert with the earl of Argyle, prepared for the simultaneous invasion of Scotland and England. Argyle, who was the first, readily effected a landing in Scotland, but soon found that the country was not so ripe for revolt as he had believed. Surrounded by superior forces, he attempted to force his way into the disaffected part of the western counties, but his followers gradually abandoned him; he was taken prisoner and sent to Edinburgh, where he expiated his imprudence on the scaffold. In the meantime, Monmouth had landed in the west of England, where he was received with great enthusiasm. Encouraged by the proofs of attachment he received, he ventured to attack the royal army encamped at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater. But the cowardice of Lord Grey, who commanded the horse, and the incapacity of Monmouth himself, proved fatal to the insurgents; they were routed with great slaughter, and their unfortunate leader, after wandering about several days in great distress, was taken prisoner.

James II. induced the unhappy Monmouth to degrade himself by a mean supplication for life,* and then informed him that his offence was

* Monmouth displayed great firmness and intrepidity on the scaffold. The exe-

too great to be pardoned. The cruelties exercised on all suspected of having shared in the insurrection, by the inhuman Colonel Kirke, and the still more infamous Judge Jeffries, were shocking to human nature; they spread general consternation through the western counties, but at the same time they excited a spirit of secret hostility to the tyrannical king. Encouraged by his success, James resolved to dispense with the test acts, by which catholics were excluded from the public service, and, finding the parliament opposed to his views, he dissolved that body. Eleven out of the twelve judges asserted that the dispensing power was an essential part of the royal prerogative; and the king, fortified by their opinion, gave several places of trust to catholic lords and gentlemen. The lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was intrusted to the earl of Tyrconnell, a zealous adherent of the Romish church; many of the catholics, who felt that their religion was the cause of their being deprived of their estates, began to look forward to the repeal of the Act of Land Settlement, and several of the more timorous protestants sought refuge in England. Their representations, and the tales of horror related by the exiled Huguenots, filled the nation with a general hatred of popery; the king, however, unconscious of his increasing unpopularity, unwisely deprived himself of his chief security by quarrelling with the church. He commenced by endeavoring to open the doors of the universities to catholics; more opposition was offered than had been anticipated, but the king persevered, and a catholic, named Parker, was installed into the presidency of Magdalen college, Oxford.

Although there was much discontent in England, no project had as yet been formed against the king; it was believed that Mary of Modena, James's queen, would never have any children, and the nation was disposed to wait quietly for the accession of one of his daughters by his former marriage, both of whom were known to be strongly attached to the church of England. Mary, the eldest daughter of James by Anne Hyde, was married to the prince of Orange, who was engaged in supporting the liberties of Europe, and the protestant religion against the ambition and bigotry of Louis XIV.; she was less popular in England than her husband, to whom she was known to be fondly attached, and it was generally believed that she would relax the laws against protestant dissenters, if ever she came to the throne, in order to gratify the attachment of her husband to presbyterian principles. She was, however, childless, and the national hope of a protestant successor to the throne centred in her sister.

The princess Anne, afterward queen, had been educated in the strictest principles of the Anglican church by her maternal grandfather, the celebrated earl of Clarendon. She was married to Prince George of Denmark, by whom she had several children, all of whom, except the duke of Gloucester, either died in their infancy, or were still-born. She was the favorite child of her father, and nothing had ever occurred to interrupt their affection, until nearly at the same time James's queen

cutioner, touched with pity, or respect for the victim's noble bearing, struck him three times without effect, and then threw aside the axe, declaring he was unable to perform his office. The sheriff compelled him to renew his efforts, and the head of the unhappy duke was at length severed from his body.

appeared likely to give an heir to the throne, and he himself became involved in a contest with the church of England.

Anxious to relieve the catholics from the civil disabilities under which they labored, as a monarch of the same religion as themselves must naturally have been, and at the same time desirous to obtain the support of so powerful a body as the protestant dissenters, in the new course of policy which he meditated, James published a new declaration of indulgence, suspending all the penal laws against every species of dissent, and soon after issued a proclamation commanding it to be read in churches. The legality of such a command was questioned by the prelates, for though royal declarations had been read in churches with their sanction during the preceding reign, considerable doubts were entertained of the king's power to suspend the penal laws, and in fact, such an exercise of the royal authority had been pronounced unconstitutional by the best lawyers of the kingdom. Had the declaration related to a less obnoxious matter than the virtual abrogation of the laws against non-conformity, which had been only procured by the most vigorous exertions of the hierarchy, it is probable that the king's orders might have been obeyed: but it was unwise to call upon the English prelates to undo their work, and to proclaim in the churches that they had hitherto pursued an erroneous course of policy. It was also known that the great majority of the English dissenters, far from being grateful for the king's favor, viewed his edict of toleration with suspicion, believing that it was not intended to serve them, but to advance the cause of popery.

Under these circumstances six bishops, in concert with Sancroft the primate, prepared a remonstrance in the form of a petition to the king, which stated, in firm but respectful language, their reasons for refusing to comply with his injunctions. When this document was presented to James, he was so violently enraged, that he ordered the prelates to be arrested on the charge of having uttered a seditious libel, and as they all refused to find bail, they were committed to the Tower.

At this crisis the queen gave birth to a prince of Wales, and the absence of the archbishop, imprisoned in the Tower, who ought in virtue of his office to have been present on the occasion, gave rise to a report that he had been purposely removed out of the way, lest he should detect the king and queen in their attempts to impose a spurious child on the nation. This monstrous tale was studiously circulated; and though the queen's delivery had been as public as decency would permit, the story that the prince of Wales was supposititious was received with equal credulity in England and Holland. James at first paid no regard to the reports which were in circulation, but when he learned that the prayers for the young prince were discontinued in his daughter's chapel at the Hague, he remonstrated very strongly on the subject, but was forced to rest satisfied with excuses so disingenuous that their fallaciousness was transparent.

As the king, according to the constitution as settled at the Reformation, was the head of the English church, it was impossible to avoid some collision when the monarch professed a religion at variance with that of the establishment; and though such an evil might be endured for a season, the members of a protestant establishment naturally shrunk

from the prospect of being governed by a continued succession of Romish sovereigns. The birth of a prince of Wales forced men to take into serious consideration the position of the church and the country, especially as it took place at a time when seven prelates of the church were persecuted by its head for defending what they believed to be the proper privileges of the established religion. Such an anomaly was too glaring to escape notice, and James exhibited extraordinary weakness in forcing it on the consideration of the country. There never, perhaps, was a trial which excited such interest as that of the seven bishops for the pretended libel contained in their petition to the king. The best lawyers in England were engaged on each side, and the question between prerogative and privilege was never more ably debated. The trial lasted during the whole of the day. In the evening the jury were desired to retire and consider their verdict. They remained together in close consultation all night, without fire or candle: great difference of opinion appears to have prevailed among them, for it was not until ten o'clock on the following morning that they pronounced the acquittal of the prelates.

"The moment the verdict was pronounced," says the earl of Clarendon, who was present, "there was a wonderful shout, that one would have thought the hall had cracked."—"The loud shouts and joyful acclamations were," as Sir John Reresby expresses, "a rebellion in noise, though not in intention." From London the tumultuous sounds of joy extended rapidly into the country, and a well-known expression of James is preserved, on hearing acclamations, even among the soldiers in his camp at Hounslow. He was told by his general, Lord Fayersham, of whom he had inquired the cause of the noise, that it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops. "Do you call that nothing?" he replied, "but so much the worse for them." Bonfires were made, and the bells of the churches rung not only in London, but in the greater part of the country towns, as soon as the news of the acquittal reached them, although the strictest orders were given to prevent such proceedings. So strong was the general feeling, that though several persons were indicted at the next sessions for Middlesex for riotous behavior, yet the grand jury would not find bills against them, though they were sent out no less than three times. It is stated further, that the churches of London were crowded on that forenoon with multitudes, eager to pour forth their gratitude to God for this great deliverance. "O what a sight was that," says Nichols, "to behold the people crowding into the churches to return thanks to God for so great a blessing, with the greatest earnestness and ecstacy of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven; to see illuminations in every window and bonfires at every door, and to hear the bells throughout all the city ringing out peals of joy for the wonderful deliverance."

It was in the midst of this popular excitement, and most probably in consequence of it, that the project of a revolution was first formed. In order to form a right estimate of this great event, which for nearly half a century became the great turning point of European policy, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect, in order to explain the position of parties in England. From the time of the restoration, a party, consisting of a few nobles and a very large body of country gentlemen, labored to

introduce so much of the principles of the old commonwealth as consisted in restraining the power of the crown, and the ecclesiastical privileges of the establishment. They were at first called the puritanical, and afterward the whig party; they were animated by a perfect horror of popery, or of anything which seemed approaching to it, but they were more favorable to the protestant non-conformists than to the episcopal clergy, and their main strength rested on the support of the protestant dissenters. Except in hatred of popery, the English people of that day had little community of feeling with the whig leaders; the rigid rule of the presbyteries in the time of the commonwealth and Cromwell, when the most innocent amusements were strictly prohibited, had alienated the lower orders, and though they were rallied round the whigs for a time when the perjuries of Titus Oates and his associates had filled the nation with senseless terror, the reaction against this delusion had reduced the party to more than its former weakness, and it had found little support out of doors when an attempt was made to exclude James from succeeding to the throne on account of his obnoxious religion. Another reason for the small amount of popular favor enjoyed by the whig party was the notorious fact that many of the leaders, in spite of their loud professions of patriotism, accepted bribes from foreign powers. Some took money from Holland, others from France, and not a few from both governments, excusing such conduct to themselves by the necessity of obtaining foreign support to resist the prerogatives of the crown, and the many advantages of position enjoyed by the court party. The more ardent whigs had raised a rebellion against James, to give the crown to the duke of Monmouth, and the ease with which that rebellion was crushed seemed to prove the extinction of their power as a party. James certainly undervalued them, and had he not taken measures which constrained a coalition between them and their rivals, he might have continued to despise the English whigs with impunity. Matters were very different in Scotland: presbyterianism was there the favored religion of the nation, and prelacy was scarcely less hated than popery. So far as the important question of church government was concerned, the Scotch were whigs and something more, but James and his court made little account of Scotland; they had taken no warning from the fate of Charles I., which had been decided by a Scottish army.

A far more powerful party was known by the names of prelatists, cavaliers, or tories; it included the great majority of the nobility, the entire body of the clergy, a large proportion of the country gentlemen, and in general the masses of the agricultural and laboring population, so far as the latter were capable of forming any opinion, or selecting a party. Their great principle of union was to support the exclusive supremacy of the church of England, and to extend the influence of that sovereign in his capacity of head of that church; their rallying cry was "church and king," in which church came first not only in name but in reality. From the very moment of James's accession, the tories found themselves in an awkward and false position. They had long taught the doctrines of the divine right of kings and passive obedience to the will of the sovereign, denouncing all resistance as sinful; but when the monarch began to exercise his prerogatives as head of the church, in a

spirit of direct hostility to the principles on which the church had been established, they found themselves involved in difficulties which every day became more embarrassing. The trial of the bishops was the crisis of their loyalty; it was not unjustly regarded as a kind of declaration of war by the monarch against the national establishment, and all the friends of that establishment felt themselves coerced to take measures for its defence and protection. It is true that the adoption of such measures was a virtual abandonment of the doctrine of non-resistance, and so far a concession to the principles of their old adversaries the whigs; hence the first movements of the tories to join in inviting the prince of Orange to England were slow and unsteady, and the most for which they looked was that the prince might act as mediator between the king, the church, and the nation.

We have next to examine the connexion between the position of the king of England in relation to the general politics of Europe. At this period the arbitrary designs of Louis XIV. had excited universal distrust, and alliances were secretly formed to resist his designs, whether covert or avowed, to the different districts and territories over which he sought to extend his sway. England was prevented from joining in this coalition only by the strict alliance between its monarch and Louis, and hence the reign of James was odious to the princes of Germany, the houses of Spain and Austria, and even to the pope himself, who had been harshly treated by the French monarch, stripped of his territory of Avignon, and menaced with further injuries. Holland was still more deeply interested in detaching England from the French alliance: Louis had openly avowed his intentions to destroy its independence, and if he had procured the promised support of the naval power of England, the Dutch would in all probability have become subjects of France. The combination of parties by which the prince of Orange was invited into England, had little unity in itself, and might have been dissolved in a moment if James had shown a disposition to adopt conciliatory measures and regain the friendship of the tories and churchmen. William was well aware of these circumstances, and made the most vigorous exertions to take immediate advantage of the crisis. While he was thus engaged, the invasion of western Germany by Louis XIV. without the formality of a declaration of war, and the fearful ravages perpetrated by the French in the palatinate, excited universal alarm and indignation throughout Europe. The states of Holland immediately placed their fleets and armies at the disposal of William; he set sail with a powerful armament, and on the 5th of November, 1688, landed safely at Torbay.

The perplexity into which all parties were thrown by the landing of William was almost ludicrous. At first he was joined by so few partisans, that he began to think of returning; then on a sudden the nobles and leading men of England flocked to him from all quarters; the favorite officers of James, those who were solely indebted to him for rank and fortune, even his favorite daughter Anne, joined in the general defection—while he, sinking at once into despondency, abandoned his army, and after a brief delay in London, fled to France. It is unfortunately true that the prince of Orange made use of many dishonorable artifices to terrify the unfortunate monarch, and induce him to seek safe-

ty in flight; but James seems to have adopted the fatal resolution of abandoning his kingdom, in the belief that the complicated embarrassments of parties would lead to his recall; and that returning at the head of a French army, he might yet triumph over all his enemies. Confidence in the power of Louis XIV. had been his bane from the beginning, and his connexion with that detested monarch was the principal cause of his dying in exile.

William assumed so much of royal power as to summon a convention to regulate the affairs of the nation. Three proposals were made to this body: first, that terms should be made with James, and the chief administration intrusted to the prince of Orange as lieutenant-general of the kingdom; secondly, that the flight of James should be taken as an abdication, and a regency proclaimed, with the prince of Orange at its head; and thirdly, that the throne should be declared vacant, and William and Mary declared king and queen of England. The first proposal was the most acceptable to the consistent tories, including the primate, Sancroft, and several of the bishops whom James had so recently prosecuted, but the great majority felt the absurdity of turning a king out for the mere purpose of calling him back, and it had already passed into a proverb that "the worst of all revolutions was a restoration."

In the consideration of the second proposition was involved the question of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, which nobody really doubted, but almost everybody affected to deny. There were, however, great practical difficulties in recognising the infant prince as heir to the crown. It was tolerably certain that James would not consent to reside in France, and send his son to be educated as a protestant in England; the princesses Mary and Anne were naturally opposed to a plan which would have deprived them of their fondly-cherished hopes of wearing a crown, and William had taken pains to make it known that if a regency should be determined upon, somebody else must be sought to exercise the functions of regent.

In fact, the circumstances of the time rendered the third plan the only one possible to be adopted; but the majority of those who voted for conferring the crown on William and Mary did so with undisguised reluctance, as men submitting to a painful necessity. The subsequent efforts of James to recover his dominions by the aid of French armaments completed the alienation of the English people from his cause, while the cowardice and incapacity he displayed in Ireland, particularly at the battle of the Boyne, led to the utter ruin of his unfortunate partisans in that country. Louis was himself injured by his efforts in favor of the dethroned king: his futile attempts to invade England, his intrigues to provoke insurrections, and his continued menaces of conquest, provoked and kept alive against him the flame of popular indignation in Great Britain, and induced the people to bear the brunt of expensive continental wars, in which England was very remotely and indirectly concerned, for the mere purpose of restraining his ambition. It was in the same way at a later period that Napoleon's menace of invading England, excited a spirit among the people which led them similarly to fight the battle of continental Europe, and pay its sovereigns for maintaining their own independence.

SECTION IV.—*General History of Europe, from the League of Augsburg to the Formation of the Grand Alliance.*

THE domestic history of England, during the reign of William III., is so remotely connected with the progress of the war to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV., that it will be convenient to limit our attention to the former before commencing the narrative of the latter. Several parties, as we have seen, joined in effecting the revolutiun; scarcely had they succeeded, when their old jealousies were renewed with aggravated fury. The Scottish convention made the establishment of presbyterianism an essential part of the settlement of the crown; the protestant sectarians in England were thus encouraged to hope for some modifications in the discipline of the English church; they did obtain a general toleration, to the great disgust of the tory or high-church party. Ireland remained faithful to James, though William not only offered wealth and dignity to the lord-lieutenant, Tyrconnell, but promised to secure the catholics in their civil rights, and give them one third of the churches.

But the protestants, who had so recently been secured in their lands by the acts of Settlement and Explanation, conscious that the justice of their titles would not bear a very rigid scrutiny, and dreading that, under a catholic monarch and a catholic parliament, these acts might be repealed, boldly took up arms, and atoned for their deficiency of number by martial vigor and a daring spirit. They felt that under Cromwell they had won their possessions by the sword, and by the sword they were resolved to retain them. Some of them formed guerilla bands, and scoured the country; others threw themselves into Londonderry, Enniskillen, and other garrison towns, resolved to hold out until aid could arrive from England. James, with a small French force, proceeded to Ireland, and convened a parliament in Dublin. The act of Settlement was repealed, and all the protestants who favored, or were supposed to favor, the prince of Orange, were declared guilty of high treason. But in the meantime, the adherents of the abdicated monarch had been ruined in Scotland by the loss of their leader, the brave Viscount Dundee, who fell in the arms of victory. The Highlanders who followed his standard dispersed, and the jacobite party had no person of sufficient influence to collect another army. James began his operations in Ireland by the siege of Londonderry; it was nobly defended by the inhabitants, whose religious enthusiasm more than supplied their deficiency in martial discipline. They were, however, on the point of sinking under the joint sufferings of fatigue and famine, when a reinforcement arrived from England, with provision and ammunition, upon which the besiegers abandoned their undertaking.

Ere James could recover from this disaster, the duke of Schomberg landed at Carrickfergus with ten thousand men; but as the operations of this general were too slow for the impatience of the people of England, William followed with a considerable reinforcement, and hasted to meet his father-in-law. The hostile armies met on the 1st of July, 1690, on the banks of the river Boyne; the skill of William procured him a victory, which the cowardice of James rendered decisive; he fled from the field of battle, and scarcely halting in Dublin hasted to take shipping at Waterford for France, abandoning his faithful subjects

to their fate. The Irish, though forsaken, did not despair; they threw themselves into Limerick, which William immediately invested, but was finally forced to raise the siege. This failure was, however, compensated by the success of the earl of Marlborough, in Munster, who with five thousand men reduced Cork, Kinsale, and some other places of less importance. But Ireland was not yet subdued, and William intrusted the completion of the task to Baron Ginckle, who took Athlone almost in the presence of the Irish army, chiefly through the negligence of St. Ruth, whom Louis had sent over at the request of James. Stung with remorse, St. Ruth hazarded a battle at Aughrim, but he was defeated and slain. The Irish a second time sought shelter in Limerick, which Ginckle once more besieged. All parties were now weary of the war, and a treaty was concluded at Limerick, by which it was stipulated that the catholics should enjoy the same toleration as in the reign of Charles II.; that they should be restored to the privileges of subjects, on taking the oath of allegiance; and that as many as chose to follow the fortunes of the late monarch should be transported to the continent at the expense of the government. About ten thousand men took advantage of the last article, and, under the name of the Irish brigades, were taken into the service of the king of France.

William had, in the meantime, become disgusted with the constitutional jealousy of the whigs, and had sought the friendship of the tories, who were remarkable for their zealous support of the royal prerogative. But a sanguinary act of vengeance, the massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, under circumstances of great treachery, brought so much odium on the new government, that James began to entertain some hopes of a restoration. The Macdonalds had recognised the new government a day later than that named in the act of parliament, but as their allegiance was formally accepted by the authorities, they believed themselves in perfect security. A military force was received into their glens without distrust or suspicion. But in the dead hour of the night, the soldiers, pursuant to previous orders, rose upon their hosts, set fire to the houses, and shot down the wretched inhabitants as they attempted to escape from the flames.

This atrocity excited universal indignation throughout Europe; the French king hoped that it would enable him to replace James on the throne; and had he been able immediately to transport his forces across the channel, the liberties of England and the crown of William would have been exposed to serious danger. A camp was formed between Cherbourg and La Hogue; twenty thousand Irish and French soldiers were prepared to invade England, and a powerful navy was equipped to support the expedition. The whole was frustrated by the valor of the British seamen; Admiral Russell having formed a junction with a Dutch squadron, attacked the French fleet off La Hogue, burned several of their men-of-war and transports, and drove the rest into their harbors. James beheld from the shore this annihilation of his hopes, but could not forbear expressing his admiration of the valor of his former subjects.*

The death of Queen Mary revived the hopes of the jacobites, as the

* When he saw the French fleet set on fire, he exclaimed, "Ah! none but my brave English tars could have performed so gallant an action!"

partisans of the Stuarts were called ; but instead of open rebellion, they resolved to remove the king by assassination. The plot was discovered, and the nation was so disgusted with the intended treachery, that William was restored to all his former popularity. From this time to the accession of Queen Anne, there is little worthy of note in the domestic history of England. On the death of the duke of Gloucester, the last protestant heir to the crown, an act was passed by which the eventual succession was settled on Sophia, dutchess dowager of Hanover, and her heirs, being protestants (A. D. 1701). She was the grand-daughter of James I., by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector-palatine. Party animosities between the whigs and tories were occasionally violent, and William III. was not always on the best of terms with his parliament.

The emperor Leopold, the head of the league of Augsburg, was a prince of great abilities, sullied, however, too often, by cruelty and bigotry. Though the chief of a confederacy for maintaining the liberties of Europe, he trampled on the privileges of his Hungarian subjects, and persecuted the protestants. But the overthrow of the Turks at Vienna, and the subsequent capture of Belgrade, left the discontented without an ally, and they were forced to submit in silence. Louis was not daunted by the power of the league ; he assembled two armies in Flanders, sent a third to check the Spaniards in Catalonia, and, to form a barrier on the side of Germany, ravaged the Palatinate with fire and sword (A. D. 1688). This barbarous policy filled Europe with horror ; men, women, and children, driven from their habitations, in the inclement month of February, wandered by the light of their own burning houses over the frozen fields, and fell victims by thousands to cold and hunger. Nor did this detestable expedient produce the desired effect ; the German armies, in the ensuing campaign, gained several important triumphs. Louis sought to recover his former superiority by nobler means ; he intrusted his armies to new generals of approved talent, and the fortune of the war instantly changed. Savoy was overrun by the French marshal Catinat ; Marshal Luxemburg gained a brilliant victory over the allies in Flanders ; the united Dutch and English fleets were defeated off Beachy Head, and the Spaniards were scarcely able to defend Catalonia (A. D. 1690). Little was done on the side of Germany, for the emperor was once more assailed by Tekeli and the Turks, whose progress threatened the ruin of his hereditary dominions. Had this course of fortune continued, Louis must have become the master of Europe, but in the following campaigns, the Turks, deprived of all their advantages, left the emperor at leisure to watch his western frontiers, and Catinat was driven from Italy by the duke of Savoy. But in Flanders the French continued to be eminently successful. Mons and Namur were taken in spite of all the efforts which the united forces of the English and Dutch could make for their relief, and the allies were defeated in two great general engagements by the duke of Luxemburg. But William III. was never daunted by ill success, and he adopted such prudent measures, that Luxemburg was unable to derive any important advantages from his victories. Similar success attended the armies of Louis in Savoy, Spain, and Germany ; but the triumphs were equally unproductive. Even at sea, notwithstanding the recent loss at

La Hogue, the French navy rode triumphant, and gained a decided superiority over the English and Dutch fleets. But France was exhausted by these efforts; a dreadful famine ravaged the country, arising partly from an unfavorable season, and partly from the want of hands to till the ground; and the finances of the state were fast falling into confusion. The allies, aware of these circumstances, made vigorous efforts to recover their losses, but they were generally unsuccessful, except on the side of Flanders, where William recaptured Namur, and thus, in some degree, retrieved his military reputation. All parties became weary of a war in which much blood was shed, much treasure expended, and no permanent acquisitions made. Negotiations were commenced under the mediation of Charles XI., of Sweden, at Ryswick (A. D. 1697), and a treaty concluded, in which Louis made many important concessions, to purchase an interval of tranquillity for his future projects. The French king's renunciation of the Spanish succession, which it had been the main object of the war to enforce, was not even mentioned in the articles of pacification, and several other omissions left abundant grounds for a renewal of the war at no distant period.

The emperor, though severely harassed by the Turks, consented to the peace with great reluctance, and complained bitterly of the desertion of his allies. But no one of the confederates derived more advantage from the treaty; he was enabled to direct his whole force against the Ottomans, who, under their new sultan, Mustapha II., became, for a brief space, formidable to Europe. The danger was averted by the celebrated Prince Eugene, of Savoy, who now began to attract admiration. After the peace of Ryswick, he took the command of the imperialists, and encountered Mustapha at Zenta, a small village on the banks of the river Theysse, in the kingdom of Hungary. The battle was brief, but, for its duration, one of the most sanguinary on record; fifteen thousand Turks were slain, and eight thousand more drowned in their flight across the river; their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, the sultan's magnificent pavilion, countless standards, and the great seal of the Ottoman empire, remained the prize of the victors; the grand vizier, the aga of the janissaries, and twenty-seven paçhas, were among the victims of this fatal field. Mustapha, having vainly attempted to retrieve his losses in a new campaign, was forced to consent to the peace of Carlowitz, by which several provinces were resigned to the Austrians, Azof ceded to the Russians, now fast rising into importance under the administration of the Czar Peter, and the Venetians gratified by the cession of the Morea, anciently called the Peloponnesus.

The declining health of the king of Spain, Charles II., engaged the general attention of Europe after the peace of Ryswick: three princes were candidates for the succession, Louis XIV., the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. It is unnecessary to canvass their several claims, but it is manifest that the general interests of Europe pointed to the electoral prince as the most eligible of the competitors. A secret treaty of partition was concluded between William and Louis, but Charles II. received information of the transaction, and enraged that his dominions should be shared during his life, proclaimed the electoral prince of Bavaria sole heir. Scarcely, however, had this arrangement been made, when that prince died suddenly, not without strong suspi-

cions of poison (A. D. 1699). A new treaty of partition was arranged by Holland, France, and England, but the emperor Leopold refused his concurrence, expecting to obtain for his family the inheritance of the whole Spanish monarchy. During these negotiations, the affections of the Scotch were alienated from William, by his sacrificing the settlement which they had established at a great expense, on the isthmus of Darien, to quiet the fears of the Spaniards, and the commercial jealousy of the English. Could they have found leaders, they would probably have had recourse to arms, but fortunately they were contented to vent their rage in violent language, and furious invective. Charles II. was long disposed to favor the Austrian claimant to his crown, but the arrogance of his queen and her German favorites, alienated the nation from the court of Vienna, while the Spanish nobility and clergy urged the dying monarch to bestow the sovereignty on the house of Bourbon. Charles applied to the pope for advice; Innocent XII., who then filled the pontifical chair, was very jealous of the progress of the Austrian power in Italy;, he therefore strenuously recommended the choice of a French prince; a new will was made, and Philip, duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, was nominated heir to the crown of Spain. Not long after Charles died (A. D. 1701), and Louis, after some hesitation between the will and the partition treaty, proclaimed his grandson king of Spain and the Indies, under the title of Philip V.

Though England and Holland were equally alarmed at this proceeding, both powers were obliged to acquiesce for a season. William found his parliament reluctant to engage in a new war, and Louis, by an unexpected movement against the barrier towns, had secured a great portion of the Dutch army. The emperor, however, commenced a war, claiming the dutchy of Milan as a fief of the imperial crown, and his army, under the command of Prince Eugene, gained several advantages over Marshal Catinat, in Italy. During this campaign, the states-general and William, having failed to make any satisfactory explanations of his designs from the French king, concluded a treaty, called the Grand Alliance, with the emperor. Its avowed objects were "to procure satisfaction to his imperial majesty in the case of the Spanish succession; obtain security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America." But this treaty would probably have been frustrated by the English parliament, but for the imprudence with which Louis hazarded an insult to the British nation (A. D. 1701). On the death of James II., he caused his son, commonly called the Old Pretender, to be recognised king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. The parliament at once entered heartily into the war, which they had hitherto disapproved, and their martial ardor was not abated by the death of William, who fell a victim to a fall from his horse, and the unskilfulness of an inexperienced surgeon (A. D. 1702). The intelligence of this event filled the allies with consternation; but their fears were of short duration, for Queen Anne, who next ascended the throne, declared her resolution to adhere steadily to the policy of her predecessor.

Section V.—*The War of the Spanish Succession.*

The accession of Queen Anne gave great satisfaction to the English people; William was disliked as a foreigner, who was more strongly attached to Holland than to his adopted country, and his coldness of manner had greatly tended to increase his unpopularity. He was suspected by the tories of secret designs against the church, on account of his attachment to presbyterianism, and the whigs had ceased to respect him, because he had not shown himself sufficiently grateful for their services in raising him to the throne. Though his military talents were great, he had not been a very successful general, and it was studiously circulated, that he endeavored as much as possible to keep back the earl (afterward duke) of Marlborough, through envy of his superior abilities. He had, at first, recognised the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, and therefore, when he joined the grand alliance formed to prevent what he had previously sanctioned, he was exposed to suspicions of insincerity, and it was generally believed that if Louis made any large sacrifices to conciliate the Dutch, the English monarch would not persevere in his resistance. It is scarcely necessary to say that it was of very little importance to England, whether an Austrian or a French prince became monarch of Spain; the war of the succession, in which this country bore the principal share, was that in which its interests were the least involved; and this country lavishly poured forth its blood and treasure to accomplish objects which had no connexion with its real position. It was the indignation excited by the attempt of Louis to impose upon the English people a sovereign of his choice, which induced the queen and her people to enter on a bloody and expensive war, for no other purpose than humiliating the insolence of a despot. They subsequently found out that they had to pay too dear a price for the luxuries of war and vengeance.

Queen Anne infused vigor into the grand alliance, not only by the prompt declaration of her adhesion, but by her judicious choice of ministers; Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury, and the earl of Marlborough, who was connected with the premier by marriage, was appointed commander-in-chief of the English army in Flanders, and appointed ambassador extraordinary to the states-general. War was declared against France on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna; and the campaign was simultaneously opened in Italy, Germany, and Flanders (A. D. 1702). The earl of Marlborough, who commanded in Flanders, was the only one of the allied generals who obtained success; he captured several important towns, and would probably have defeated the French in the open field, had not his motions been fettered by the presence of the Dutch field-deputies, who were too cautious or too timorous to allow of his hazarding an engagement. At sea the ancient renown of the English navy was re-established; Sir George Rooke sailed against Cadiz with a fleet of fifty sail, having with him the duke of Ormond and an army of twelve thousand men. Cadiz was too strong to be taken, and Rooke sailed to Vigo, where the galleons, laden with the treasures of Spanish America, lay protected by a French fleet and a formidable castle and batteries. The English admiral broke the boom that protected the narrow entrance into the in-

ner harbor, Ormond stormed the castle, and the French losing all hope, set fire to their ships. But the English and Dutch were at hand to extinguish the flames; six ships of the line and nine galleons became the trophies of the conquerors.

These losses, and the defection of the duke of Savoy, did not abate the courage of Louis; and the confederates, though joined by the king of Portugal, did not improve their advantages (A. D. 1703). The elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, being joined by Marshal Villars, gained a great victory over the imperialists at Hochstet, by which a road was opened to Vienna. The armies of Louis retained their superiority in Italy; even at sea the French disconcerted the plans of the confederates, and these disasters were poorly compensated by the acquisition of a few fortified towns in Flanders, which were captured by Marlborough. Even these slight successes gave courage to the allies; the English parliament voted liberal supplies for continuing the war, and the emperor, though menaced on one side by the Hungarian insurgents, and on the other by the French and Bavarians, ordered his second son, Charles, to assume the title of king of Spain, and to proceed to Portugal, for the purpose of invading that country.

Marlborough had hitherto been greatly impeded by the timid caution of his Dutch colleagues; he concerted the plan of his next campaign with a more congenial spirit, Prince Eugene. As his Flemish conquests, in the preceding campaigns, had secured a good barrier for the united provinces, Marlborough now advanced to the title of duke, leaving the defence of the fortresses to the Dutch garrisons, concentrated his forces, with the professed design of invading France, and then suddenly marched into Germany. A junction was effected with the imperialists, the elector of Bavaria's lines at Donawert were forced, and the allies advanced to the Danube. The Bavarian prince having been reinforced by thirty thousand French under the command of Marshal Tallard, resolved to hazard a battle, and the duke having been joined by Prince Eugene, with an equal number, eagerly sought for an engagement (August 13, A. D. 1704). The French and Bavarians were advantageously posted on a hill between the Danube and the village of Blenheim; but their line was weakened by detachments, and Marlborough, taking advantage of their error, charged through, and won a decisive victory. Thirty thousand French and Bavarians were killed, wounded, or taken; their camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and standards, became the prize of the conquerors; Tallard was taken prisoner, and the Bavarian prince narrowly escaped the same fate. The allies, however, suffered very severely; their loss amounted to no less than five thousand killed and seven thousand wounded.

The consequences of this brilliant but bloody victory were, the immediate liberation of the emperor from all danger; the Hungarian insurgents were terrified into submission, Bavaria was abandoned by its sovereign to the ravages of the imperialists, and the shattered relics of the French army were driven to seek shelter within their own frontiers. The moral influence of the victory was even of more importance than the immediate results: it not only compensated for the ill success of the allies in Italy and Spain, but changed the whole complexion of the war. At sea the English navy began to retrieve its

fame; though Sir George Rooke failed in an attack on Barcelona, he stormed Gibraltar, a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable, and gained a glorious but unprofitable victory over the French fleet off Malaga.

Had all the allies exhibited the same vigor as the English, Louis must have been speedily ruined; but the Germans were sluggish; the death of the emperor Leopold, and the accession of his more enterprising son Joseph, made no change in their policy (A. D. 1705): the prince of Baden, the general of the imperialists, obstinately refused to join Marlborough on the Moselle, and the allies could attempt no conquest of importance in Flanders. In Italy the French obtained so many advantages that the duke of Savoy was forced to shut himself up in his capital, where he was besieged, with but little prospect of relief; but on the side of Spain the allied arms were crowned with brilliant success. Sir John Leake defeated a French fleet off Gibraltar, and thus forced the marshal de Tessè to raise the siege of that fortress; the confederates, entering Spain on the Portuguese side, captured several places in Estremadura, while the earl of Peterborough, having been convoyed by Sir Sir Cloudesly Shovel to the coast of Catalonia, took the important city of Barcelona, and established the authority of Charles III. in the whole province of Catalonia, and the greater part of the kingdom of Valencia.

These variations of success inflamed the courage and obstinacy of the belligerant powers. Louis was so elated that he ordered Marshal Villeroy to act on the offensive in Flanders, while his Italian army besieged Turin, and the forces he sent into Germany drove the prince of Baden and the imperialists before them (A. D. 1706). The English parliament, now composed principally of whigs, showed the greatest eagerness for the prosecution of the war, and voted liberal supplies for the ensuing campaign. Marlborough joined the united army of Holland and England in May, and soon after received a subsidiary Danish force. Villeroy, relying on his superior strength, advanced to attack the allies, and the two armies met near the village of Ramillies. The French marshal posted his left wing behind a morass, where it could not be attacked, but where it was equally incapable of advancing against the enemy. Marlborough took immediate advantage of this error; amusing the French left wing by a feigned attack, he poured his infantry in masses on the centre; they encountered a brave resistance, but the duke, bringing up the cavalry just as the French lines began to waver, broke through them with a headstrong charge, and in an instant Villeroy's army was a helpless mass of confusion. Seven thousand of the French were slain, six thousand taken prisoners, and a vast quantity of artillery and ammunition abandoned to the victors. The loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, did not exceed three thousand five hundred men.

The results of this brilliant victory were the immediate conquest of Brabant, and almost all the Spanish Netherlands; but its consequences were felt even in Italy. Marshal Vendome having been recalled to remedy, if possible, Villeroy's disaster, Prince Eugene resolved to raise the siege of Turin, and baffled the efforts of the duke of Orleans to obstruct his march. Orleans therefore joined the besieging army, and as a battle was manifestly inevitable, the French marshals anxiously de-

liberated whether they should wait for the enemy in their intrenchments. The majority voted against the measure, but Marshal Marsin produced an order, signed by the king, immediately after receiving the account of his defeat at Ramillies, commanding his generals not to offer, but to wait for battle. This order hurt the pride and confused the measures of the duke of Orleans. While the French generals were angrily debating what arrangements should be made, Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy fell upon their lines; the French got entangled in their extensive intrenchments, the river Doria running through their camp prevented one part of their army from coming to the assistance of the other; they were speedily routed, and fled with precipitation, not halting until they had passed their own frontiers. In men, the loss of the French army was not great, but they abandoned all their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest. By this single blow, the house of Bourbon lost the dutchies of Milan and Mantau, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples.

That the success of the allies was not equally decisive in Spain, must be attributed to the want of energy and Austrian sluggishness of the archduke Charles. Philip besieged his rival in Barcelona, but was forced to retire by the appearance of Sir John Leake, with an English squadron, before the town. The retreat was made in great disorder, partly occasioned by an eclipse of the sun, which the superstitious Spaniards regarded as an omen of their ruin. Forty thousand English and Portuguese, under the command of the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas, advanced through Estremadura toward Madrid, and Philip was forced to abandon his capital; at the same time, the count de Santa Cruz surrendered Carthagena and the galleys to the allied powers. Had the archduke gone immediately to Madrid, and closely pressed his rival, the crown of Spain would probably have been lost to the house of Bourbon; but he lingered unaccountably in the neighborhood of Barcelona, until Philip and the duke of Berwick,* having collected a superior army, compelled the English and Portuguese to abandon Madrid. Carthagena was soon after recovered, but this was more than compensated by the loss of the islands of Majorca and Ivica, which surrendered to the English fleet under Sir John Leake. Louis was so disheartened by his losses, that he sought for peace on very humble conditions, but the allies, intoxicated with success, demanded such humiliating terms, that he resolved to try the hazards of another campaign.

While the English ministers were lavishing blood and treasure to support foreign wars, they did not neglect the internal affairs of the nation. A treaty for uniting England and Scotland under one legislature, was ratified by the parliaments of both countries; but the Scottish nation generally was opposed to a union that galled their national pride, and the advantages of which time alone could develop (A. D. 1707). Louis derived one advantage from his recent misfortunes; the expulsion of his force from Italy enabled him to send powerful succors into Spain, where the allies were acting with the greatest negligence and misconduct. The earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas, having ex-

* The duke of Berwick was the natural son of James II., and one of the ablest generals in the service of France.

hausted all their provisions in Valencia, attempted to pass into New Castile; the duke of Berwick, having received large reinforcements, and aware that the allies had been weakened by the departure of the archduke, did not hesitate to attack them at Almanza, and won a victory as complete as any that had been obtained during the war. This great triumph restored the cause of the Bourbons in Spain, and similar success attended the French army in Germany, where Marshal Villars penetrated to the Danube, and laid the dutchy of Wirtemberg under contribution. Nothing of importance occurred in Flanders, and the only naval enterprise was the siege of Toulon. Prince Eugene, and the duke of Savoy, marched through France to besiege this great port, while Sir Cloudesly Shovel appeared off the coast to second their operations. But unfortunately, the garrison of Toulon had been reinforced two hours before the appearance of the allies; they retreated through Provence, wasting the country as they passed, and diffusing consternation almost to the gates of Paris. Nor was this the only evil that Louis suffered from the invasion; the detachments withdrawn from the army of Marshal Villars so weakened that general, that he was forced to relinquish his high projects in Germany, and repass the Rhine, instead of advancing beyond the Danube.

Great expectations had been formed in England, which the results of the campaign miserably disappointed; Godolphin and Marlborough lost a considerable share of their popularity; they were opposed even by the members of the cabinet, and though they persuaded the queen to dismiss Mr. Secretary Harley, and Mr. St. John, they saw that their influence with her majesty, and their power in parliament, had been considerably diminished (A. D. 1708). Marlborough felt that a vigorous campaign was essential to his future interests, especially as the duke de Vendome had, by treachery, gained possession of Ghent and Bruges; he therefore resolved to risk a general battle, and crossing the Scheldt, came up with the French army strongly posted at Oudenarde. The British cavalry broke their opponents at the first charge, the French lines fell into confusion, and though the approach of darkness prevented the allies from completing their victory, the enemy fled in such disorder, that nine thousand were taken prisoners, and nearly six thousand deserted. Marlborough, being reinforced by Prince Eugene, undertook the siege of Lisle, the principal city in French Flanders, and though it was vigorously defended by Marshal Boufflers, it was forced to surrender after a siege of two months, while Ghent and Bruges were recovered ere the close of the campaign. Nothing of importance occurred in Italy, Germany, or Spain; but the English fleet conquered the island of Sardinia, and terrified the pope into the acknowledgment of the archduke Charles as lawful king of Spain.

The confidence of the allies now rose to the highest pitch; Godolphin and Marlborough found the English parliament ready to grant additional supplies; the Dutch agreed to augment their troops, and the imperialists promised to lay aside their inactivity. Louis, on the contrary, disheartened by defeat, his treasury exhausted, his councils distracted, and his kingdom suffering from famine, offered to purchase peace by every concession that could reasonably be demanded (A. D. 1709). Once more his proffers were rejected, except upon conditions

inconsistent with his personal honor and the safety of his kingdom, and once more he appealed to the hazards of war. The confederates in Flanders, finding that Marshal Villars had taken a position from which he could not be dislodged, laid siege to Tournay, and on the surrender of that place invested Mons. Villars, unable to relieve the place, took possession of a strong camp at Malplaquet, whence he trusted that he could harass the besiegers. The confederates, elated with past success, resolved to attack the French in their intrenchments. Few battles, since the invention of gunpowder, have been more obstinate and bloody; victory finally declared in favor of the allies, but it was dearly purchased by the loss of fifteen thousand men; while the French, who had fought under cover, lost only ten thousand. Mons was now closely invested, and the surrender of that important place closed the campaign. Nothing of importance occurred in Germany, Italy, or Spain; but Louis, finding his resources exhausted, once again made an unsuccessful effort to obtain peace.

Conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg (A. D. 1710), but the allies, influenced by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, rejected the propositions of the French king; he was, however, unwilling to break off the negotiations, and the conferences were continued even after the hostile armies had actually taken the field. The duke of Marlborough took several fortified places in Flanders; but nothing of importance was done in Germany or Piedmont; and the misfortunes of the allies in Spain more than counterbalanced their other successes. The archduke Charles, aided by the English general, Stanhope, twice defeated his rival, and a second time gained possession of Madrid; instead of improving these advantages, he loitered in the capital until forced to retire by the united forces of the French and Spaniards, under the duke of Vendome. The allies retired toward Catalonia, and marched, for the sake of subsistence, in two bodies. Stanhope, who commanded the rear division, allowed himself to be surrounded at Brihuega, and was forced to surrender at discretion. Staremberg, who led the principal division, was soon after forced to engage at a disadvantage, but he made such able dispositions, that Vendome was compelled to retreat, and the imperialists continued their march in safety. They were, however, so weakened and dispirited by Stanhope's misfortune, that they could not check the victorious progress of Philip.

A revolution in the English cabinet proved of more consequence to Louis than even the success of his arms in Spain. The queen, a woman of feeble mind, had long been under the influence of the dutchess of Marlborough, who did not always use her power with discretion. A new favorite, Mrs. Masham, supplanted the dutchess, and was gained over, by Harley and St. John, to induce the queen to make a total change in the administration. This would have been impossible if the whigs had continued to enjoy the confidence of the nation; but many circumstances contributed to diminish their popularity. The weight of taxes, occasioned by the expenses of the war, began to be felt as a burden, when victories, from their very frequency, ceased to excite joy; the conduct of the allies, who contrived that "England should fight for all and pay for all," gave just dissatisfaction; and the rejection of the French king's offers at Gertruydenberg was justly regarded as the tri-

umph of private ambition over public policy. In addition to these grounds of discontent, the tories raised the cry that the "church was in danger," on account of the favor shown to the dissenters; and the whigs, instead of allowing the imputation to refute itself, unwisely attempted to silence the clamor by force. Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon before the lord mayor, in which he bitterly attacked the dissenters, and advocated the exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Though it was but a poor contemptible production, such is the violence of party, that it was printed, and forty thousand copies are said to have been sold in a week. In another week, it would probably have been forgotten, had not Godolphin, who was personally attacked in the commons, persuaded his friends to make it the subject of a parliamentary impeachment. Common sense revolted from such an absurdity; the generous feelings of the nation were enlisted on the side of the preacher, and this sympathy was soon transferred to his cause. During his trial, the populace showed the liveliest zeal in his behalf; and when he was found guilty, the house of lords, dreading popular tumults, passed a sentence so lenient, that it was hailed by the tories as a triumph.

The persecution of Sacheverell was the ruin of the whigs; the queen, aware of their unpopularity, dismissed all her ministers except the duke of Marlborough; and a new cabinet was formed under the auspices of Mr. Harley, who was soon after created earl of Oxford. A new parliament was summoned, in which the tories had an overwhelming majority (A. D. 1711), but the ministers did not abandon the foreign policy of their predecessors, and copious supplies were voted for the maintenance of the war.

At this crisis an unexpected event changed the situations and views of all parties. The emperor Joseph died without issue; his brother Charles, the claimant of the Spanish crown, succeeded to the empire, and the liberties of Europe were thus exposed to as much danger from the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, as from that of the Bourbon family. The campaign was languidly conducted in every quarter, and ere its conclusion, the English ministers were secretly negotiating with France.

After many disgraceful intrigues, in which all the actors sacrificed the interests of the nation to party purposes, the duke of Marlborough was stripped of all his employments, and conferences for a general peace commenced at Utrecht. The successive deaths of the dauphin of France, his son the duke of Burgundy, and his grandson the duke of Bretagne, left only the sickly duke of Anjou between Philip and the throne of France. The union of the French and Spanish monarchies filled the confederates with no unreasonable apprehension, and the English ministers were obliged to threaten that they would renew the war, unless Philip renounced his right of succession to the throne of France (A. D. 1712). When this important point was obtained, the English and French agreed upon a cessation of arms; the Dutch and the imperialists continued the campaign, but with such ill success, that they were induced to renew the conferences for peace. On the 31st of March, 1713, the treaties between the different powers were signed at Utrecht by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Prussia (recently exalted into a kingdom), Savoy, and the United Provinces. The em-

peror held out until the following year, when he signed a treaty at Radstadt, less favorable than that which had been offered at Utrecht; and the king of Spain, with more reluctance, gave his adhesion to the general arrangements.

Few subjects have been more fiercely contested than the conduct of the English ministers in relation to the treaty of Utrecht. The reason is perfectly obvious: both the political parties that divided the nation had acted wrong; the whigs continued the war after all its reasonable objects had been gained; the tories concluded a peace in which the advantages that England might have claimed, from the success of her arms, were wantonly sacrificed. The people of England generally disliked the peace, and the commercial treaty with France was rejected by a majority of nine votes in the house of commons. The whigs now began to pretend that the protestant succession was in danger, and the alarm spreading rapidly, brought back to their party a large share of its former popularity. Nor were these apprehensions groundless; through the influence of the jacobites, the earl of Oxford was removed from his office, and a new administration, more favorable to the house of Stuart, formed under the auspices of St. John, Lord Bolingbroke. But before the court of St. Germains could derive any advantage from this change, the queen, harassed by the intrigues and quarrels of her servants, sank into a lethargy, and her death disappointed the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents (August 1, 1714). Several whig lords, without being summoned; attended the council, which was of course held at the demise of the crown; and the tories, overawed, concurred in issuing an order for the proclamation of the elector of Hanover, as George I., king of Great Britain and Ireland.

Section VI.—*Peter the Great of Russia.—Charles XII. of Sweden.*

In the last two sections, we have confined our attention to the wars which the ambition of Louis XIV. excited in the south and west of Europe. During this period, the northern and eastern divisions of Christendom were occupied by the rivalry of two of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared on the stage of human life—Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. Before entering on their history, we must take a brief retrospect of the affairs of the north, after the accession of the Czar Alexis, and the resignation of Queen Christina.

Under the administration of Alexis, Russia began rapidly to emerge from the barbarism into which it had been plunged by the Mongolian invasion and subsequent civil wars. He reformed the laws, encouraged commerce, and patronised the arts; he recovered Smolensko from the Poles, and prevented the Turks from establishing their dominion over the Cossack tribes. His son Theodore, though of a weak constitution, steadily pursued the same course of vigorous policy. "He lived," says a native Russian historian, "the joy and delight of his people, and died amid their sighs and tears. On the day of his decease, Moscow was in the same state of distress which Rome felt at the death of Titus." John, the brother and successor of Theodore, was a prince of weak intellect; his ambitious sister, Sophia, seized for a time on the sovereign-

ty, excluding her young brother Peter, to whom Theodore had bequeathed the crown. During seven years of boyhood Peter endured Sophia's galling yoke; but when he reached his seventeenth year, he took advantage of the general indignation excited by the misconduct of the government, to shut that princess up in a nunnery, and banish her favorite into a distant part of the empire.

Denmark was the scene of an extraordinary revolution (A. D. 1661). The tyranny of the aristocracy arose to such a height, that the clergy and commons voted for the surrender of their liberties to the king, and Ferdinand III., almost without any effort of his own, was thus invested with absolute power. On his death (A. D. 1670), his successor, Christian V., commenced war against Charles XI., king of Sweden, who, though assailed by a powerful league, defended himself with great ability and success. Charles XI., after the restoration of peace, tried to make himself as absolute as the kings of Denmark, but he died prematurely (A. D. 1697), leaving his crown to his son Charles XII., who has been deservedly styled the Alexander of the North.

Peter the Great commenced his reign by defeating the Turks, from whom he wrested the advantageous port of Azof, which opened to his subjects the commerce of the Black sea. This acquisition enlarged his views; he resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia, to connect the Dwina, the Volga, and the Don, by canals, thus opening a water communication between the northern seas and the Black and the Caspian seas. To complete this magnificent plan, he determined to build a city on the Baltic sea, which should be the emporium of northern commerce, and the capital of his dominions. A still greater proof of his wisdom, and of his anxiety to secure the prosperity of his subjects, was his undertaking a tour through Europe, for the purpose of acquiring instruction, and bringing back to his subjects the improvements of more civilized nations. In 1698, having established a regency to direct the government during his absence, he departed from his dominions as a private gentleman, in the train of the ambassadors that he had sent to the principal courts of Europe. Amsterdam, at that time one of the most flourishing commercial cities in Europe, was the first place that arrested his attention; he entered himself as a common carpenter in one of the principal dockyards, laboring and living exactly like the other workmen. Thence he went to England, where he examined and studied the principal naval arsenals. King William presented the czar with a beautiful yacht, and permitted him to engage several ingenious artificers in his service. After a year's absence, Peter returned home, greatly improved himself, and accompanied by a train of men well qualified to instruct his subjects.

Anxious to extend his dominions on the eastern side of the Baltic, he entered into an alliance against Sweden with Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded John Sobieski on the throne of Poland, and Frederick IV., king of Denmark (A. D. 1700). The Danes commenced the war by invading the territories of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law and ally of the king of Sweden. Their progress was slower than they expected, and, in the midst of their career, they were arrested by intelligence of the dangers which menaced their own capital. Charles XII., undaunted by the power of the league, resolved

to carry the war into the dominions of Denmark. While his fleet, strengthened by an English squadron, blockaded Copenhagen, he suddenly embarked his troops at Carlscrona, and having easily effected a passage, laid siege to the city, by land. Frederic, cut off from his dominions by the Swedish cruisers, and alarmed by the imminent danger of his fleet and capital, concluded a peace highly honorable to the Swedes, leaving his Russian and Polish allies to continue the contest.

No sooner had Charles concluded the treaty, than he resolved to turn his arms against the Russians, who were besieging Narva with a force of eighty thousand men; though his own army did not exceed ten thousand, the heroic king of Sweden boldly resolved to attack his enemies in their intrenchments. As soon as his artillery had opened a small breach, he commanded his men to advance to the charge with fixed bayonets. A storm of snow, that blew full in their faces, added to the confusion into which the undisciplined Russians were thrown by this daring assault; the very superiority of their numbers added to their confusion; after a contest of three hours' duration they were totally routed; eighteen thousand of the besiegers fell in the battle or flight, thirty thousand remained prisoners, all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, became the prey of the conquerors. The czar was not disheartened by this defeat, which he attributed to the right cause, the ignorance and barbarism of his subjects; "I knew," he said, "that the Swedes would beat us, but they will teach us to become conquerors in our turn." Though at the head of forty thousand men, he did not venture to encounter his rival, but evacuated the provinces that he had invaded.

Having wintered at Narva, Charles marched against the Poles and Saxons, who were encamped in the neighborhood of Riga; he forced a passage across the Duna, and gained a complete victory. Thence he entered as a conqueror into Courland and Lithuania, scarcely encountering any opposition. Encouraged by this success, he formed the project of dethroning King Augustus, who had lost the affection of the Poles by the undisguised preference which he showed for his Saxon subjects. With this design he entered into a secret correspondence with Radzrewiski, the cardinal primate, by whose means such a spirit of opposition was raised in the diet and senate, that Augustus sought peace as his only means of safety. Charles refused to treat unless the Poles elected a new king; and Augustus, convinced that he could only protect his crown by the sword, led his army to meet the Swedes, in a spacious plain near Clissau (A. D. 1702). The Polish monarch had with him about twenty-four thousand men, the forces of Charles did not exceed half that number; but the Swedes, flushed by recent conquests, gained a complete victory; and Augustus, after having made in vain the most heroic efforts to rally his troops, was forced to fly, leaving the enemy in possession of all his artillery and baggage. A second triumph at Pultusk, in the following campaign, gave such encouragement to the enemies of Augustus, that he was formally deposed by the diet (A. D. 1704), and the vacant crown given to Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been nominated by the king of Sweden.

Peter had not been in the meantime inactive; though he had not given much assistance to his ally Augustus, he had made a powerful

diversion by invading Ingria, and taking Narva, so recently the scene of his misfortunes, by storm. At the same time he founded his projected capital in the heart of his new conquests, and by his judicious measures protected the rising city from the attacks of the Swedish generals. St. Petersburgh, founded on a marshy island in the river Neva, during a destructive war, and surrounded by countries recently subdued or still hostile, rose rapidly into importance, and remained in perfect security while all around was in confusion. Augustus had not yet resigned all hopes of recovering his crown; he concerted a scheme of operations with Peter, and sixty thousand Russians entered Poland to drive the Swedes from their recent acquisitions. Charles was not daunted by the numbers of his enemies; he routed the Russian divisions successively, and inspired such terror by the rapidity of his movements, which seemed almost miraculous, that the Russians retreated to their own country (A. D. 1706). In the meantime a victory obtained by a division of the Swedish army over the Saxons, opened to Charles a passage into the hereditary dominions of his rival, and crossing the Oder, he appeared in Saxony at the head of twenty-four thousand men. Augustus was forced to conclude peace on the most humiliating conditions. Charles wintered in Germany, where his presence created considerable alarm. He demanded from the emperor toleration for the protestants of Silesia, and the relinquishment of the quota which Sweden was bound to furnish for its German provinces. Involved in the war of the succession, Joseph submitted,* and the fears with which the presence of Charles filled the allied powers were soon dispersed by his departure in quest of new adventures.†

From Saxony Charles marched back into Poland, where Peter was making some ineffectual efforts to revive the party of Augustus. Peter retired before his rival, who had, however, the satisfaction of defeating an army of twenty thousand Russians, strongly intrenched. Intoxicated by success, he rejected the czar's offers of peace, declaring that he would treat at Moscow;‡ and without forming any systematic plan of operations, he crossed the frontiers, resolved on the destruction of that ancient city. Peter prevented the advance of the Swedes, on the direct line, by destroying the roads and desolating the country; Charles, after having endured great privations, turned off toward the

* The pope was greatly displeased by the emperor's restoring the Silesian churches to the protestants; Joseph facetiously replied to his remonstrances: "Had the king of Sweden demanded that I should become a Lutheran myself, I do not know what might have been the consequence."

† The duke of Marlborough went into Saxony to dissuade the Swedish monarch from accepting the offers of Louis XIV. Marlborough was too cautious a politician to enter immediately on the object of his mission. He complimented Charles on his victories, and even expressed his anxiety to derive instruction in the art of war from so eminent a commander. In the course of the conversation, Marlborough perceived that Charles had a rooted aversion to, and was not, therefore, likely to form an alliance with Louis. A map of Russia lying open before the king, and the anger with which Charles spoke of Peter, revealed to the duke the real intentions of the Swedish monarch. He, therefore, took his leave without making any proposals, convinced that the disputes of Charles with the emperor might easily be accommodated, as all his demands would be granted.

‡ When Peter was informed of this haughty answer, he coolly replied, "My brother Charles affects to play the part of Alexander, but I hope he will not find in me a Darius."

Ukraine, whither he had been invited by Mazeppa, the chief of the Cossacks, who, disgusted by the conduct of the czar, had resolved to throw off his allegiance. In spite of all the obstacles that nature and the enemy could throw in his way, Charles reached the place of rendezvous; but he had the mortification to find Mazeppa appear in his camp as a fugitive rather than an ally, for the czar had discovered his treason, and disconcerted his schemes by the punishment of his associates.

A still greater misfortune to the Swedes was the loss of the convoy and the ruin of the reinforcement they had expected from Livonia. General Lewenhaupt, to whose care it was intrusted, had been forced into three general engagements by the Russians; and though he had eminently distinguished himself by his courage and conduct, he was forced to set fire to his wagons to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Undaunted by these misfortunes, Charles continued the campaign even in the depth of a winter* so severe that two thousand men were at once frozen to death almost in his presence. At length he laid siege to Pultowa, a fortified city on the frontiers of the Ukraine, which contained one of the czar's principal magazines. The garrison was numerous and the resistance obstinate; Charles himself was dangerously wounded in the heel while viewing the works; and while he was still confined to his tent he learned that Peter was advancing with a numerous army to raise the siege. Leaving seven thousand men to guard the works, Charles ordered his soldiers to march and meet the enemy, while he accompanied them in a litter (July 8, 1709). The desperate charge of the Swedes broke the Russian cavalry, but the infantry stood firm, and gave the horse an opportunity of rallying in the rear. In the meantime, the czar's artillery made dreadful havoc in the Swedish line; and Charles, who had been forced to abandon his cannon in his forced marches, in vain contended against this formidable disadvantage. After a dreadful combat of more than two hours' duration, the Swedish army was irretrievably ruined; eight thousand of their best troops were left dead on the field, six thousand were taken prisoners, and about twelve thousand of the fugitives were soon after forced to surrender on the banks of the Dnieper, from want of boats to cross the river. Charles, accompanied by about three hundred of his guards, escaped to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia, abandoning all his treasures to his rival, including the rich spoils of Poland and Saxony.

* This catastrophe is powerfully described by Campbell:—

"Oh! learn the fate that bleeding thousands bore,
Led by their Charles to Dnieper's sandy shore.
Faint from his wounds, and shivering in the blast,
The Swedish soldier sank and groaned his last;
File after file the stormy showers benumb,
Freeze every standard sheet and hush the drum;
Horseman and horse confessed the bitter pang,
And arms and warrior fell with hollow clang.
Yet, ere he sank in Nature's last repose,
Ere life's warm current to the fountain froze,
The dying man to Sweden turned his eye,
Thought of his home, and closed it with a sigh.
Imperial pride looked sullen on his plight,
And Charles beheld, nor shuddered at the sight."

Few victories have ever had such important consequences as that which the czar won at Pultowa; in one fatal day Charles lost the fruits of nine years' victories; the veteran army that had been the terror of Europe was completely ruined; those who escaped from the fatal field were taken prisoners, but they found a fate scarcely better than death, for they were transported by the czar to colonize the wilds of Siberia; the elector of Saxony re-entered Poland, and drove Stanislaus from the throne; the kings of Denmark* and Prussia revived old claims on the Swedish provinces, while the victorious Peter invaded not only Livonia and Ingria, but a great part of Finland. Indeed, but for the interference of the German emperor and the maritime powers, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent in pieces.

Charles, in his exile, formed a new plan for the destruction of his hated rival; he instigated the Turks to attempt the conquest of Russia, and flattered himself that he might yet enter Moscow at the head of a Mohammedan army. The bribes which Peter lavishly bestowed on the counsellors of the sultans, for a time frustrated these intrigues; but Charles, through his friend Poniatowski, informed the sultan of his vizier's corruption, and procured the deposition of that minister. Pupruli, who succeeded to the office of vizier, was averse to a Russian war, but he was removed at the end of two months, and the seals of office given to the pacha of Syria, who commenced his administration by sending the Russian ambassador to the prison of the Seven Towers.

The czar made the most vigorous preparations for the new war by which he was menaced (A. D. 1711). The Turkish vizier, on the other hand, assembled all the forces of the Ottoman empire in the plains of Adrianople. Demetrius Cantemir, the hospodar of Moldavia, believing that a favorable opportunity presented itself for delivering his country from the Mohammedan yoke, invited the czar to his aid; and the Russians, rapidly advancing, reached the northern banks of the Pruth, near Yassi, the Moldavian capital. Here the Russians found that the promises of Prince Cantemir were illusory; the Moldavians, happy under the Turkish sway, treated the invaders as enemies, and refused to supply them with provisions; in the meantime, the vizier arriving, formed a fortified camp in their front, while his vast host of light cavalry swept round their lines and cut off all foraging parties. The Russians defeated three successive attempts to storm their intrenchments; but they must have yielded to the effects of fatigue and famine, had not the emperess Catherine,† who accompanied her husband during the campaign, sent a private message to the vizier, which induced him to open negotiations. A treaty was concluded on terms which, though severe, were more favorable than Peter, under the circumstances, could reasonably have hoped; the Russians retired in safety, and Charles

* The Danish monarch invaded Schonen, but his troops were defeated by the Swedish militia, and a few regiments of the line, commanded by General Steenbock. When intelligence of this victory was conveyed to Charles, he exclaimed, "My brave Swedes! should God permit me to join you once more, we will beat them all."

† Catherine was a Livonian captive, of low condition, whom the emperor first saw waiting at table. Her abilities and modesty won his heart, he raised her to his throne, and never had reason to repent of his choice.

reached the Turkish camp, only to learn the downfall of all his expectations.

A new series of intrigues in the court of Constantinople led to the appointment of a new vizier; but this minister was little inclined to gratify the king of Sweden; on the contrary, warned by the fate of his predecessors, he resolved to remove him from the Ottoman empire (A. D. 1713). Charles continued to linger; even after he had received a letter of dismissal from the sultan's own hand, he resolved to remain, and when a resolution was taken to send him away by force, he determined, with his few attendants, to dare the whole strength of the Turkish empire. After a fierce resistance, he was captured and conveyed a prisoner to Adrianople; on his road, he learned that Stanislaus, whom he had raised to the throne of Poland, was likewise a Turkish captive; but, buoyed up by ardent hopes, he sent a message to his fellow-sufferer, never to make peace with Augustus. Another revolution in the divan revived the hopes of Charles, and induced him to remain in Turkey, when his return to the North would probably have restored him to his former eminence. The Swedes, under General Steenbock, gained one of the most brilliant victories that had been obtained during the war, over the united forces of the Danes and Saxons, at Gadebusch, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg; but the conqueror sullied his fame by burning the defenceless town of Altona, an outrage which excited the indignation of all Europe. This, however, was the last service that Steenbock could perform to his absent master; unable to prevent the junction of the Russians with the Danes and Saxons, he retreated before superior numbers, and, by the artifices of Baron Goertz, obtained temporary refuge in a fortress belonging to the duke of Holstein. The allies, however, pursued their advantages so vigorously that Steenbock and his followers were forced to yield themselves prisoners of war. Goertz, however, in some degree averted the consequences of this calamity by a series of political intrigues, which excited various jealousies and discordant interests between the several enemies of Sweden.

The czar in the meantime pushed forward his conquests on the side of Finland; and the glory of his reign appeared to be consummated by a naval victory obtained over the Swedes near the island of Oeland (A. D. 1714). This unusual success was celebrated by a triumphal entry into St. Peterburgh, at which Peter addressed his subjects on the magnitude of the advantages they had derived from his government. Charles heard of his rival's progress unmoved; but when he learned that the Swedish senate intended to make his sister regent, and to make peace with Russia and Denmark, he announced his intention of returning home. He was honorably escorted to the Turkish frontiers; but though orders had been given that he should be received with all due honor in the imperial dominions, he traversed Germany incognito, and toward the close of the year reached Stralsund, the capital of Swedish Pomerania.

Charles, at the opening of the next campaign, found himself surrounded with enemies (A. D. 1715). Stralsund itself was besieged by the united armies of the Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, while the Russian fleet, which now rode triumphant in the Baltic, threatened a descent upon Sweden. After an obstinate defence, in which the

Swedish monarch displayed all his accustomed bravery, Stralsund was forced to capitulate, Charles having previously escaped in a small vessel to his native shores. All Europe believed the Swedish monarch undone; it was supposed that he could no longer defend his own dominions, when to the inexpressible astonishment of every one, it was announced that he had invaded Norway. His attention, however, was less engaged by the war than by the gigantic intrigues of his new favorite Goertz, who, taking advantage of a coolness between the Russians and the other enemies of Sweden, proposed that Peter and Charles should unite in strict amity, and dictate the law to Europe. A part of this daring plan was the removal of the elector of Hanover from the English throne, and the restoration of the exiled Stuarts. But while the negotiations were yet in progress, Charles invaded Norway a second time, and invested the castle of Frederickshall in the very depth of winter. But while engaged in viewing the works, he was struck by a cannon-ball, and was dead before any of his attendants came to his assistance (A. D. 1718).* The Swedish senate showed little grief for the loss of the warlike king; on the first news of his death, his favorite, Baron Goertz, was arrested, brought to trial, and put to death on a ridiculous charge of treason. The crown was conferred upon the late king's sister, but she soon resigned it to her husband, the prince of Hesse, both being compelled to swear that they never would attempt

* Dr. Johnson's character of Charles XII. is the best comment on the life of that adventurous warrior:—

"On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide;
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labors tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquered lord of pleasure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field;
Behold surrounded kings their powers combine,
And one capitulate, and one resign;
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain:
'Think nothing gained,' he cries, 'till naught remain:
On Moscow's walls, till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'
The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait;
Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
And winter barricades the realms of frost;
He comes, nor want, nor cold, his course delay;
Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day:
The vanquished hero leaves his broken bands,
And shows his miseries in distant lands;
Condemned a needly supplicant to wait
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
He left the name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

the re-establishment of arbitrary power. Negotiations for peace were commenced with all the hostile powers, and treaties concluded with all but Russia (A. D. 1720). The appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic, coming to aid the Swedish squadron, however, finally disposed the czar to pacific measures; and he consented to grant peace, on condition of being permitted to retain Ingria, Livonia, and part of Finland (A. D. 1721). Thus the great northren war terminated, just as it was about to be connected with the politics of southern Europe.

CHAPTER VIII.

GROWTH OF THE MERCANTILE AND COLONIAL SYSTEM.

Section I.—*Establishment of the Hanoverian Succession in England.*

During the wars that had been waged against Louis XIV., the funding system was established in England; it commenced by the founding of a national bank (A. D. 1694), which lent its capital to the government at a lower rate of interest than was then usual. Further loans were contracted to support the exigences of the wars; parliament guarantied the payment of the interest, without entering into any obligation to restore the capital, which was transferable to any one. The gradual extension of the wealth of the nation facilitated the growth of this system, which soon gave England commanding influence on the continent. The facilities of raising money possessed by the English government enabled it to conclude subsidiary treaties, and set the armies of allied states in motion. Internally the funding system wrought a still greater change; a great portion of the political influence previously possessed by the landed aristocracy was transferred to large capitalists and manufacturers; the banking and funding systems afforded great facilities for accumulating the profits of industry, and thus fostered the growth of an intelligent and opulent middle class, whose strength was soon displayed in the increasing importance of the house of commons. Even at the treaty of Utrecht, the mercantile system began to manifest itself in all its strength. Grants of commercial privileges were made the conditions of peace with the maritime powers, and territorial concessions were made with a regard to the interests of trade rather than power. Justly as the British negotiators at Utrecht may be blamed for not taking sufficient advantage of the position in which their country was placed by the victories of Marlborough, it is undeniable that the treaty they concluded laid the foundation of the commercial superiority of England; it also contained the germes of two future wars, but these consequences were slowly developed; and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the republic of Holland was still the first commercial state in Europe.

The accession of George I. produced a complete change in the English administration; the tories were dismissed with harshness, the whigs were the sole possessors of office, and on the new election consequent on the demise of the crown, they obtained a decided majority in parliament. Unfortunately they used their power to crush their

political adversaries; the chiefs of the late ministry were impeached for high treason, and their prosecution was hurried forward so vindictively, that Lords Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent. This seemed a favorable moment to make an effort in favor of the exiled Stuarts, but Louis XIV., broken down by age, infirmities, and misfortune, was unwilling to hazard a new war, which might disturb the minority of his great-grandson, for in consequence of the mortality in the royal family, this remote descendant was destined to be his successor. The death of Louis (Sept. 1, 1715) further disconcerted the projects of the Pretender and his adherents; the duke of Orleans, who was chosen regent by the parliament of Paris during the minority of Louis XV., adopted every suggestion of the English ambassador, the earl of Stair, for counteracting the designs of the jacobites; and he did them irreparable injury by seizing some ships laden with arms and ammunition, at a time when it was impossible for them to purchase any fresh supply. The jacobites, however, persevered, and a plan was formed for a general insurrection; but this was defeated by the Pretender's imprudence, who prematurely gave the earl of Mar a commission to raise his standard in Scotland. The earl of Mar possessed considerable influence in the highland counties; no sooner had he proclaimed the Pretender, under the title of James III., than the clans crowded to his standard, and he was soon at the head of nine thousand men, including several noblemen and persons of distinction. Thus supported, he made himself master of Perth, and established his authority in almost all that part of Scotland which lies north of the Frith of Forth. In the meantime the government was alarmed; the jacobite leaders who had agreed to raise the west of England were taken into custody, and the duke of Argyle was sent against Mar with all the forces of North Britain. An ill-contrived and worse executed insurrection of the jacobites exploded in the north of England; its leaders, the earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, and Mr. Foster, a Northumbrian gentleman of great influence, were joined by several Scottish lords and a body of Highland infantry. But being unable to agree upon any rational plan of operations, they were surrounded by the royal forces in the town of Preston, and forced to surrender at discretion. It would have been better for the character of the government had lenity been shown to these unhappy men, but unfortunately most of the leaders were doomed to suffer the penalties of high treason.

In the meantime the earl of Mar had fought an indecisive battle with the duke of Argyle, which proved nevertheless ruinous to the Pretender's cause. Many who had been previously in doubt, declared for the royal cause, and several of the insurgent leaders returned to their allegiance. In this desperate state of his affairs, the Pretender landed with a small train in Scotland; but finding his cause hopeless, he returned to France with such of the leaders as did not expect pardon, and the whole country quietly submitted to the duke of Argyle.

Before entering on the singular changes wrought by the policy of the duke of Orleans in Europe, it will be convenient to cast a brief glance at the affairs of Russia and Turkey. No sooner had Peter the Great concluded peace with Sweden than he assumed the title of emperor, with the consent of all the European powers. By sending an

auxiliary force to aid the lawful sovereign of Persia against an Afghan usurper, he obtained the cession of the provinces on the south and west of the Caspian sea; and, while he thus extended his dominions, he did not neglect their internal improvement, but constructed canals, planned roads, and established manufactories. But Peter's own character retained many traces of barbarism, and his treatment of his eldest son, Alexis, excited general horror. This unfortunate prince is said to have been induced by some of the Russian priests and boyars to promise, that in the event of his accession, he would restore the old state of things, and abolish the new institutions of his father. He was arrested and forced to sign an abdication of the crown; soon after this, he died in prison, but whether violent means were used to accelerate his end, has never been satisfactorily ascertained. The second son of the Russian emperor died in infancy, and Peter chose his emperess as his successor. He assisted at her coronation after his return from the Persian war; and on his death (A. D. 1725) she became emperess of all the Russias, and by the excellence of her administration justified the choice of her illustrious husband.

The Turks were enraged at the diminution of their national glory in the war that was terminated by the treaty of Carlowitz, and eagerly longed for an opportunity of retrieving their lost honor. Ahmed III., the most warlike sultan that had recently filled the throne, was far from being displeased by their martial zeal, and he took the earliest opportunity of declaring war against the Venetians, whom he expelled from the Morea in a single campaign (A. D. 1715). The emperor, Charles VI., was solicited by the pope to check the progress of the Mohammedans; he therefore interfered, as protector of the treaty of Carlowitz; but finding his remonstrances disregarded, he assembled a powerful army, and published a declaration of war (A. D. 1716). Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperialists, crossed the Danube, and attacked the forces of the grand vizier, near Peterwaradin. He gained a complete victory, twenty-five thousand of the Turks were either killed or drowned, while the loss of the Austrians did not exceed one fifth of that number. In the ensuing campaign, the prince laid siege to Belgrade, and having defeated with great slaughter the vast Turkish army that marched to its relief, became master of that important fortress. The consequence of these victories was the peace of Passarowitz (A. D. 1718) by which Austria and Russia gained considerable acquisitions; but the republic of Venice, for whose sake the war was ostensibly undertaken, did not recover its possessions in Greece, and found its interests neglected by its more potent allies.

These wars were very remotedly connected with the political condition of southern Europe, which now depended entirely on the maintenance of the terms of the peace of Utrecht. Several powers were interested in their preservation; England's flourishing commerce depended in many essential particulars on the articles of the treaty; they were the best security to Austria, for the provinces lately ceded in Italy; and the Dutch, unable or unwilling to garrison the barrier towns, felt that peace was necessary to their security. But above all, the regent of France believed that this treaty was the sole support of his power, since it involved the Spanish king's renunciation of his claims

to the French crown. Altogether opposed to these views were the designs of the court of Spain; the marriage of Philip to Elizabeth Farnese, heiress to the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, inspired him with the hope of recovering the provinces that had been severed from the Spanish monarchy; his prime minister, Cardinal Alberoni, flattered him with hopes of success, and at the same time diligently labored to improve the financial condition of the country. Alberoni's projects included an entire change in the political system of Europe; he designed to reconquer Sardinia and Sicily for Spain; to place James III. on the throne of England by the aid of the Russian emperor and the king of Sweden; to prevent the interference of the emperor, by engaging the Turks to assail his dominions. Pope Clement XI., a weak and stupid pontiff, could not comprehend the merits of Alberoni's schemes; he refused to pay the ecclesiastical subsidies to Philip V., and before the ambitious cardinal could further develop his schemes, the Quadruple Alliance was formed by the alarmed potentates of Europe, and Phllip V., was forced to dismiss his intriguing minister. The pope had the mortification to find that his interests were totally disregarded in the new arrangements made for preserving the tranquillity of Europe; his superiorities in Parma and Placentia formed part of the bribe tendered to the court of Spain by the rulers of France and Germany; he remonstrated loudly, but, in spite of his efforts, they were accepted and retained.

On the death of Clement XI., Alberoni became a candidate for the papacy, and was very near being elected. Fortunately for the permanency of Romish power, this violent prelate was excluded from the chair of St. Peter, and Innocent XIII. was chosen. During his pontificate the society of freemasons began to be regarded with suspicion by the heads of the church, especially as several other secret associations were formed in Germany and Italy for the propagation of what were called philosophical tenets; but these doctrines were, in reality, not only hostile to popery, but subversive of all religion and morality. Though Austria, France, England, and Holland, united against the dangerous schemes of Alberoni, and formed the Quadruple Alliance (A. D. 1716), yet the cardinal steadily pursued his course, and war was proclaimed against Spain by France and England.

The strength of Spain, exhausted by the war of the succession, could not resist this powerful combination; the English fleet rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; a German army expelled the Spaniards from Sicily; the French, under the command of the duke of Berwick, invaded Spain, and captured several important fortresses; the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spanish army in Great Britain; and Philip, completely subdued, dismissed Alberoni (A. D. 1720), and acceded to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance.

During this war, France and England were involved in great financial difficulties, by the Mississippi scheme in one country, and the South sea speculation in the other. A Scotch adventurer, named Law, proposed a plan to the regent of France for speedily paying off the vast national debt, and delivering the revenue from the enormous interest by which it was overwhelmed. He effected this by an extraordinary issue of paper, on the security of the Mississippi company, from whose com-

mercial speculations the most extravagant results were expected. So rapid was his success, that in 1719, the nominal value of the funds was eighty times greater than the real value of all the current coin of the realm. This immense disproportion soon excited alarm; when the holders of the notes tried to convert them into money, there was no specie to meet the demands, and the result was a general bankruptcy. Some efforts were made by the government to remedy this calamity, but the evil admitted only of slight palliation, and thousands were completely ruined.

The South sea scheme, projected by Sir John Blount, in England, was a close imitation of Law's plan. He proposed that the South sea company, to which great commercial advantages had been secured by the treaty of Utrecht, should become the sole creditor of the nation; and facilities were offered to the owners of stock to exchange the security of the crown for that of the South sea company. Never did so wild a scheme meet such sudden success; South sea stock in a short time rose to ten times its original value; new speculations were started, and for a time had similar popularity; but when suspicion was excited, and some cautious holders of stock began to sell, a universal panic succeeded to the general delusion. By the prompt interference of parliament a general bankruptcy was averted, and the chief contrivers of the fraud, including many individuals of rank and station, were punished, and their estates sequestrated for the benefit of the sufferers.

The confusion occasioned by the South sea scheme encouraged the jacobites to make another effort in favor of the Stuarts (A. D. 1722). But their plans were discovered, a gentleman named Layer was capitally punished for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender, and Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the soul of his party, was exiled.

Fortunately for the repose of Europe, the prime ministers of France and England, Cardinal Fleury, who succeeded to power soon after the death of the duke of Orleans, and Sir Robert Walpole, were both bent on the preservation of peace, and for nearly twenty years they prevented any active hostilities. Walpole's administration, however, began to lose its popularity, on account of his not gratifying the national hatred against Spain. A powerful opposition was formed against him, composed of the old tories, and some disappointed courtiers, which he contended against by unbounded parliamentary corruption. The death of George I. (A. D. 1727) made no change in the position of parties, for George II. intrusted Walpole with the same power he had enjoyed under his father.

The emperor Charles, having no prospect of male issue, was naturally anxious to secure the peaceful succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to his hereditary dominions; and for this purpose he prepared a solemn law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, and procured its confirmation by the principal states of Europe. The guarantee of France was not obtained without war. Stanislaus Leczinski, father-in-law to the French monarch, was elected king of Poland, but was dethroned by the influence of the German powers (A. D. 1733). To avenge this insult, the French king formed a league with the courts of Spain and Sardinia against the emperor; and, after a brief struggle, the court of Vienna was forced to purchase peace by considerable sacrifices. The success

of the Russians under the reign of the emperess Anne, niece to Peter the Great, against the Turks, induced the German emperor to commence a second unfortunate war. Scarcely was it concluded, when the death of Charles (A. D. 1740) involved Europe in the contentions of a new disputed succession.

Sir Robert Walpole had long preserved England at peace; but the interested clamors of some merchants engaged in a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, compelled him to commence hostilities (A. D. 1739). Admiral Vernon, with a small force, captured the important city of Porto Bello, on the American isthmus. This success induced the minister to send out large armaments against the Spanish colonies. Vernon with a fleet, and Lord Cathcart with a numerous army, undertook to assail Spanish America on the side of the Atlantic, while Commodore Anson sailed round Cape Horn to ravage the coasts of Chili and Peru. The death of Lord Cathcart frustrated these arrangements; he was succeeded by General Wentworth, an officer of little experience, and very jealous of Vernon's popularity. An attack was made on Carthagena, but it failed lamentably, owing to the disputes between the naval and military commanders. Both were reinforced from England, but they effected nothing of any importance, and returned home after more than fifteen thousand of their men had fallen victims to the climate. Anson, in the meantime, encountered such a severe storm in rounding Cape Horn, that two of his ships were forced to return, and one was lost. His diminished squadron, however, took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, in Peru. His force was finally reduced to one ship, but with this he captured the Spanish galleon, laden with treasure, that sailed annually from Acapulco to Manilla. He then returned to England triumphant; but the loss at Carthagena was so severely felt, that the English would not venture to renew their enterprises against Spanish America.

Scarcely had Maria Theresa succeeded her father, the emperor Charles, when she found herself surrounded by a host of enemies. The elector of Bavaria laid claim to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia revived some obsolete pretensions to the dutchy of Milan; while the kings of Poland, Spain, and France, exhibited claims to the whole Austrian succession. An unexpected claimant gave the first signal for war. Frederic III., who had just ascended the Prussian throne, inherited from his father a rich treasury and a well-appointed army. Relying on the goodness of his troops rather than the goodness of his cause, he entered Silesia, and soon conquered that fine province (A. D. 1741). At the same time he offered to support Maria Theresa against all competitors, on the condition of being permitted to retain his acquisition. The princess steadily refused, though she knew that France was arming against her, and that her enemies had resolved to elevate Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the empire. The forces of the king of France entered Germany, and being joined by the Bavarian army, made several important conquests, and even threatened Vienna; but Maria Theresa, repairing to Presburg, convened the states of Hungary, and appearing before them with her infant son in her arms, made such an eloquent appeal, that the nobles with one accord exclaimed, "We will die for our KING, Maria Theresa." Nor was this a moment-

ary burst of passion; they raised a powerful army for the defence of their young and beautiful princess, and a subsidy was at the same time voted to her by the British parliament. So great was the attachment of the English people to her cause, that the pacific Sir Robert Walpole was forced to resign, and a new administration was formed by his political rivals.

The new ministers had been raised to power by a sudden burst of popular enthusiasm, but they soon showed themselves unworthy of the nation's confidence. They took the lead in suppressing the measures which they had themselves declared necessary to the security of the constitution, and they far outstripped their predecessors in supporting German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, which had been so long the theme of their severest censure. They augmented the army, sent a large body of troops into the Netherlands under the command of the earl of Stair, and granted subsidies to the Danes, the Hessians, and the Austrians. The French had some hopes of gaining the support of the Russians, who were now ruled by the emperess Elizabeth. On the death of the emperess Anne, her niece, the princess of Mecklenburgh, assumed the government, as guardian of her son John. But the partiality that the regent showed for her German countrymen displeased the Russian nobles; their discontents were artfully increased by a French physician named Lestocq; a bloodless insurrection led to the deposition of the Mecklenburgh princess, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, was raised to the throne. She found the country involved in a war with Sweden, which she brought to a successful issue, and secured the inheritance to the Swedish crown for her favorite, Adolphus, bishop of Lubeck. Though the czarina owed her elevation in a great degree to French intrigue, she was inclined to support the Austrian cause; but she did not interfere in the contest until she had completed all her arrangements.

The republic of Holland showed still more reluctance to engage in the war; and the English army in the Netherlands, deprived of the expected Dutch aid, remained inactive. In Germany, the Bavarian elector was driven not only from his conquests, but from his hereditary dominions,* while the king of Prussia took advantage of a brilliant victory to conclude a treaty with Maria Theresa, by which he was secured in the possession of Silesia. The French army, thus deprived of its most

* Dr. Johnson has powerfully described the fate of this unfortunate prince:—

"The bold Bavarian, in a luckless hour,
Tries the dread summits of Cæsarean power,
With unexpected legions bursts away,
And sees defenceless realms receive his sway:
Short sway! fair Austria spreads her mournful charms,
The queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms;
From hill to hill the beacons' rousing blaze
Spreads wide the hope of plunder and of praise;
The fierce Croatian and the wild hussar,
With all the sons of ravage, crowd the war;
The baffled prince, in honor's flattering bloom,
Of hasty greatness finds the fatal doom;
His foes' derision, and his subjects' blame,
And steals to death, from anguish and from shame."

powerful ally, must have been ruined but for the abilities of its general, the count de Bellisle, who effected one of the most masterly retreats recorded in history, from the centre of Bohemia to the frontiers of Alsace. The Spaniards failed in their attacks on the imperial territories in Italy, chiefly owing to the activity of the English fleets in the Mediterranean; and the court of Versailles, disheartened by these repeated failures, made proposals of peace. Maria Theresa, intoxicated with success, rejected all the proffered conditions (A. D. 1743). She urged forward her armaments with such vigor, that the French were driven to the Rhine, and the unfortunate elector of Bavaria, abandoned by his allies, and stripped of his dominions, sought refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. The errors of the French in Flanders led to their defeat at Dettingen, just when a little caution would have insured the ruin of the English and Austrians. But the allies made no use of their victory, owing to the irresolution of George II., who took the management of the campaign into his own hands, and superseded the earl of Stair. The war lingered in Italy, but the haughtiness and ambition of the emperess began to excite the secret jealousy of the German princes; and the French and Spanish courts, alarmed by her treaty with the king of Sardinia, drew their alliance closer by the celebrated Family Compact, which bound them to maintain the integrity of each other's dominions.

England had now become a principal in the war, and the monarchs of France and Spain resolved to invade that country, and remove the Hanoverian dynasty. A powerful army was assembled, and a fleet prepared to protect the transports; but the French ships were shattered in a storm, and forced to take refuge in Brest from a superior English force (A. D. 1744). The English navy was less successful in the Mediterranean: the combined fleets of France and Spain were met by the British admirals, Matthews and Lestock; but owing to the misconduct of some captains, and Lestock's remaining aloof with his whole division, the result of the engagement was indecisive. It is a sad proof of the violence and injustice of faction, that when these officers were brought to trial, Matthews, who had fought like a hero, was condemned, and Lestock acquitted. The war in Italy was sanguinary, but indecisive. In Germany, however, the king of Prussia once more took up arms against Maria Theresa, and invaded Bohemia. He was defeated with great loss, and forced to retire precipitately into Silesia. Soon afterward, the death of the elector of Bavaria removed all reasonable grounds for the continuance of hostilities; his son, who had no pretensions to the empire, concluded a treaty with Maria Theresa, and promised to support the election of her husband, the grand duke of Tuscany, to the imperial dignity.

But the national animosity between the French and English prevented the restoration of peace (A. D. 1745). The Austrians were completely vanquished in Italy by the united forces of the French and Spaniards, whose vast superiority of numbers could not be resisted; and on the side of the Netherlands, the misconduct of the allies gave a signal triumph to the Bourbons. The French army under Marshal Saxe was strongly posted at Fontenoy, but was, notwithstanding, attacked by the English, Dutch, and Germans. In few battles has the valor of the

British infantry been displayed more signally or more uselessly. Forming themselves into a column, they bore down everything before them, until, deserted by their Dutch and German auxiliaries, they were outflanked and driven back by the entire force of the French army. The loss on both sides was nearly equal; but though the victory was not decisive, it enabled Marshal Saxe to reduce some of the most considerable towns in the Netherlands. Tranquillity was restored to Germany by the election of the grand duke of Tuscany to the empire, under the name of Francis I.; and about the same time Maria Theresa, as queen of Hungary, concluded the treaty of Breslau with the king of Prussia, and thus quieted her most dangerous enemy.

The discontent occasioned by the loss at Fontenoy induced the grandson of James II., commonly called the Young Pretender, to attempt the restoration of his family. He landed in Scotland with a small train, but being soon joined by the enthusiastic Highland clans, he descended from the mountains and marched toward Edinburgh. The city surrendered without any attempt at resistance, but the castle still held out. Sir John Cope, the royal commander in Scotland, had marched northward to raise the loyal clans; having collected some reinforcements, he proceeded from Aberdeen to Dunbar by sea, and hearing that the insurgents were resolved to hazard a battle, he encamped at Preston Pans. Here he was unexpectedly attacked by the Young Pretender, at the head of about three thousand undisciplined and half-armed soldiers. A panic seized the royal troops; they fled with the most disgraceful precipitation, abandoning all their baggage, cannon, and camp-equipage, to their enemies.

The reduction of the French colony of Cape Breton, in North America, had revived the spirit of the English; and the time that the Pretender wasted in idle pageantry at Edinburgh afforded the ministers an opportunity of bringing over some regiments from Flanders. Notwithstanding the formidable preparations thus made, the Pretender, probably relying on promised aid from France, crossed the western borders, and took Carlisle. But the vigilance of Admiral Vernon prevented the French fleet from venturing out; and the Pretender having failed to raise recruits in Lancashire, and unable to force a passage into Wales, baffled the royal armies by an unexpected turn, and suddenly marched to Derby. Had he continued to advance boldly, London itself might have fallen; but he delayed at Derby until he was nearly enclosed between two powerful armies, and was forced either to retreat or to hazard a battle on very disadvantageous terms. It was finally determined that they should return to Scotland, and this retrograde movement was effected by the Highlanders with extraordinary courage and expedition.

This retreat did not produce the dispiriting effect on the insurgents that had been anticipated. The Pretender's forces were greatly augmented after his return to Scotland; but finding that Edinburgh had been secured by the royal army during his absence, he marched to Stirling, captured the town, and besieged the castle. General Hawley was sent with a strong force to raise the siege, but despising the undisciplined Highlanders, he acted so imprudently that he suffered a complete defeat near Falkirk (A. D. 1746). The Pretender, instead of following up his advantage, returned to the siege of Stirling castle, while the royal

army, reinforced by fresh troops, was placed under the command of the duke of Cumberland, a prince of the blood, who, though by no means a skilful general, was a great favorite with the soldiery. The insurgent army retired before the royal troops until they reached Culloden Moor, where they resolved to make a stand. Warned by the errors of Cope and Hawley, the duke of Cumberland took the most prudent precautions to meet the desperate charge of the Highlanders; they rushed on with their usual impetuosity, but being received by a close and galling fire of musketry, while their ranks were torn by artillery, they wavered, broke, and in less than thirty minutes were a helpless mass of confusion. The victors gave no quarter: many of the insurgents were murdered in cold blood, and their unfortunate prince was only saved from capture by the generous devotion of one of his adherents, who assured the pursuers that he was himself the object of their search.

The cruelties of the royalists after their victory were perfectly disgraceful; the country of the insurgent clans was laid waste with fire and sword; the men were hunted like wild beasts on the mountains, the women and children, driven from their burned huts, perished by thousands on the barren heaths. When all traces of rebellion, and almost of population, had disappeared, the duke of Cumberland returned to London, leaving a large body of troops to continue the pursuit of the surviving fugitives. During five months the young Pretender remained concealed in the Highlands and Western isles of Scotland, though a reward of thirty thousand pounds was set on his head, and more than fifty persons were intrusted with his secret. At length he escaped on board a French privateer, and, after enduring incredible hardships, arrived safely in Brittany. The vengeance of the government fell heavily on his adherents: numbers of the leaders were tried and executed, and though they died with heroic firmness, their fate excited little commiseration.

In the meantime the French, under Marshal Saxe, had overrun the greater part of the Netherlands; Brussels, Antwerp, and Namur, were captured, while the confederate army was defeated in a sanguinary but indecisive engagement at Raucoux. In Italy, the allies were more successful; taking advantage of the mutual jealousies between the French and Spaniards, the Austrians, reinforced by the king of Sardinia, drove their enemies from Italy, and pursued them into France. The death of their monarch had abated the vigor of the Spaniards, for the designs of Ferdinand VI., Philip's son and successor, were for some time unknown; but when he declared his resolution to adhere to the Family Compact, the hopes of the partisans of the house of Bourbon were revived. About the same time the imperialists were compelled to evacuate the south of France by the judicious measures of the marshal de Bellisle; and the Genoese, irritated by the severity with which they were treated, expelled the Austrian garrison, and baffled every attempt that their oppressors made to recover the city. The national animosity between the French and English was aggravated by commercial jealousy; they mutually fitted out armaments against each other's colonies; but these expeditions, badly contrived and worse executed, led to no decisive results, and all parties began to grow weary of a war which produced no consequence but a lavish waste of blood and treasure.

Conferences were commenced at Breda, but the demands of the French appeared so exorbitant to the allies, that the negotiations were abruptly terminated, and the hostile powers made the most vigorous preparations for a decisive struggle (A. D. 1747). The exertions of the allies were long paralyzed by the indecision of the Dutch rulers; even when their own country was invaded, they could not be induced to adopt more vigorous councils, until a popular revolt compelled them to revive the office of stadtholder, and confer that dignity on the prince of Orange.

Though this revolution gave more vigor to the operations of the allies, the whole weight of the war was ungenerously thrown upon the English. The obstinate and bloody battle of Val would have been won by British valor, but for the timidity and slowness of the Dutch and Austrians; in consequence of their misconduct it terminated to the disadvantage of the confederates. Soon after, the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, generally believed to be impregnable, was captured by the French, who thus became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. In Italy, the allies, though forced to raise the siege of Genoa, were generally successful, while the British navy gained several important triumphs at sea. A valuable French convoy was attacked by Admirals Anson and Warren, off Cape Finisterre, and, after an obstinate engagement, six ships-of-the-line and several armed Indiamen were taken. Seven weeks after, a fleet laden with the rich produce of St. Domingo fell into the hands of Commodore Fox; and at a later period of the year, Admiral Hawke, after a sharp battle, took six ships-of-the-line in the latitude of Bellisle. These reverses, and the sailing of a powerful British armament to the East Indies, so alarmed the court of Versailles, that negotiations for peace were once more commenced.

While conferences were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 1748), Marshal Saxe continued to carry on the war with great vigor: he laid siege to Maestricht, which was obstinately defended, but before the contest could be decided, intelligence was received that the preliminaries of peace had been signed. The basis of the treaty was a restitution of all conquests made during the war, and a mutual release of prisoners without ransom. It left unsettled the clashing claims of the Spaniards and British to the trade of the American seas, and made no mention of the right of search which had been the original cause of the war; the only advantage, indeed, that England gained, was the recognition of the Hanoverian succession, and the general abandonment of the Pretender, whose cause was henceforth regarded as hopeless. This result, from so expensive a contest, gave general dissatisfaction; but the blame should fall on the authors of the war, not of the peace; England had no interest in the contests for the Austrian succession; under the peaceful administration of Sir Robert Walpole, her commerce and manufactures had rapidly increased; but through an idle ambition for military glory, and a perverse love of meddling in continental affairs, the prosperity of the country received a severe check, and an enormous addition was made to the national debt.

SECTION II.—*The Colonial Struggle between France and Great Britain.*

THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was soon discovered to be little better than a suspension of arms. Two causes of a very different nature

united to produce a new and fiercer struggle, which no arts of diplomacy could long avert. The first of these was the jealousy with which the court of Austria regarded the great increase of the Prussian monarchy; the extorted renunciation of Silesia could neither be forgiven nor forgotten, and its recovery had long been the favorite object of the court of Vienna. The Prussian monarch was not popular with his neighbors—all new powers are naturally objects of jealousy—and the selfish policy which Frederic displayed, both in contracting and dissolving alliances, prevented him from gaining any permanent friend; he was the personal enemy of Elizabeth, emperess of Russia, and of Count Bruhl, the leading minister in the court of Saxony, and both readily joined in the plans formed for his destruction.

But with these confederates, the Austrian cabinet was reluctant to engage in hostilities, while France might at any time turn the balance, by renewing its former relations with Prussia. Prince Kaunitz, the real guide of the court of Vienna, and, during four reigns, the soul of the Austrian councils, resolved to unite the empire and France in one common project for sharing the rule of Europe. Louis XV., who had sunk into being the slave of his mistresses, was induced, by this able diplomatist, to depart from the course of policy which for two centuries had maintained the high rank of France among the continental powers; from being the rivals and opponents of the Austrian dynasty, the house of Bourbon sank into the humble character of assistants to that power—a change which eventually brought the greatest calamities on themselves and their country.

The commercial jealousy with which the English regarded the French, was the second cause for the renewal of the war. During the late war, the French navy had been all but annihilated, and the exertions made for its restoration were viewed with secret anger. Owing to incapacity, or defective information, the negotiators at Aix-la-Chapelle had left most of the colonial questions at issue between England and France wholly undecided. The chief subjects contested were, the limits of the English colony of Nova Scotia, the right claimed by the French to erect forts along the Ohio, for the purpose of connecting the Canadas with Louisiana, the occupation of some neutral islands in the West Indies by the French, and, finally, the efforts of both nations to acquire political supremacy in Hindústan.

The maritime war between England and France had no immediate connexion with the struggle between Prussia and Austria. But when the French king, at the commencement of the contest, menaced Hanover, George II., who preferred the interests of this petty principality to those of the British empire, entered into a treaty with Frederic for its defence. Thus these two wars, so distinct in their origin and nature, were blended into one; but before their termination, they were again separated and concluded by distinct treaties of peace.

The empire which the descendants of Baber had established in Hindústan, touched the summit of its greatness in the reign of Aurungzebe; under his feeble successors the imperial power rapidly declined, and after the successful eruption of Nadír Shah (A. D. 1738), it was almost annihilated. The governors of provinces and districts became virtually independent sovereigns, and the allegiance they paid to the court of

Delhi was merely nominal. Both the French and the English East India companies took advantage of this state of things to extend their influence and enlarge their territories. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, had long sought an opportunity of interfering in the troubled politics of India; it was afforded him by the contests which arose on the vacancies in the souhbadary of the Deccan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic. He supported the claims of Chundah Saheb to the latter post, and endeavored to make Murzafa Jing souhbadar, or viceroy of the Deccan. He succeeded in these objects, but his favorites did not long retain their elevation; still, however, a precedent was established for the interference of the French in the contests between the native powers, and their aid was purchased by fresh concessions in every revolution. The rapid progress of their rivals roused the English from their supineness, and, fortunately, they found a leader whose abilities, both as a general and statesman, have scarcely been surpassed by any European that ever visited the east. Mr. Clive, the son of a private gentleman, had been originally employed in the civil service of the East India company; but war no sooner broke out than he exchanged the pen for the sword, and the union of courage and skill which he displayed at the very commencement of his career, excited just expectations of the glory which marked its progress. He gained several brilliant advantages over the allies of the French, and greatly strengthened the English interest in the Deccan or southern division of Hindústan. But the French East India company had begun to distrust the flattering promises of Dupleix; they found that his plans of territorial aggrandizement involved them in expensive wars, and were, at the same time, destructive of their commerce. A similar feeling, though to a less extent, prevailed in England, and the rival companies prepared to adjust their differences by the sacrifice of Dupleix. No regard was paid by his countrymen to his defence; he was loaded with obloquy, as a selfish and ambitious man, though it was notorious that he had sacrificed his entire private fortune to the support of what he believed to be the true interests of France.

The successor of Dupleix concluded a treaty with the English authorities, in which all the objects of that able governor were abandoned. Mohammed Ali, the friend of the English, was recognised as the nabob of the Carnatic; the claims of the French upon the northern Circars were relinquished, and it was agreed that the colonists from each nation should, for the future, abstain from all interference with the affairs of the native princes. It was scarcely possible that these stipulations could be strictly observed; indeed, the treaty had scarcely been signed, when mutual complaints were made of infractions; but, in the meantime, events had occurred in another part of the globe, which frustrated it altogether.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British ministry, anxious to secure the province of Nova Scotia, as a barrier for the other American colonies, induced many disbanded soldiers and sailors to settle in that country. The town of Halifax was built and its harbor fortified, and Nova Scotia began to rise rapidly in importance. The French, who had hitherto viewed the province as little better than a barren waste, began now to raise disputes concerning its limits; and the settlers,

from both countries, did not always arrange their controversies by peaceful discussion. Still more important were the differences which arose in the interior of North America. The French were naturally anxious to form a communication between the Canadas in the north and Louisiana in the south. This could only be effected by depriving the English of their settlements west of the Allegany mountains, and seizing the posts which the British settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas had established beyond that chain for the convenience of trade with the Indians. Hostilities were commenced by the colonial authorities, without the formality of a declaration of war; the Virginian post of Logs' town was surprised by a French detachment, and all its inhabitants but two inhumanly murdered; the North American Indians were stimulated to attack the British colonists, and large supplies of arms and ammunition were imported from France (A. D. 1755). The British ministers immediately prepared for hostilities; all the French forts within the limits of Nova Scotia were reduced by Colonel Monckton; but an expedition against the French forts on the Ohio was defeated, owing to the rashness of General Braddock, who refused to profit by the local knowledge of the provincial officers. He fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, and instead of endeavoring to extricate himself, attempted to make a stand. At length he was slain, while vainly striving to rally his troops, and the regular soldiers fled with disgraceful precipitation. It deserves to be remarked, that the provincial militia, commanded by Major Washington, did not share the panic of the royal army, but displayed great coolness, courage, and conduct.

Two other expeditions, against the forts of Niagara and Crown Point, failed, though General Johnson, who commanded the latter, gained a victory over the hostile army. But at sea the British strength was more effectually displayed; two sail-of-the-line were captured by Admiral Boscawen, off Newfoundland; and more than three hundred merchant-ships were brought as prizes into the ports of Great Britain. Notwithstanding these hostilities, a formal declaration of war was delayed; its publication was the signal for one of the fiercest struggles in which modern Europe had been involved. Before, however, we enter on this part of our history, we must briefly notice the important events that for a time threatened the total ruin of the English in Bengal, but whose final results made their power paramount in northern India.

The privileges which the emperor of Delhi had granted to the English settlers in Calcutta excited great jealousy among the provincial governors, and were violently opposed by Jaffier Khan, the souhbadar of Bengal. Means were taken, however, to conciliate this powerful feudatory, and peace was preserved until the accession of the ferocious Suraja Dowla, who was enraged at the shelter which the English afforded to some of his destined victims (A. D. 1756). He advanced against Calcutta, when most of the local authorities were seized with a scandalous panic; the governor and the military commanders escaped in boats, leaving Mr. Holwell, Mr. Perks, and about one hundred and ninety more, to provide for their own safety as they best might.

After endeavoring vainly to bring back even one vessel to aid their removal, this handful of men, after a vigorous defence, fell into the power of the ferocious Suraja. They were all thrust into a room twen-

ty feet square, where, from the heat and foulness of the atmosphere, all but twenty-three died before the morning. The news of this catastrophe reached Madras just when Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, flushed by their recent victory over the celebrated pirate Angria, had arrived at Madras to aid in the destruction of the French influence in the Deccan. The troops assembled for that purpose were now sent to recover Calcutta, and this object was effected by the mere appearance of the fleet before the city. Several of the Suraja's own places were taken and plundered, and the French fort of Chandernagore reduced; conspiracies were formed against Suraja Dowla, and that haughty chieftain felt that the sovereignty of Bengal must be decided by a battle. Contrary to the opinion of all his officers, Clive resolved to hazard an engagement, and took up a position in the grove of Plassy (June 23, 1757). The British force consisted of three thousand two hundred, not more than nine hundred of whom were Europeans; their artillery consisted of eight six-pounders, and two howitzers. On the other hand, Suraja Dowla had with him fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Though the engagement continued the greater part of the day, the British did not lose more than seventy in killed and wounded; they owed the victory, indeed, more to the errors of their adversaries than to their own merits; for the contest seems to have been little better than an irregular cannonade, occasionally relieved by ineffectual charges of cavalry. Its consequences were not the less decisive from the ease with which it was won; Suraja Dowla, after wandering for some time as a fugitive, was murdered by one of his personal enemies; and the viceroyalty of Bengal was given to Jaffier Khan, who purchased the favor of the British by large public grants and larger private bribes. This brief campaign established the supremacy of the English in northern India, where their power has never since been shaken.

Section III.—*The Seven Years' War.*

When the French government received intelligence of the events that had taken place in India and America, vigorous preparations for war were made throughout the kingdom, and England itself was menaced with invasion (A. D. 1756). Never was the national character of the British nation so tarnished as it was by the panic which these futile threats diffused; Hessians and Hanoverians were hired to protect the kingdom, while the presence of these mercenaries was justly regarded as dangerous to public liberty. It is more honorable to Britain to relate, that when Lisbon, on the very eve of this war, was almost destroyed by an earthquake, parliament voted one hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers. But the French government menaced an invasion only to conceal its project for the reduction of Minorca; a formidable force was landed on the island, and close siege laid to Fort St. Philip, which commands the principal town and harbor. Admiral Byng, who had been intrusted with the charge of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, was ordered to attempt the relief of the place; he encountered a French squadron, of equal force, but instead of seeking an engagement, he would not even support Admiral West, who had thrown the French line into confusion. After this indecisive

skirmish, he returned to Gibraltar, abandoning Minorca to its fate. General Blakeney, the governor of Fort St. Philip, made a vigorous defence, though his garrison was too small by one third; but finding that he had no prospect of relief from England, he capitulated. But his conduct was so far from being disapproved of, that he was raised to the peerage by his sovereign, and welcomed as a hero by the people.

The rage of the people at the loss of Minorca was directed against the unfortunate Byng; popular discontent was still further aggravated by the ill-success of the campaign in America, where a second series of expeditions against the French forts signally failed; while the marquis de Montcalm, the governor of Canada, captured Oswego, where the British had deposited the greater part of their artillery and military stores. Our ally, the king of Prussia, displayed more vigor; unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation from the court of Vienna, he resolved to anticipate the designs of the Austrians, and invade Bohemia. For this purpose it was necessary that he should secure the neutrality of Saxony, but the elector was secretly in league with Frederic's enemies; and the Prussian monarch, finding pacific measures ineffectual, advanced against Dresden. The elector Augustus, who was also king of Poland, fortified himself in a strong camp at Pirna, where he resolved to wait for the junction of the Austrian forces. Frederic blockaded the Saxon army and cut off its supplies; the imperialists, who marched to the relief of their allies, were defeated at Lowositz, and the Saxons, thus left to their own resources, were forced to lay down their arms. Augustus fled to his kingdom of Poland, abandoning his hereditary dominions to the Prussians, who did not use their success with extraordinary moderation.

But the victories of their ally only exasperated the rage of the English people against their rulers; the king was forced to yield to the storm, and dismiss his ministers. William Pitt (afterward earl of Chatham), the most popular man in the kingdom, was appointed head of the new administration, though the duke of Devonshire was nominally premier; a spirit of confidence was spread abroad, and abundant supplies voted for the war. Unfortunately, as a concession to popular clamor, the unhappy Byng, whose worst fault appears to have been an error of judgment and the dread of the fate of Admiral Matthews,* was brought to trial, found guilty of a breach of the articles of war, and sentenced to death. Great exertions were made to save the life of the unhappy admiral, but all in vain; he was ordered to be shot on board the Monarque, and he met his fate with an intrepidity which effectually clears his memory from the stain of cowardice (A. D. 1757). In France, the attention of the court was engaged by an attempt on the king's life. A maniac, named Damien, stabbed Louis with a penknife as he was entering his carriage; the wound was not dangerous, but it was supposed that the assassin might have accomplices in his treason. Every refinement of cruelty that scientific ingenuity could devise was exhausted in the tortures of this unhappy wretch, whose manifest lunacy made him an object of compassion rather than punishment.

The danger to which Louis had been exposed did not prevent him from making vigorous exertions to continue the war. Two armies

* See page 606.

were sent into Germany, one destined to invade Hanover, the other to join the imperial forces against Prussia. George II., anxious to save Hanover, wished to send over a body of British troops for the defence of the electorate, but being opposed by the Pitt administration, he dismissed his ministers, and tried to form a new cabinet. The burst of national indignation at the removal of the popular favorite was, however, so great, that Pitt was soon recalled to power, but not until he had evinced a desire to make some concession to the royal inclinations.

At the commencement of the campaign, the prospects of the king of Prussia were very gloomy; the Russians were advancing through Lithuania, the Swedes threatened him in Pomerania, the united forces of the French and imperialists were advancing through Germany, and the emperess-queen, Maria Theresa, covered her hereditary dominions with four armies, whose united strength amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand men.

Frederic, baffling the Austrians by a series of masterly movements, opened a passage into Bohemia, where he was joined by the prince of Bevern and Marshal Schwerin, who had defeated the Austrian divisions that opposed their progress. Confident in the excellence of his troops he resolved to engage without delay, though his enemies were posted in a camp strongly fortified by nature (May 6). The memorable battle of Prague was vigorously contested, and success continued doubtful until the Austrian right wing, advancing too rapidly, was separated from the left. Frederic poured his troops through the gap, so that when the Austrian right was forced back by the intrepidity of Marshal Schwerin, it suddenly found itself surrounded, and fled in confusion. The centre and left, thus abandoned, could not resist the successive charges of the Prussians, and sought shelter in Prague. Frederic ventured to besiege this city, though the numbers of the garrison nearly equalled those of his own army; and his delay before the walls gave the Austrians time to recover their courage and recruit their forces. Count Daun began soon to menace the Prussian communications; Frederic sent the prince of Bevern to drive him back; Daun, though his forces were superior, retreated before the prince, until he could procure such additional strength as to render victory certain. When this was effected, he resumed the offensive, and Frederic was forced to hasten to the prince's assistance. A junction was effected at Kolin, and Frederic marched to attack the imperial camp (June 18). The Prussians charged their enemies with their usual vigor, but they were unable to force the Austrian lines, and were finally driven from the field.

In consequence of this defeat, the Prussians were forced, not only to raise the siege of Prague, but to evacuate Bohemia. Nor were the arms of Frederic and his allies more successful in other quarters. The Russians having defeated General Lehwald, invaded the Prussian dominions on the side of Germany, and committed the most frightful devastations; the British and Hanoverian troops, under the duke of Cumberland, were forced to accept the disgraceful convention of Closterseven, by which thirty-eight thousand soldiers were reduced to a state of inactivity; and the French, thus released from an enemy that might interrupt their communications, advanced to join the Austrians in the invasion

of Prussia; finally, an Austrian army, by a rapid march, arrived at the very gates of Berlin, and laid that city under contribution.

An expedition, planned by Mr. Pitt soon after his restoration to power, was defeated by the weakness and indecision of the officers intrusted with its execution. The object of attack was the French port and arsenal of Rochefort, which would have fallen an easy prey, had it been assailed when first the fleet arrived before the place. But the time which ought to have been employed in action was wasted in deliberations, and the expedition returned ingloriously home. The conduct of British affairs in America was equally disastrous; an armament was sent against Louisbourg, but it returned without having made any effort to effect its object; while the French, under the marquis de Montcalm, captured the strong fort William Henry, the bulwark of our northern frontier, without meeting the slightest interruption from a British force posted in its immediate neighborhood.

These disasters would have proved fatal to the new ministry, had it not been generally understood that the officers, whose cowardice or incapacity had led to such inglorious results, were the choice of their predecessors, and were maintained in their posts by court favor. This conviction proved favorable to Mr. Pitt, the king was compelled to grant full powers to his ministers, and the secret intrigues by which the cabinet was controlled were rendered powerless for a season. An unexpected change of fortune on the continent brightened the prospects of the British and Prussians toward the close of the year. Frederic, though his dominions were invaded by three hostile armies, never lost courage; though his army did not exceed half the number of his enemies, he resolved to give battle to the united forces of the French and Austrians (Nov. 5). Frederic, by a series of judicious movements, led his enemies to believe that he dreaded an engagement; confident of victory, they hasted to force him to action, near the village of Rosbach. They advanced so precipitately, that their lines were thrown into disorder; and before they could remedy the error, they were broken by the headlong charge of the Prussian horse. Every effort made by generals of the combined army to retrieve the fortunes of the day was anticipated by the genius of Frederic; they were forced to retreat in great confusion, having lost nearly nine thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the total loss of the Prussians did not exceed five hundred.

From this field Frederic hasted to another scarcely less glorious. The Austrians and Hungarians, under Prince Charles of Lorraine, entered Silesia, captured the important fortress of Schweidnitz, drove the prince of Bevern from his intrenchments, and made themselves masters of the greater part of the province. Frederic, by a rapid march, formed a junction with the relics of the prince of Bevern's army, and thus reinforced, attacked the Austrians at Lissa (Dec. 5). Pretending to direct all his force against the Austrian right, Frederic suddenly poured his chief strength against their left wing, which was speedily broken; Prince Charles attempted to restore the courage of his flying soldiers by sending reinforcements from the centre and right, but these fresh troops were unable to form under the heavy fire of the Prussians, and thus the Austrian battalions were defeated one after another. Night

alone prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. About five thousand men were killed and wounded on each side; but within a week after the battle the Prussians pressing vigorously the pursuit of their retiring foes, captured twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand wagons, and two hundred pieces of cannon. The Austrians abandoned all Silesia except the town of Schweidnitz, which surrendered in the following spring. The effects of the victories of Rosbach and Lissa were felt throughout Europe; the French had flagrantly violated the convention of Closterseven; it was now disavowed by the British and Hanoverians (A. D. 1758). Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was chosen by George II. to command his electoral forces, and this able general in a short time not only recovered Hanover, but drove his adversaries across the Rhine. Mr. Pitt changed his policy, and consented to reinforce Prince Ferdinand with a body of British troops, while liberal supplies were voted to subsidize the German princes. The campaign was honorable to Prince Ferdinand's abilities, but its most important result was the diversion it made in favor of the king of Prussia, by compelling the French to employ their chief force on the Rhine.

Frederic in this campaign endured several vicissitudes of fortune. Having taken Schweidnitz, he unexpectedly entered Moravia, which had hitherto escaped from the ravages of war, laid that fine province under contribution, and even menaced Vienna. He failed, however, at the siege of Olmutz, but he effected a retreat as honorable as a victory, and suddenly directed his march against the Russians, whose ravages in Brandenburgh were shocking to humanity. He gained a complete victory over the invaders at Zomdorff, and then, without resting a moment, hasted to relieve his brother Henry, who was almost surrounded with enemies in Saxony. Count Daun, the commander of the imperialists, was a worthy rival of Frederic; he surprised and routed the Prussian right wing at Hochkirchen; but the judicious measures of the king saved the rest of his army, and Daun was unable to pursue his advantages. Indeed so little was Frederic affected by the reverse, that he drove the Austrians a second time from Silesia, and then returning, compelled Daun to raise the sieges of Dresden and Leipsic, and even retreat into Bohemia.

The enterprising spirit of Mr. Pitt, freed from the trammels which secret intrigues had formed, diffused itself through the British empire, and particularly animated the officers of the army and navy. Several French ships-of-war were captured by the British; an armament, destined for North America, was dispersed and driven on shore by Sir Edward Hawke, whose fleet rode triumphant in the channel. From apathy and despair the nation passed at once to the opposite extreme of overweening confidence. It was resolved to carry the war into France itself, and two successive expeditions were sent against the French coast. As might reasonably have been anticipated, these armaments produced no important result; the only consequence arising from such a waste of blood and treasure, was the destruction of Cherbourg, a triumph dearly purchased by the subsequent loss of some of the best of the troops in the hurried embarkation.

But in North America, where the British arms had been tarnished by delay, disaster, and disgrace, the removal of the earl of Loudon

from the command, led to a complete change in the fortune of the war. His successor, General Abercrombie, planned three simultaneous expedition, two of which produced triumphant results. General Amherst laid siege to Louisbourg, and aided by the talents of Brigadier Wolfe, who was fast rising into eminence, forced that important garrison to surrender. This was followed by the entire reduction of the island of Cape Breton, and the inferior stations which the French occupied in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Brigadier Forbes was sent against Fort du Quesne, which the French abandoned at his approach, and fled down the Mississippi. Abercrombie marched in person against Ticonderoga, which he found better fortified than he had anticipated, and after a useless manifestation of desperate valor, he was forced to retire with considerable loss. The French were, at the same time, deprived of all their settlements on the coast of Africa ; but the count de Lally not only preserved their East Indian possessions, but wrested from the English, Fort St. David and Cuddalore.

Great anxiety was felt at the opening of the next campaign (A. D. 1759). Early in the year, the Prussians destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland, laid Bohemia under contribution, and reduced the imperial armies to inactivity. But Prince Ferdinand was unable to prevent the French from sending succors to the Austrians; and his ill-success once more exposed Hanover to an invasion. Had Ferdinand wavered, the British and Hanoverians might have been forced to a second convention as disgraceful as Closterseven, but his courage rose with the crisis, he engaged the French at Minden, and gained a complete victory. Minden, indeed, would have been as illustrious and decisive a battle as Blenheim, but for the unaccountable conduct of Lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, and either misunderstood or disobeyed the order to charge the discomfited French. There had been some previous disputes between the prince and Lord George ; they threw the blame mutually on each other, but which ever was in fault, it is certain that on this occasion the best opportunity that could have been desired for humbling the power of France was irretrievably lost.

The victory of the British, at Minden, was more than counterbalanced by the defeat of the Prussians by the united forces of Austria and Russia, at Cunersdorff. But the heroic Frederic soon retrieved this disaster, and he would probably have triumphed in his turn, had he not exposed a large division of his troops in the defiles of Bohemia, which was surrounded and taken by Count Daun. Still the only permanent acquisition that the Austrians made was Dresden, for Frederic's vigor and rapidity of movement rendered even their victories fruitless.

This indecisive campaign greatly diminished the ardor of the English for their ally, the king of Prussia, while their victories in North America and the West Indies, directed their attention to their colonial interests. Immediately after the conquest of Louisbourg, which was justly considered the key of Canada, an expedition was planned against Quebec. The colonists were prepared to submit to a change of masters by the politic protection granted to the French settlers in Gaudaloupe, which had been subdued early in the year (A. D. 1758) ; and by the guarantee given to the inhabitants for the enjoyment of religious freedom. When General Wolfe, therefore, proceeded up the St. Lawrence, he did not

encounter any serious opposition from the Canadians, who seemed to view the struggle with indifference. While Wolfe advanced toward Quebec, General Amherst conquered Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Sir William Johnson gained possession of the important fortress of Niagara. But Amherst, as had been originally intended, was unable to form a junction with General Wolfe, who was thus employed in a hazardous enterprise, with very inadequate means. Though he almost despaired of success, Wolfe resolved to persevere; he adopted the daring plan of landing at night under the Heights of Abraham, leading his men up the steep, and securing this position, which commanded the town. The stream was rapid, the landing-place narrow, and the precipices formidable even by day, but the soldiers, animated by their heroic commander, triumphed over these difficulties; and when morning dawned, the marquis de Montcalm was astonished to learn that the British army occupied those heights which he had deemed inaccessible. A battle was now inevitable, and both generals prepared for the contest with equal courage. The battle was brief but fierce; the scale of victory was just beginning to turn in favor of the British, when Wolfe fell mortally wounded. This loss only roused the English regiments to fresh exertion, their bayonets broke the French lines, and a body of Highlanders, charging with their broad swords, completed the confusion. The French fled in disorder; the intelligence was brought to Wolfe, he collected his breath to exclaim, "I die happy!" and instantly expired (September 13).

The marquis de Montcalm fell in the same field; he was not inferior to his rival in skill and bravery, nor did he meet death with less intrepidity. When told, after the battle, that his wounds were mortal, he exclaimed, "So much the better: I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec." Five days after the battle, that city opened its gates to a British garrison, and this was soon followed by the complete subjugation of the Canadas, which have ever since remained subject to the crown of Great Britain.

The success of the English in the East Indies was scarcely less decisive than in America. Lally, the French general, possessed more courage than prudence; he engaged in enterprises beyond his means, and especially wasted his limited resources in a vain attack on Madras. Colonel Coote, the commander of the English forces, was inferior to his adversaries in numerical strength, but he enjoyed ampler pecuniary resources, and was far superior to Lally, both as a general and a statesman. Coote and Lally came to an engagement at Wandewash (Jan. 21, 1760), in which the French were completely overthrown, and their influence in the Carnatic destroyed. During the campaign, Admiral Pococke defeated a French fleet off the coast of Ceylon; the English, in consequence, became masters of the Indian seas, and began to form reasonable expectations of driving their rivals from Hindústan. A Dutch armament arrived in Bengal, under suspicious circumstances, but Clive ordered that it should be immediately attacked by land and sea;* the

* Clive was engaged in a rubber of whist, when an express from Colonel Forde brought him intelligence of the advance of the Dutch. He replied by the following pencil-note, on a slip of paper torn from the colonel's letter: "Dear Forde—Fight them immediately, and I'll send you an order of council to-morrow."

Dutch were forced to surrender, and ample apologies were made by the authorities of Holland for this infraction of treaties.

The French court threatened to take revenge for the destruction of Cherbourg, by invading Great Britain and Ireland; but the ports were so strictly blockaded by the English squadrons, that no vessel could venture to appear in the channel. Admiral Boscawen pursued a squadron from Toulon, that tried to slip unnoticed through the straits of Gibraltar, overtook it off Cape Lagos, on the coast of Portugal (August 18), destroyed two ships-of-the-line, and captured two more. A still more important triumph was obtained by Sir Edward Hawke, between Belleisle and Quiberon (November 20). Conflans, the French admiral, taking advantage of the gales that drove the blockading squadrons off the coast, put to sea, but was soon overtaken by Hawke. Conflans, unwilling to hazard a battle, sought shelter among the rocks and shallows of his own coast. Hawke unhesitatingly encountered the perils of a stormy sea and a lee shore; he gained a decisive victory, destroying four ships-of-the-line, and compelling another to strike her colors. A tempestuous night alone saved the French fleet from destruction. Though this victory delivered the English from all fears of the invasion, some alarm was excited by the enterprises of Commodore Thurot, who sailed from Dunkirk with five frigates, and hovered round the coasts of North Britain. Having failed to make any impression on Scotland, he entered the Irish sea, and landing at Carrickfergus, stormed and pillaged that town.* Having heard the news of Conflans' defeat, he steered homeward, but was swiftly pursued by a squadron under Commodore Elliot, and overtaken near the Isle of Man (February 28, 1760). After a fierce engagement, Thurot was killed, and all his vessels forced to surrender.

Vigorous preparations were made by all parties for the maintenance of the war in Germany, although the people of England had become weary of continental connexions, and the French finances had fallen into a state of lamentable disorder (A. D. 1760). The conduct of the people of France to their sovereign was, indeed, truly generous; the principal nobility and gentry sent their plate to the treasury to be coined for the public service; an army of nearly one hundred thousand men was assembled in Westphalia, under the duke de Broglio, while an inferior army was formed upon the Rhine, under Count St. Germain. Prince Ferdinand could not have coped with such an overwhelming force, had not the French generals quarrelled with each other. Several battles were fought, but they were all more or less indecisive; and rarely has there been a campaign in which such numerous and well-appointed armies were opposed that produced so few memorable events.

The king of Prussia resolved to act on the defensive in Saxony, while his brother Henry opposed the Russians and Austrians in Silesia.

* An interesting example of humanity softened the horrors of war during the attack on Carrickfergus. While the French and the garrison were engaged in the streets, a beautiful child, unconscious of its danger, ran between both parties. A French grenadier, moved with compassion, threw down his musket, rushed into the midst of the fire, took up the child, and having placed it in safety, returned to his companions, who with loud shouts applauded the heroic deed.

But his plans were deranged by the enterprise of Marshal Laudohn, who surrounded the Prussian general, Fouquet, slew three thousand of his army, and compelled the remainder to surrender at discretion. Frederic attempted to retrieve his affairs by a sudden advance on Dresden, but he failed to capture the city; his brother, Prince Henry, was more fortunate in raising the siege of Breslau, which Laudohn had invested after his victory. But Frederic's ruin seemed unavoidable, as the Russians were advancing with overwhelming forces, and he was himself surrounded by three Austrian armies at Lignitz. Count Daun marched to storm the Prussian camp, in full confidence of victory; but, to his astonishment, he found it deserted, Frederic having marched that very night to meet the army of Marshal Laudohn, who was eagerly pressing forward to share, as he fondly believed, in assured victory. The heights of Pfaffendorff, judiciously protected by a formidable array of artillery, prevented Daun from marching to the assistance of his colleague; Laudohn was completely defeated, and the Austrian grand army driven from Silesia. But this victory did not prevent the success of the enemy in other quarters; the Russians, being joined by a considerable body of Austrians, under General Lascy, pushed forward through Brandenburgh, and made themselves masters of Berlin. They levied a heavy contribution on the city, and destroyed its arsenals, foundries, and public works.

The Prussians were equally unfortunate in Saxony, but Frederic resolved to run every risk to recover a country that had hitherto supplied the chief support to his armies. Daun, equally convinced of the importance of Saxony, protected the electorate with a force of seventy thousand men, advantageously posted in a fortified camp, near Torgau. Frederic, with only fifty thousand men, resolved to attack the Austrians in their intrenchments, and to stake his life and crown on the hazard of the engagement (November 3). The battle was furious, but the ardor of the Prussians, who felt that they fought for the very existence of their country, was irresistible. Dunn was borne from the field severely wounded; the Austrians were broken by separate charges, and night alone saved them from total ruin. The result of this glorious victory was, that Frederic recovered all Saxony except Dresden, and compelled the Russians, Austrians, and Swedes, to evacuate his dominions.

The Canadian war was not terminated by the capture of Quebec; the French had still formidable forces in the country, and they made a vigorous effort to recover that city. They were baffled by the intrepidity of General Murray; and General Amherst soon after having obtained reinforcements from England, advanced to Montreal, and compelled the entire French army to capitulate. The savage tribes of Indians who had been induced by French gold to attack the British settlements, were now severely chastised, and compelled to make the most humiliating submissions.

Not less complete was the success of the English arms in India; Pondicherry and Mahie were reduced by Colonel Coote, the French power in the east completely subverted, and the English rendered masters of the commerce of the vast peninsula of Hindústan. These important acquisitions made the English very impatient of the German war; they complained of the inactivity of the navy, and asserted that

the French islands in the West Indies, more valuable to a commercial people than half the German empire, might have been gained with far less risk and loss than attended the protection of the useless electorate of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes, George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age (October 25). He was succeeded by his grandson, George III., a young prince in his twenty-third year, who had hitherto taken no active part in public life.

The death of George II. produced little change in European politics; but that of the peaceful Spanish monarch, Ferdinand VI. (A. D. 1759), led to some important results. His successor, Charles III., was king of the Two Sicilies, and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it had been agreed, that on his accession to the throne of Spain, his former kingdom should devolve to Don Philip, duke of Parma and Placentia, and that these dutchies should be resigned to the empire. By the mediation of France with Austria, Charles was enabled to procure the Neapolitan throne for his third son, Ferdinand, while Philip was permitted to retain Parma and Placentia. Grateful for such a benefit, Charles signed the family compact, which bound the Bourbon princes to afford each other mutual assistance, and secretly prepared to join France in the war against Great Britain. The haughty conduct of the English diplomatists, which was not unjustly offensive to Spanish pride, greatly contributed to strengthen the resolution of the court of Madrid, especially as the naval superiority of the English menaced the communications of Spain with her American colonies.

Negotiations for peace were commenced by the courts of France and Great Britain, soon after the accession of George III., but with little sincerity on either side (A. D. 1761). Mr. Pitt was firmly resolved to humble the house of Bourbon; the duke de Choiseul, the French minister, relied on the secret promises of Spanish aid, and thus it was impossible to arrange preliminaries. The war languished in Germany; Prince Ferdinand succeeding in protecting Hanover, but he could not prevent the French from ravaging Westphalia and East Friesland. The king of Prussia, exhausted even by his victories, was forced to act on the defensive; though he lost no battle, he had the mortification to see the Russians make themselves masters of Colberg, and the Austrians surprise Schweidnitz. The possession of these important places enabled the Russians to establish their winter-quarters in Pomerania, and the Austrians in Silesia. On sea, the honor of the British flag was maintained in several actions between single ships and small squadrons. The island of Belleisle, on the coast of France, was captured by a British armament, but at a very disproportionate cost of blood and treasure.

This languid campaign seemed to prove that all parties were weary of the war, and negotiations were resumed. In their progress, Mr. Pitt discovered the intimate connexion that had been formed between the courts of Versailles and Madrid; and he proposed to anticipate the hostile designs of the latter by seizing the plate-fleet, laden with the treasures of Spanish America. But the colleagues of Mr. Pitt, already dissatisfied with his imperious manners, refused to adopt such bold measures, and he instantly resigned the seals of office. The king, anxious to introduce his favorite, the earl of Bute, into the cabinet,

adopted the opinions of the majority of his council, and accepted the resignation. Fierce political disputes arose, whose effects were felt throughout Europe; the hopes of the French court were raised, and the German allies of Great Britain were greatly dispirited.

But the new ministry showed no want of alacrity in maintaining the honor of the country. One of their earliest measures was a declaration of war against Spain, the conduct of the court of Madrid having amply justified Mr. Pitt's anticipations of its hostile designs (A. D. 1762). The superiority of the British navy over the combined fleets of France and Spain, hindered these powers from making any attempt at colonial conquests; but they believed themselves equally superior by land, and therefore resolved to attack Britain through the side of its ancient ally, Portugal.

Few kingdoms had sunk into such a state of degradation as Portugal at this period. Trusting to the protection of England, and enriched by the treasures of Brazil, the court of Lisbon reposed in ignorance and indolence; its fortresses were neglected, its army mouldering away, its subjects destitute of martial spirit. The earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins was followed by a dangerous conspiracy against the life of Joseph, the reigning sovereign. This monarch, less superstitious than most Portuguese kings, had banished the jesuits from his court, and had resented with spirit the encroachments of his nobles. Some of the dissatisfied jesuits and nobles formed a plot to murder the king, and he was dangerously wounded by assassins while on his road from his country-seat to Lisbon. The principal conspirators were arrested and punished by cruel deaths; and all the jesuits banished from the kingdom (A. D. 1759). But the nobles continued discontented; the pope and the clergy resented the expulsion of the jesuits, while the superstitious Portuguese seemed ready to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign who had incurred the resentment of the church. Such was Joseph's situation, when the ministers of France and Spain presented a joint demand that he should instantly renounce his alliance with Britain, under pain of incurring their resentment, and allowing him only four days to deliberate on his answer. Joseph at once returned a spirited refusal to such an insolent memorial, and the Spanish army crossed the frontiers. An auxiliary British force of eight thousand men was sent to Portugal, together with a large supply of arms and ammunition. Joseph intrusted the command of his army to the count de la Lippe, who had already distinguished himself in Germany. The skill of this commander, and the valor of the British officers, compelled the Spaniards to evacuate the kingdom with loss and disgrace, before the close of the campaign.

The French hoped that the invasion of Portugal would facilitate the progress of their arms in Germany; but Prince Ferdinand, and the marquis of Granby, not only protected Hanover, but recovered the greater part of Hesse. An unexpected event delivered the king of Prussia from the ruin that seemed to threaten him at the close of the last campaign. Elizabeth, emperess of Russia, died, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III., who entertained a romantic admiration of Frederic. The new emperor not only put an end to hostilities, but entered into alliance with the Prussian monarch; and Europe saw with astonishment the

unprecedented spectacle of an army marching off from its former allies to the camp of its enemies. Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding peace; and Frederic, taking advantage of these favorable circumstances, recovered Schweidnitz and drove the Austrians from Silesia.

A new revolution in Russia compelled the Prussian king to halt in his victorious career. The reforms of Peter III. had given offence to a great body of his subjects; he was dethroned by his wife, who usurped the throne, with the title of Catherine II. Peter died in prison a few days after his deposition, but it has not been ascertained whether he was the victim of disease or violence. Catherine did not renew the war against Prussia, as had been at first expected, but she withdrew her forces, and resolved to observe a strict neutrality. Frederic's victories had in the meantime, so seriously alarmed the Austrians, that they consented to a cessation of hostilities for Silesia and Saxony. This impolitic truce laid Bohemia open to Frederic: one division of his army advanced to the very gates of Prague and destroyed a valuable magazine; another laid the greater part of Egra in ashes, while detachments ravaged Franconia, and even Suabia. The princes of the empire hasted to conclude treaties of neutrality, and the war was left to be decided by the powers of Prussia and Austria, between which the contest had begun.

In the meantime the English conquered the chief islands that the French still retained in the West Indies, Martinique, St. Lucie, Grenada, and St. Vincent; while the Spaniards suffered the more severe loss of Havana, the capital of Cuba, and the large fleet that lay in its harbor. Nor was this the least alarming of the consequences that resulted to the court of Madrid from its unwise interference; an armament from Madras, under the command of Admiral Cornish and General Draper, captured Manilla, and the fall of this city involved the fate of the whole range of the Philippine islands.

France and Spain, heartily tired of a war which threatened ruin to the colonies of both, became desirous of peace, and they found the earl of Bute, who now ruled the British cabinet, equally anxious to terminate the war. Indeed, so anxious was that minister to avoid a continuance of hostilities, that he not only stopped the career of colonial conquest, but consented to sacrifice several acquisitions that Britain had already made. Still the British nation gained by the war the whole of Canada and part of Louisiana, the chief settlements on the western coasts of Africa, and a decided superiority in India; had the war lasted another year, had even the fair claims of Britain's position been supported by her negotiators, these gains would have been more extensive and more secure. Contrary to all expectation, the preliminaries were sanctioned by a majority of the British parliament, and soon after the definite treaty was signed at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763). The king of Prussia and the emperess of Austria, deserted by their respective allies, agreed to a reconciliation about the same time, on the basis of a restitution of conquests and an oblivion of injuries.

The result of the continental war was, that Prussia and Austria became the principal European powers, France lost her political preeminence when united to the empire, and England abandoned her in-

fluence in the European system, maintaining an intimate relation only with Portugal and Holland. Britain, by the colonial war, obtained complete maritime supremacy; she commanded the entire commerce of North America and Hindústan, and had a decided superiority in the West Indian trade. But during the seven years' war a question arose which led to very important discussions; France, unable to maintain a commercial intercourse with her colonies, opened the trade to neutral powers; England declared this traffic illegal, and relying on her naval superiority, seized neutral vessels and neutral property bound to hostile ports. The return of peace put an end to the dispute for a season, but it became the subject of angry controversy in every future war. The internal condition of England improved rapidly during the contest by the extension of the funding system; the pecuniary affairs of the government became intimately connected with those of the nation; by far the greater part of the loans required for the war was raised at home, so the increase of the national debt more closely united the rulers and the people in the bonds of a common interest. This altered state of things scarcely excited notice, though it was the chief source of the permanence and stability displayed by the British government when revolutionary movements threatened to subvert the other dynasties of Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS.

SECTION I.—*Change in the Relations of the Catholic Powers to the Holy See. Dismemberment of Poland.*

No country had suffered so severely as France during the late war; the finances had long been in confusion, and the profligate expenditure of a demoralized court aggravated the indignation produced by national distress. Louis XV., though not destitute of abilities, was the slave of his sensual appetites; ruled by his mistresses, and other unworthy favorites, he connived at glaring abuses, and sanctioned the grossest acts of tyranny and rapacity. A spirit of opposition spread through the kingdom, several of the parliaments refused to register the edicts for the continuance of war-taxes, and others remonstrated in a tone of censure to which the French monarchs had been long unaccustomed. This unusual liberty of the parliaments had been in some degree fostered by the court itself; the king permitted these bodies to set bounds to ecclesiastical tyranny, and to suppress the order of the jesuits in France (A. D. 1762); and their spirit was further increased by the intrigues of the duke de Choiseul, who persuaded the king to allow the Parisian parliament to pass sentence on Lally, the unfortunate commander of the French in India, whose only crime was failure under circumstances that rendered success impossible.

Popular discontent was at the same time rapidly spreading in Spain, where the reforms of the prime minister, Squillacé, offended the obstinate prejudices of an ignorant and bigoted nation. Charles III. yielded to the clamors of his subjects and dismissed the minister, but he firmly resolved to take vengeance on the jesuits, who were supposed to have secretly instigated the insurrection. A reforming minister in Portugal maintained his post in spite of opposition; the marquis of Pombal ruled the land with iron sway, and confident in the rectitude of his intentions, scorned all opposition. But though he removed all impediments, including the higher order of nobility and the society of jesuits, his reforms took no root in the land, and the institutions which he established by force perished when that force was taken away.

The enmity of Pombal and Choiseul to the jesuits was felt in the Spanish cabinet; the king was indignant at their share in the late disturbances, his minister, Count d'Aranda, regarded the order as hostile to all existing governments. Both took their measures with profound secresy (A. D. 1767). The houses of the jesuits in Madrid were surrounded at night, and the inmates commanded to set out instantly for

the coast. An edict was then issued for the banishment of the regulars of that community from Spain and its colonies, and the confiscation of their temporalities. The jesuits in Mexico and Peru were similarly seized; and in Paraguay, where they had established an almost independent empire, they were suddenly deposed and transported to Europe. The king of Naples and the duke of Parma followed the example of the court of Spain, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of Pope Clement XIII.; they also placed new restrictions on the pontiff's jurisdiction in their states, and when Clement made a vigorous effort to support the ancient privileges of the holy see, he found himself opposed to all the Italian powers, except the king of Sardinia, to the remonstrances of Spain and Portugal, and the active hostility of France.

While these disputes between the catholic powers and the head of their church proved that the supremacy of the papacy no longer existed, but in name, the struggles of a small insular people to maintain their national independence excited general sympathy. The Genoese transferred their nominal claims over the island of Corsica to the crown of France, and Choiseul sent a large army to occupy this new acquisition. But the Corsicans, justly enraged at the transfer of their allegiance without the formality of asking their consent, boldly flew to arms, and under the command of the heroic Paoli, prepared for an obstinate resistance. Had the British ministry interfered, the result of the contest would have been very doubtful; but Paoli could not resist the entire force of France, he was driven by the vast superiority of numbers from post to post, until every strong place had yielded to the invaders, when he cut his way through the enemy, and embarked for Leghorn (A. D. 1769). The island submitted to Louis, but many of the Corsicans long continued to harass the French by a guerilla war in their mountain fastnesses.

Choiseul, finding his influence with Louis XV. on the decline, sought to strengthen it by cementing the alliance between the courts of Paris and Vienna. He effected a marriage between the king's grandson and heir and Marie Antoinette, daughter of the emperess-dowager. These ill-omened nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary splendor during a season of great public distress: during the festivities a fatal accident cast a shade of melancholy over all parties; some confusion arose in the crowd of spectators, and nearly two hundred persons lost their lives in the tumult. Choiseul involved the king in a quarrel with the parliaments, which precipitated the fall of that able minister; the king reluctantly consented to abandon the new forms of jurisdiction which were proposed, and allow the old courts to resume their functions. This unfortunate and dishonorable proceeding completed the abasement of France; it was notorious that the duke de Choiseul owed his disgrace to the intrigues of the king's profligate mistress;* and whatever may have been the faults of that minister, he would certainly never have permitted the influence of his country to sink so low as it did during the administration of his successor, the duke d'Aguillon.

While France was thus declining, the Russian empire was rapidly acquiring a preponderating influence in eastern Europe. The emperess

* Madame du Barri. She was subsequently one of the victims of the French revolution.

Catherine procured the throne of Poland for one of her favorites, Stanislaus Augustus (A. D. 1765), having sent a Russian army to overawe the diet, when it assembled to choose a sovereign. Frederic of Prussia, anxious to remedy the calamities which the seven years' war had brought upon his country, did not venture to oppose the schemes of the ambitious czarina; on the contrary, he was gained over by some commercial concessions to aid her projects with all his influence. The new sovereign of Poland, opposed by a licentious aristocracy and a bigoted people, was unable to remedy the disorders of the state, or control the events that soon furnished a pretext for the interference of his powerful neighbors. Poland had long been agitated by religious disputes; the oppressions of the catholics compelled the dissidents, as the dissenting sects were called, to seek foreign protection; those of the Greek church appealed to the emperess of Russia, while the Lutherans sought aid from the kings of Prussia and Denmark. Catherine, with great promptitude, sent an army to enforce the claims of the dissidents, and paying little regard to the remonstrances of Stanislaus, acted as if Poland had been one of her own provinces. The catholic lords formed a confederacy to maintain the purity of their religion, and the independence of their country, but they were unable to compete with the overwhelming forces of Russia; Cracow, where they attempted to make a stand, was taken by storm, the fugitives were pursued beyond the Turkish frontiers, and the country that had afforded them refuge was cruelly devastated.

Mustapha III. was more peacefully inclined than most of the sultans that have filled the throne of Constantinople, but he felt that the power which Russia was acquiring in Poland would be dangerous to the security of his northern provinces; he was indignant at the violation of his dominions, and he was secretly instigated by the French court. The king of Prussia vainly remonstrated with the sultan;* Mustapha had formed an extravagant estimate of his military resources, and he is said to have been animated by a personal dislike of Catherine. The war was commenced by the Turks (A. D. 1769); their irregular troops entered southern Russia, and committed the most frightful ravages; but when they hazarded a regular engagement at Choczim, they suffered a severe defeat. Catherine prepared to strike a decisive blow against the Turkish power; she sent a fleet from the Baltic round to the Mediterranean, to support an insurrection which her emissaries had excited in Southern Greece (A. D. 1770). The insurgents, aided by a Russian force, at first gained some advantages, but on the first reverse they were abandoned by their allies to the brutal retaliations of their Turkish masters. Soon after, the Turkish fleet of fifteen ships-of-the-line was burned by a Russian squadron in the bay of Chesmé, with the exception of a single vessel that was captured. This was followed by the defeat of the grand Ottoman army near the Pruth, the capture of Bender, Akerman, and Ismail, and the occupation of the entire province of Bessarabia.

Stanislaus was forced to join in the war against the Turks, though he knew that one of the chief causes of their taking up arms was to

* Frederic, who loved to indulge in sarcasm, said that a war between the Russians and the Turks would be a contest between the one-eyed and the blind.

defend the independence of Poland. But Joseph, who had succeeded his father in the German empire (A. D. 1765), began to dread the dangerous ambition of Russia; and even his mother, Maria Theresa, began to court the friendship of her old rival, Frederic, as a counterpoise to the governing power of the czarina. It was obviously the interest of the northern states, Denmark and Sweden, to adopt a similar course of policy; but the governments of both countries were too deeply engaged by their domestic affairs to attend to the state of their foreign relations.

Frederick V., one of the best monarchs that ever occupied the throne of Denmark, was succeeded by Christian V., a prince of weak intellect and dissipated habits (A. D. 1766). Soon after his accession, Christian married Caroline Matilda, one of the sisters of the queen of England, and the engaging manners of this princess won her the favor of the Danish king and people. To maintain her ascendency over the mind of her husband, Caroline favored the ambition of Struensee, a foreign adventurer, who was raised to the office of prime minister, or rather, sole ruler of Denmark. Struensee's administration was vigorous and useful, but his haughtiness gave great offence to the Danish nobles; a conspiracy was formed against him, of which the king's step-mother and her son Frederic were the principal instigators, and it was resolved to involve the unfortunate queen Caroline in his fate. Struensee and his friend Brandt were arrested at midnight, by virtue of an order which had been extorted from the imbecile Christian; they were insulted with the mockery of a trial, and put to a cruel death. The queen was also arrested and sent a prisoner to Cronenberg castle; dread of British vengeance, however, saved her from personal violence. She was permitted to retire to Hanover, where the remainder of her life was spent in comparative obscurity. The queen dowager, having removed her rival, usurped the royal authority; a young nobleman named Bernstorff was appointed prime minister, and the court of Copenhagen became remarkable for its subserviency to that of St. Petersburgh.

Gustavus III., a young prince of great vigor and sagacity, ascended the Swedish throne on the death of his father, Adolphus Frederic (A. D. 1771); he had early formed a project for removing the restrictions which the senate had imposed on the royal authority after the death of Charles XII., and his efforts were seconded by the bulk of the nation, long weary of aristocratic tyranny. The senate, suddenly surrounded by armed bands, was intimidated into assenting to the instrument of government which Gustavus had prepared, and a revolution which changed Sweden from one of the most limited into one of the most absolute monarchies of Europe, was effected without spilling a drop of blood. Dread of a counter-revolution, and the necessity of providing some remedy for the distress which prevailed in Sweden, prevented Gustavus from interfering in the affairs of Poland, a country that had often occupied the anxious cares of his predecessors.

Stanislaus was sincerely anxious to confer the blessings of tranquillity and good government on Poland; but all his judicious measures were frustrated by the Polish nobles, who clung to their tyrannous and absurd privileges, though they were known to be as pernicious to themselves as they were ruinous to the country. An attempt on the personal

liberty of the unhappy king gave Catherine a pretext for sending a Russian army into the country, and suggested to the Prussian king a scheme for the dismemberment of Poland. A treaty was concluded between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for dividing the Polish provinces between them. Their armies instantly occupied their several shares; and the diet, overawed by the united forces of the three powers, was forced to acquiesce in an arrangement that left Poland a merely nominal existence (A. D. 1773). The unhappy Stanislaus, reproached for calamities which it was not in his power to avert, could not avoid retorting on his accusers, and attributing the national calamities to the bigotry, the factious spirit, and the incessant contentions, of the turbulent nobles. By the intervention of Prussia, a treaty was subsequently concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the emperess gained several important fortresses, a large acquisition of territory, and permission for her subjects to navigate the Black sea (A. D. 1774). Great as these gains were, they were less valuable in themselves than as means for obtaining other objects of Catherine's secret ambition.

Degraded as Louis XV. was, he could not receive, without emotion, intelligence of events which showed the low ebb to which the influence of France was reduced. When informed of the partition of Poland, he could not refrain from exclaiming, "Had Choiseul been still in the cabinet, this disgraceful transaction might have been averted." The duke d'Aguillon merited this reproach, but he resolved to atone for his negligence by gratifying the national hatred against the Jesuits, though he had long been suspected of secretly favoring that order. The death of Clement XIII. favored his projects (A. D. 1769). Ganganelli, who succeeded to the papacy under the title of Clement XIV., felt that the time was for ever gone by when the extravagant claims of the pontiffs could be maintained, and he therefore sought a reconciliation with the catholic sovereigns by making reasonable concessions. After a long but not unjustifiable delay, he issued a bull suppressing the order of jesuits; and most of the catholic prelates, who had long been jealous of that fraternity, eagerly enforced the papal edict (A. D. 1773). Little opposition was made by the jesuits to this decree, but the insurrection in Sicily and the deaths of Louis XV. and Pope Ganganelli (A. D. 1774) were attributed to their secret practices, though not a shadow of proof could be adduced to support such severe accusations. Indeed, it is notorious that Louis died of small-pox, and Ganganelli of a constitutional disease to which he had long been a martyr. Louis XVI., of whom his subjects had long been taught to form the most favorable expectations, ascended the throne of France: Angelo Braschi was elected to the papacy, under the title of Pius VI., by the influence of the more bigoted cardinals, who believed that he would be a more zealous supporter of the church than his predecessors.

SECTION II.—*History of England from the Peace of Paris to the Commencement of the American War.*

WHEN the British ministry concluded a separate treaty with France, they dissevered their country from its expensive connexion with the continent, but at the same time they diminished its influence in Euro-

pean politics. Extensive colonies, rapidly increasing commerce, and improving manufactures, afforded the nation ample amends for this loss; but a spirit of faction began to appear in the national councils, which produced a pernicious influence on the growing prosperity of the nation. While there was any reason to apprehend danger from the house of Stuart, the Brunswick dynasty was necessarily thrown for support on the whigs, for the tories were from principle more or less disposed to favor the claims of the exiled house; but when all fears from the Pretender had disappeared, the zeal which the tories had ever shown for the maintenance of the royal prerogative naturally recommended them to royal favor. Personal friendship induced George III. to introduce the earl of Bute into his cabinet; his influence excited the jealousy of the whigs, who had long monopolized the favor of the king and the nation; they accused him of an attachment to toryism, of partiality to his Scottish countrymen, and of having sacrificed the interests of the nation at the peace. Unable or unwilling to face popular clamor, the earl of Bute resigned his office, but it was believed he privately retained his influence in the cabinet; and thus no small portion of his unpopularity was inherited by his successors.

John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, assailed the ministers with great bitterness in a paper called the North Briton. The forty-fifth number of this periodical contained a fierce attack on the king's speech at the opening of the parliamentary session; and the ministers, forgetting discretion in their rage, issued a general warrant against the authors, printers, and publishers of the libel. Wilkes was arrested, but was soon liberated, on pleading privilege of parliament. The house of commons, in opposition to the legal authorities, voted that privilege of parliament did not extend to the case of libel; but it subsequently joined with the lords in voting the illegality of general warrants. Wilkes, in the meantime, quitted the country, and not appearing to take his trial, was outlawed. So much was the nation engrossed by this dispute between the government and an individual, that little attention was paid to colonial affairs; but during this period the East-India company acquired several rich districts in Bengal, and displayed a grasping ambition, which threatened the independence of the native powers.

A more dangerous prospect was opened in the American states. The French being removed, and the Indians driven into the backwoods, the colonies began to increase rapidly in wealth, and their prosperity suggested to Mr. Grenville a scheme for making them share in the burden of taxation. The late war had been undertaken principally for the security of the colonists, they had been almost exclusively the gainers by its successful termination, and it was therefore deemed equitable that they should pay a portion of the cost. But the Americans were not represented in the British parliament, and they, together with a large party in Britain, maintained that they could not be constitutionally taxed without their own consent. Mr. Grenville, supported by his royal master, disregarded opposition, and an act was passed imposing stamp-duties on a multitude of articles (A. D. 1765).

The dispute seemed to be allayed by a change in the British ministry; the marquis of Rockingham, much against the king's will, repealed the obnoxious Stamp Act; but he was forced to assert, in strong terms,

the right of the king and parliament to enact laws, binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The marquis of Rockingham was soon obliged to give way to Mr. Pitt, who had been created earl of Chatham; but the cabinet constructed by this once-popular minister had no principle of union, and soon fell to pieces. The appointment of Lord North to the chancellorship of the exchequer aggravated party animosities (A. D. 1767); the new minister was suspected of hostility to the American claims, and had taken a prominent part against Wilkes. That demagogue returned to England; he was chosen member for the county of Middlesex at the general election, after which he surrendered himself to justice, obtained the reversal of his outlawry, and was sentenced to imprisonment for the libel he had published. When parliament met, it was supposed that Wilkes would take his seat for Middlesex, and a crowd assembled to escort him to the house; some rioting occurred, the military were called out, and a scuffle ensued, in which some lives were lost. Wilkes stigmatized the employment of the soldiers on this occasion in the most unmeasured terms; the ministers took advantage of this second libel to procure his expulsion from the house of commons, but the electors of Middlesex re-elected him without any hesitation. The commons resolved that an expelled member was incapable of sitting in the parliament that had passed such a sentence upon him, and issued a writ for a new election. Once more Wilkes was unanimously chosen, and once more the commons refused to admit him. A new election was held, and Wilkes was returned by a great majority over Colonel Luttrell, the ministerial candidate. The house of commons persevered in its declaration of Wilkes's incapacity, and resolved that Colonel Luttrell should be the sitting member.

In their anxiety to crush a worthless individual, the ministers had now involved themselves in a contest on an important point of constitutional law, with all the constituencies of the nation. A fierce opposition was raised against them in England, and this not a little encouraged the Americans to persevere in their resistance.

The resignation of the duke of Grafton, who wished to conciliate the colonies, the removal of Earl Camden, who disapproved of the decision respecting the Middlesex election, and the appointment of Lord North as premier, added to the exasperation of parties (A. D. 1770). The imposition of a light duty on tea kept alive the dispute with America, while the concessions made to the court of Spain, in a dispute respecting the Falkland islands, were represented as a deliberate sacrifice of the honor of the country. The only beneficial result from these disputes was, the indirect license given to the publication of the parliamentary debates, which had hitherto been deemed a breach of privilege. The commons sent a messenger to arrest some printers and publishers, but the execution of their orders was opposed by the civic magistrates, Crosby, Oliver, and Wilkes. The two former were sent to the Tower; but Wilkes refused to attend, unless permitted to take his seat for Middlesex, and the commons gave up the point by adjourning over the day on which he had been summoned to appear. Since that time the debates have been regularly published in the newspapers.

The abuses in the government of the dominions of the East India company having attracted considerable attention, a law was passed for

bringing the affairs of that commercial association in some degree under the control of government; but to reconcile the company to such interference, a loan was granted on favorable terms; and also permission to export teas without payment of duty. A quantity of tea was shipped for Boston, and Lord North hoped that the low price of the commodity would induce the New Englanders to pay the small duty charged on importation; but when the vessels arrived at Boston, they were boarded during the night by a party of the townsmen, and the cargoes thrown into the sea. This outrage, followed by other acts of defiance, gave such offence in England, that acts were passed for closing the port of Boston, and altering the constitution of the colony of Massachusetts (A. D. 1774). It was hoped that the other colonies would be warned by this example; but, on the contrary, they encouraged the people of Massachusetts in their disobedience, and signed agreements against the importation of British merchandise, until the Boston port bill should be repealed, and the grievances of the colonies redressed. But though the colonists acted firmly, they showed the greatest anxiety for reconciliation; they prepared addresses to the government and their fellow-subjects, and they sent a memorial to the king, couched in terms equally spirited and respectful. The address to his majesty was not received, as it had emanated from an illegal assembly; and the determination evinced by the new parliament, which met in 1775, to support ministerial measures, defeated all hopes of an accommodation.

The continental powers, jealous of the maritime and commercial prosperity of England, exulted in the contest thus unwisely provoked. Even the moderate king of France, though severely harassed by the disordered state of his finances, and the embarrassing disputes which had been raised by his grandfather between the court and the parliaments, seemed disposed to favor the revolted colonies; several of his ministers urged him to offer them support, but the opinion of Turgot, the wisest of the French cabinet, prevailed for a season; he strenuously condemned such interference as impolitic and unjust. Spain, involved in a disastrous war with the piratical states of Barbary, and in a less formidable dispute with Portugal, respecting the boundaries of their South American colonies, was slow to engage in fresh hostilities, and was resolved to imitate the example of France. The king of Prussia, indignant at the desertion of his interests in the peace of 1763, openly rejoiced in the embarrassment of the British ministry; and Catherine of Russia exulted in the hope of seeing the naval power most likely to oppose her ambitious schemes preparing to destroy what was believed to be the secret source of its strength. Undervaluing the power and the fortitude of the provincials, the king and his ministers resolved to force them into obedience, parliament seconded these views, and the great bulk of the people applauded their determination. It is useless to conceal that the American war was popular at its commencement. The vague notion of dominion over an entire continent flattered English pride, and the taxes which the ministers demanded, promised some alleviation to the public burdens. The colonial revolt was regarded by many as a rebellion, not against the British government, but the British people, and the contest was generally looked upon in England as an

effort to establish, not the royal authority, but the supremacy of the nation.

Section III.—*The American War.*

Blood having once been shed, it was manifest that the dispute between Britain and her American colonies could only be decided by the sword. Both parties, therefore, prepared for the struggle, but apparently with some lingering hope of a restoration of peace. Mutual forbearance was exhibited by the hostile generals, when the English were compelled to evacuate Boston; Howe, the British commander, made no attempt to injure the town, and Washington permitted the royal army to retire unmolested. But the employment of German mercenaries, by the English ministry, completed the alienation of the colonists; they resolved to separate themselves wholly from the mother-country, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the congress published THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES.

The first campaign, after some important successes gained by the British forces under General Howe, terminated in the entire destruction of the army of the north commanded by General Burgoyne. But this did not abate the confidence of the British ministers or the British people. Conciliatory acts were, indeed, passed by the parliament, but before intelligence of this altered policy could be received in America, France had entered into a treaty recognising the independence of the United States (A. D. 1778). There were already some in Britain who advocated this extreme measure; the earl of Chatham vehemently opposed the dismemberment of the empire, but while addressing the lords, he was struck down in a fit, and died within a few days. The nation mourned his loss, but it did not the less prepare vigorously to meet impending dangers. A declaration of war was issued against France, and a respectable fleet, commanded by Admiral Keppel, sent to cruise in the channel. Keppel met and engaged the French fleet off Ushant, but being badly supported by Sir Hugh Palliser, the second in command, he was unable to make any use of the slight advantage he obtained.

The peace of the continent was momentarily menaced by the efforts of the emperor Joseph to obtain possession of Bavaria, but the prompt interference of the king of Prussia, the remonstrances of the emperess Catharine, and the unwillingness of France to second the ambitious designs of Austria, compelled Joseph to relinquish his prey when it was almost within his grasp (A. D. 1779). France alone, of the continental powers, had yet interfered in the American contest, but the intimate connexion between that country and Spain, led to a general belief that the latter would not long remain neutral. Nor was the expectation groundless; the court of Madrid, after an insincere offer of mediation, threw off the mask, and openly prepared for active hostilities. Washington adopted a cautious defensive policy, by which his adversaries were more exhausted than by a loss of a battle. The English subdued Georgia, and made some progress in the Carolinas; but the French captured several islands in the West Indies, and a Spanish

fleet, for a time rode triumphant in the channel, and even insulted Plymouth.

Serious riots in London tended more to lower the character of the English, among foreign nations, than these reverses. Some of the penal laws against the catholics having been repealed, an association was formed by some ignorant fanatics for the protection of the protestant religion; they stimulated the passions of the mob, and roused an immense multitude to acts of outrage. For several days, London was at the mercy of an infuriate populace; some catholic chapels were burned, and many private houses destroyed. Tranquillity was at length restored by the interference of the military, and several of the rioters capitally punished. These disgraceful transactions alienated the court of Madrid at a time when it was disposed to negotiate, and the promise of the French to aid in the reduction of Gibraltar, confirmed the hostile dispositions of the Spaniards.

The English had reduced all the French settlements in the East Indies in 1778, and humbled the Mahrattas; but a new and formidable enemy now appeared. Hyder Ali, a soldier of fortune, raised by chance to the throne of Seringapatam, resolved to drive the European intruders from Hindústan, and entered the Carnatic with overwhelming forces. The local government of Madras was unprepared for this event, and the resources at its command were wasted by the obstinacy and incapacity of the council. Owing to this mismanagement, the English forces, commanded by Baillie and Fletcher, were all either slain or taken by Hyder and his son Tippoo.

The maritime glory of England was ably maintained by Sir George Rodney; he captured four Spanish ships-of-the-line off Cape St. Vincent, drove two more on shore, and burned another: thence proceeding to America, he thrice encountered the French fleet, under the count de Guichen, and though he obtained no decisive success, he prevented Washington from receiving naval aid in his meditated attack on New York. But the progress of the war now threatened to involve England in a new contest with all the maritime powers, respecting the trade of neutral vessels. The emperess of Russia took the lead in demanding freedom of trade for neutral vessels not laden with the munitions of war, to all ports not actually blockaded; she proposed that the northern powers should unite to support this right; a confederacy, called the Armed Neutrality, was formed by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; Holland promptly acceded to the league; the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Naples, adopted its principles; the republic of Venice, and even Portugal, the oldest ally of England, joined the association. The British ministry temporized, they expected, probably, that the smothered jealousy between Austria and Prussia might lead to a war that would divert the attention of the continental powers, but these hopes were frustrated by the death of Maria Theresa, whose inveterate hatred of the Prussian monarch was not inherited by her successor.

The conduct of the Dutch government had long been suspicious; but proof was at length obtained of its having concluded a treaty with the American congress, and the remonstrances of the British minister were treated with disdain. War was instantly declared, and several of the Dutch colonies in the South American seas were subdued by the Eng-

lish forces. Nor was this the only calamity that befell the Dutch republic; no sooner had the emperor Joseph succeeded to the ample inheritance of Maria Theresa, than he commanded a series of important reforms, among which was included the dismantling of the barrier towns in the Netherlands, which had been fortified at a vast expense to save Holland from the encroachments of France (A. D. 1781). A Dutch fleet, under Zoutman, was defeated by Admiral Parker, at the Doggers' bank; but the English had less success in the American seas, where Sir Samuel Hood was reduced to inactivity by the superior force of Count de Grasse.

The defeat of Lord Cornwallis, and the loss of the second British army that had been forced to surrender, led to a general feeling in England that any further protraction of the contest would be hopeless (A. D. 1782). The ministers, indeed, seemed at first resolved to continue the war, but they could no longer command a parliamentary majority, and were forced to resign. A new ministry, formed by the marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Fox, commenced negotiations for peace, without at all relaxing in their efforts to support the war; but before the results of the change could be fully developed, the ministry was dissolved by the death of the marquis. But ere this event produced any effect on the political aspect of affairs, two signal triumphs shed lustre on the arms of Britain. Admiral Rodney gained a decisive victory over the French fleet under Count de Grasse, between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; and General Elliott, who had long been besieged in Gibraltar, defeated the formidable attack of the combined French and Spanish forces on that fortress, and burned, by showers of red-hot balls, the floating batteries, which the besiegers had fondly believed irresistible. In the East Indies, Sir Eyre Coote partly retrieved the fortunes of the company; he recovered the Carnatic, and totally routed Hyder's army at Porto Novo (A. D. 1781); and again at Pollalore. All the Dutch settlements were captured (A. D. 1782), but this success was interrupted by the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite, whose forces were surprised, surrounded, and cut to pieces by Tippoo and an auxiliary French force under M. Lally. Several indecisive engagements took place between Suffrein and Hughes, the French and English admirals, in the Indian seas; and the operations of the British by land were impeded by the jealousies of the civil and military authorities (A. D. 1783). The death of Hyder, and the restoration of peace between France and England, induced Tippoo to listen to terms of accommodation, and the English terminated this most unfortunate and disgraceful war, by submitting to humiliations from the son of Hyder, which greatly diminished the respect that had hitherto been paid to their name in Asia.

The changes of ministry in England protracted the negotiations for peace. The earl of Shelburne succeeded the marquis of Rockingham; but he was forced to yield to the overwhelming parliamentary strength of Lord North and Mr. Fox, who formed an unexpected coalition. The independence of America was recognised by the signature of preliminaries at Versailles (November 30, 1782); little difficulty was found in arranging terms with France and Spain; but the English wished to gain some compensation for their losses from Holland, and

this circumstance occasioned a delay in the final arrangement of the treaty.

Section IV.—*The British Empire in India.*

The British empire in India was, as we have already stated, founded on the ruins of the empire of Delhi. The French were the first who aimed at acquiring sovereignty by interfering in the contests of the local governors who had established their independence; they gained a decided superiority in the Carnatic and on the Coromandel coast, until the naval supremacy of England, in the seven years' war, intercepted their communications, and enabled their rivals to seize all their settlements. It was soon discovered that Coromandel cost more than it was worth, and that the territorial acquisitions most desirable were the countries round the Ganges. Under the government of Lord Clive, the English obtained the sovereignty of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on the condition of paying twelve lacs of rupees annually to the emperor of Delhi. No sooner had the company acquired the sovereignty of this rich and opulent country, than an opposition of interest arose between the directors at home and their officers in India. The former were anxious to augment their commercial dividends by the territorial revenues, the latter were as obstinate in applying the surplus income to their own advantage. The want of control over the subordinate authorities in India led to most calamitous results; the officers of the company established monopolies in all the principal branches of domestic trade, rendered property insecure by arbitrarily changing the tenure of land, and perverted the administration of justice to protect their avarice. The injustice with which the native princes were treated, roused a formidable enemy to the English in Hyder Ali, sultan of Mysore; and had he been supported by European aid as effectively as he might have been, the company's empire in Hindústan would soon have ended. Some improvements were made in 1774, by concentrating the power of the three presidencies in the governor-general and council of Bengal, and the establishment of a supreme court of judicature. But Warren Hastings, the first governor-general, by a series of oppressions and extortions, provoked a second war with Hyder and the Mahratta states, the general results of which have been stated in the preceding chapter.

Notwithstanding the fortunate termination of the Mysorean and Mahratta wars, and the extension of the company's territory in Bengal, by the capture of Negapatam from the Dutch, the aspect of affairs was very gloomy and threatening. All the exactions of the company did not enable it to fulfil its engagements with the government; and its affairs were considered as fast approaching bankruptcy. It had also been found very inconvenient to have a mercantile association existing as a state within the state, and all parties agreed that the company ought to be placed more directly under the control of the government.

Under the administration of the marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Fox had taken the lead in arranging the affairs of Ireland. That country had been left unprotected during the late war; the inhabitants, menaced by invasion, armed in their own defence, and the volunteers thus raised,

resolved, while they had the power, to secure the legislative independence of their country. The prudence of their leaders averted the horrors of a civil war, which would probably have ended in the separation of the islands; but they could not long have restrained the impatience of their followers, had not the Rockingham administration showed early its desire to comply with their demands. The legislative independence of Ireland was acknowledged (A. D. 1782), and a federal union of the two governments arranged, which promised to produce permanent advantages to both countries. His success in Ireland induced Mr. Fox to prepare a measure for regulating the complicated affairs of India; and a bill was introduced, on whose success he staked the existence of the coalition ministry. The principle of Mr. Fox's measure was to place the whole civil and military government of India under a board of nine members, chosen for four years, and not removable without an address from either house of parliament. Such a board would manifestly be an independent authority in the state; and it was said that its design was to make the power of a party rival that of the king. When the bill had passed the commons, his majesty, through Earl Temple, intimated to the peers his hostility to the measure, and the lords rejected it by a considerable majority. A new ministry was formed under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, second son to the great earl of Chatham; and as it was impossible to resist the strength of the coalition in the house of commons, the parliament was dissolved at the earliest moment that the state of public business would permit (A. D. 1784). The success of this measure surpassed the expectations of the new minister; the nation had been disgusted by the coalition of parties, that had been so long and so bitterly opposed to each other as those of Mr. Fox and Lord North; their friends were in most places beaten by the supporters of the new cabinet, and Mr. Pitt found himself firmly established in the plenitude of power. A new bill was framed for the government of India, which transferred to the crown the influence which Mr. Fox had designed to intrust to parliamentary commissioners; but some share of power, and the whole management of commercial affairs, was allowed to remain with the court of directors. The most important branch of commerce monopolized by the company was the tea trade with China, and this was thrown completely into their hands by a reduction of the duty, which removed all temptation to smuggling.

This change in the government of India was followed by the memorable impeachment of Mr. Hastings, whose trial lasted several years. It ended in the acquittal of that gentleman, at least of intentional error; but his fortune and his health were ruined by the protracted prosecution. A wise selection of rulers greatly improved the condition of the British empire in India; under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, the situation of the natives was greatly ameliorated; but the seeds of corruption, arising from ancient misgovernment and internal wars, could not be wholly eradicated.

The great extension of the British colonies gave a fresh stimulus to the spirit of maritime discovery, and the English penetrated into the remotest seas, stopping only where nature had interposed impenetrable barriers of ice. The three voyages of Captain Cook awakened a spirit of enterprise scarcely inferior to that which had been roused by the

discoveries of Columbus. The islands of the south Pacific ocean became soon as well known as those of the Mediterranean sea, and their natural productions speedily formed articles of trade. Cook himself suggested the expediency of forming a settlement on the coast of New Holland; in less than half a century this colony has risen into great importance as an agricultural community; it promises, at no very distant day, to outgrow the fostering care of the mother-country, to afford her a rich reward, and become one of her most flourishing descendants.

From the period of Mr. Pitt's accession to power until the commencement of the French revolution, there was little beyond the strife of parties remarkable in the domestic history of England. The illness of the king (A. D. 1787), gave indeed alarming proof that the federal union of the English and Irish legislatures was by no means sufficient to secure the permanent connexion of the countries; for, while the British parliament adopted a restricted regency, the Irish offered the entire royal power to the prince of Wales. The speedy recovery of the king averted the evils that might have resulted from so marked a discrepancy, but from that time Mr. Pitt seems to have determined on his plan for uniting the two legislatures. The chief parliamentary struggles were for a repeal of the disqualifying laws that affected the dissenters, and the abolition of the infamous slave-trade; but the success of both these measures was reserved for later times.

SECTION V.—*History of Europe, from the end of the American War to the commencement of the French Revolution.*

DURING the progress of the American war, a gradual improvement in the science of government began to be manifested in the European states. Many of the German princes began to moderate the stern exercise of their despotic authority, to reform their expenditure and military establishments, and to adopt new institutions suited to the advanced state of civilization. The emperor Joseph was the most enterprising of the royal reformers; his measures for regulating the church involved him in a contest with Pope Pius VI., who hated and dreaded innovation, and was bigotedly attached to the ancient pretensions of the Romish see. Persuaded that his personal influence would be sufficient to dissuade Joseph from pursuing his course of change, the pontiff undertook an expensive journey to Vienna, but the emperor only gave him an abundance of compliments, and persevered in his resolutions. His failure covered the pontiff with ridicule, especially as he had to endure similar disappointments in his negotiations with the courts of Russia and Prussia. Joseph was willing to join the empress Catherine in the dismemberment of Turkey, and permitted that princess to seize the Crimea; but the principal western powers still dreaded the aggrandizement of Austria, and the threat of their confederacy saved the Ottoman empire. The king of Prussia was foremost in checking the encroachments of the emperor; he secretly instigated the Dutch to refuse the free navigation of the Scheldt to the ships of the Austrian Netherlands, and he planned a confederacy for maintaining the integrity of the Germanic states. Frederic died when he had completed the consolidation of a kingdom which his conquests had nearly doubled (A. D. 1786); he

was succeeded by his nephew Frederic William, whose attention was early directed to the affairs of Holland.

The success of the Americans in establishing a commonwealth, induced many of the Dutch to aim at restoring their old republican constitution, and abridging or destroying the power of the stadtholder, which had become in all but name monarchical. The French secretly encouraged the opponents of the prince of Orange, hoping to obtain from the popular party an addition to their East Indian colonies, or at least such a union of interests as would counterpoise British ascendency in Asia; but the new king of Prussia, whose sister was married to the stadtholder, resolved to prevent any change, and the English ambassador vigorously exerted himself to counteract the intrigues of the French. An insult offered to the princess of Orange, brought matters to a crisis; Frederic William immediately sent an army to redress his sister's wrongs; the republicans, deserted by France, made but a feeble resistance, and the stadtholder was restored to all his former authority.

The disordered state of the French finances was the cause of this desertion of their party by the ministers of Louis; through mere jealousy of England, they had involved their country in the American war, and had thus increased the confusion in which the prodigality of the preceding year had sunk the treasury. Minister after minister had attempted to palliate the evil, but M. de Calonne, who owed his elevation to the unwise partiality of the queen, Marie Antoinette, aggravated the disorder by a series of measures formed without prudence, and supported with obstinacy. Opposed by the parliaments, Calonne recommended the king to convene an assembly of the notables, or persons selected from the privileged orders (A. D. 1787); but these orders had hitherto paid far less than their fair proportion of the imposts, and an equitable system of taxation could not be expected from such an interested body. Necker, a Swiss banker, who had been for a short time the French minister of finance, joined in the opposition to Calonne, and it must be confessed that he demonstrated the total inadequacy of the proposed measures to remedy the decline of public credit. Louis dismissed Calonne, but he would not gratify his subjects by recalling Necker to the cabinet; and he dismissed the notables, whose uncomplying disposition rendered all hopes of aid from that assembly fruitless.

But the derangement of the finances was not the only evil that the French court suffered from its interference in the American war; the officers and soldiers who had fought for liberty in one hemisphere became dissatisfied with despotism in the other. A general desire for the establishment of a free constitution, like that of England, was diffused through the nation, and some more ardent spirits began to speculate on a republic. The connexion of the court with Austria was the cause of much secret discontent; the decline of the influence and the power of France was traced to its unfortunate alliance with the court of Vienna during the seven years' war, and the queen, who was naturally inclined to perpetuate this unpopular union, became an object of suspicion and dislike. It was mortifying to find that France no longer held the balance of power on the continent; that she could not save Turkey from the aggressions of the ambitious Catherine, nor protect the republican party in Holland from punishment for acts done in her service.

While France was thus disturbed, the progress of reform in other states was unimpeded; the rulers of Spain and Portugal improved their kingdoms by institutions for the protection of trade, and by placing checks on the exorbitant powers of the clergy. They joined in an effort to chastise the piratical powers in the Mediterranean, but the strength of the Algerine capital frustrated the attempt. The emperor Joseph and his brother Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, distinguished themselves by enacting new and salutary codes of law; they abolished the use of torture to extort confessions, and they greatly limited the number of offences to which the penalty was affixed. Their example was followed by the emperess Catherine, whose code was the greatest blessing that her glorious reign conferred on Russia; and even the sultan evinced a desire to improve the institutions of Turkey.

But the course of events in France soon inspired all the sovereigns of Europe with a horror of innovation. After the dismissal of the notables, M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, had become minister of finance, and he soon involved himself in a dispute with the parliaments, by refusing to produce the accounts, which they insisted on examining before registering any new edicts of taxation. The great object of the parliament was to maintain the immunities of the privileged orders; the minister justly recommended a less partial system, when his opponents, yielding to temporary irritation, demanded the convocation of the states-general. The nobles and the clergy joined in the demand, without any expectation of its being granted, but merely to annoy the court; the people, however, took up the matter in earnest, and determined to enforce compliance. Various schemes were tried by the archbishop to overcome this powerful opposition, but all his plans were disconcerted by the obstinacy of the parliaments, and the king, finding every expedient fail, consented to recall Necker (A. D. 1788). At the same time, a solemn promise was given for the speedy assembly of the states-general, a body that had not been convened since the year 1614.

Before the assembling of this legislative body, it was necessary to determine the number of representatives that should be sent by each of the three orders, the nobles, the clergy, and the people; the majority of the notables voted that an equal number of deputies should be sent by the respective classes, but it was subsequently determined that the representatives of the third estate should equal in number those of the nobles and clergy conjoined. The king declared that the three estates should form separate chambers, but this very important matter was not so definitely fixed as to prevent future discussion. On the 5th of May, 1780, the states-general met at Versailles, and the democratic party, confident in its strength, demanded that the three orders should sit and vote together. After a short struggle, the court was compelled to concede this vital point, and the united bodies took the name of the National Assembly.

A spirit of insubordination began to appear in Paris, caused in some degree by the pressure of famine; artful and ambitious men fanned the rising flame, and directed the popular indignation against the king and his family. The arms in the Hospital of Invalids were seized by the mob, and the insurgents immediately proceeded to attack the Bastile, or

state-prison of Paris. After a brief resistance, the governor, having an insufficient garrison, capitulated, but the conditions of the surrender were not observed by the infuriate multitude; the governor was torn to pieces, and many of the soldiers inhumanly massacred. Louis, greatly alarmed, tried by every means to conciliate his subjects; he removed the regular troops from Paris and Versailles, intrusting the defence of the capital to a body of civic militia, called the National Guards. The command of this new force was intrusted to the marquis de la Fayette, who had acquired great popularity by his liberal sentiments and his services to the cause of freedom in the American war. But all the king's concessions failed to conciliate the democratic, or rather, as we may henceforth call it, the republican party; relying on the support of the Parisian populace, the leaders of this band resolved that the legislature should be removed to the capital, and a mob was secretly instigated to make the demand. A crowd of the lowest rabble, accompanied by some of the national guards, proceeded to Versailles, the palace was violently entered, several of its defenders slain, and the king compelled instantly to set out for Paris, a prisoner in the hands of a licentious crowd, whose insults and indecencies were revolting to human nature.

This atrocious outrage may fairly be regarded as the commencement of the French Revolution; thenceforth the royal authority was an empty name, and all the ancient forms of government set aside; visionaries indulged in speculations on a new order of things, ardent patriots hoped to establish a constitution more perfect than the world ever yet had witnessed, but the base and the depraved sought to gain their own selfish ends by stimulating popular violence; and the last class was the only one whose expectations were realized.

Section VI.—*The French Revolution.*

From the moment that Louis XVI. was brought a prisoner to his capital, the ancient constitution of France was overthrown; the monarchy continued to exist only in name, and the abolition of feudal rights, the extinction of hereditary titles, and the secularization of ecclesiastical property, established popular sovereignty on the ruins of the ancient structure. Several German princes, who had possessions in Alsace, protested against these violent changes, but the popular rulers would not listen to any proposal of a compromise, and thus the leaders of the revolution were embroiled with the empire in the very outset of their career. A club, called from its place of meeting, the Jacobin Association, was formed by the leading democrats, and from this body denunciations were issued against all who were believed favorable to the ancient institutions of the country. Through the machinations of the Jacobins, popular hatred was directed against the court, and violent tumults excited in various parts of France. Infinitely more dangerous to the repose of Europe were the emigrations of the nobles, who were dissatisfied with the revolution; instead of remaining at home and organizing a constitutional resistance, they resolved to seek the restoration of the old government, with all its abuses, by the intervention of foreign powers. A meeting and conference took place at Pilnitz, be-

tween the emperor of Germany, the king of Prussia, and the elector of Saxony; the Count d'Artois, brother to the French monarch, and head of the emigrants, came uninvited, and he engaged the sovereigns to issue a vague declaration in favor of the rights of kings. Louis, wearied by the violence of the Jacobins, the licentiousness of the Parisian mob, and the disappointments he was daily forced to meet, resolved to escape from the captivity in which he was detained, and seek refuge on the frontiers. He fled from Paris, accompanied by his queen and children, but was unfortunately discovered at Varennes, seized, and brought back a prisoner to his capital. This failure exposed the royal family to suspicions of which the Jacobins took advantage; but the more moderate of the patriots were for a time sufficiently powerful to restrain their violence; and after a long deliberation, they prepared a constitutional code, which was tendered to the king for acceptance. The readiness with which Louis assented to this instrument of government, and his frank communication of his satisfaction with the arrangement to his ambassadors at the different European courts, for a time restored his popularity. The emperor Leopold notified to the other powers that all danger of war was averted, and the external and internal tranquillity of France seemed to be assured.

But the constitution, thus established, could not be permanent; it was itself defective; and the minds of the French people, once animated by the desire of change, could not rest satisfied with any fixed form of government. The assembly by which it had been framed was dissolved, and a new legislative body chosen, according to the system recently established, and in this assembly the more violent partisans of democracy had more influence than in the preceding. It was the great object of the revolutionary party to involve the kingdom in foreign war; and the suspicious proceedings of the emigrants, their intrigues in the German courts, and the avowed determination of the emperor to maintain the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace, furnished plausible pretexts for the commencement of hostilities. The death of the emperor Leopold accelerated a rupture; his successor, Francis II., continued to make alarming military preparations, and on his refusal to give any satisfactory explanation, Louis was compelled to declare war against him (A. D. 1792). But the strife of parties in the royal cabinet and the national assembly, led to such confusion in the councils of the French, that their armies, though superior in number, were defeated with loss and disgrace; while the Jacobins, whose intrigues were the real cause of these misfortunes, ascribed them to royalist treachery, and to the influence that Austrian councils possessed over the court from its connexion with the queen. These malignant slanders, industriously circulated, and generally believed, stimulated the Parisian mob to disgraceful acts of violence and disorder, against which La Fayette and the friends of rational liberty protested in vain.

A new incident gave fresh strength to the Jacobin party; Frederic William, king of Prussia, engaged to co-operate with the emperor Francis to restore the royal authority in France; their united forces were placed under the command of the duke of Brunswick; and this prince issued a sanguinary and insulting manifesto, which had the effect of uniting all the French factions in the defence of their common

country. A declaration issued soon after by the emigrant brothers and relatives of Louis, in which the revolution was bitterly condemned, proved still more injurious to the unfortunate king; scarcely did intelligence of the publication reach Paris, when the palace was attacked by an infuriate mob, the Swiss guards ruthlessly massacred, and Louis, with his family, forced to seek shelter in the hall of the national assembly. The deputies protected his person, but they suspended his regal functions, and committed him a prisoner to a building called the Temple, from having been once a monastery of the knights of that order.

La Fayette was equally surprised and indignant at these outrages of the Jacobins; he tried to keep the army firm in its allegiance; but all his exertions not being sufficient to accomplish this result, he fled into the Netherlands, when he was seized and imprisoned by the Austrians for his former opposition to the royal power. He was succeeded in the command of the army by Dumouriez, who made energetic preparations to resist the coming invasion. Confident in their strength, the allied armies entered France with the proudest anticipations, and their rapid progress in the beginning seemed to promise the most decisive results. To diminish the number of their internal enemies, Robespierre, Marat, and other chiefs of the Jacobins, planned the massacre of all the suspected persons confined in the prisons of Paris, and this diabolical plot was executed by the licentious populace. Similar horrors were perpetrated in other parts of France; a reign of terror was established, and no man dared to remonstrate against these shocking excesses. In the meantime the invaders had met with unexpected reverses; trusting to the representations of the emigrants, that the revolution had been the work of a few agitators, not of the nation, and that there was a general reaction in favor of royalty, the allies had advanced without providing adequate stores, and when they received a check at Valmy, their camp was attacked by famine and disease; they were soon compelled to retreat, and to purchase an inglorious security by resigning the fortresses they had occupied. Dumouriez pursued the Austrians into the Netherlands, and gained a decisive victory, which encouraged the Belgians to throw off the imperial yoke; Flanders and Brabant were soon in possession of the victors, and their arms had made considerable progress in the reduction of Luxemburg. The convention, as the national assembly began to be called, having made their own country a republic, resolved to extend the revolution into other states; they offered their alliance to every nation that desired to recover its liberties, and they ordered the ancient constitutions of all the countries occupied by the French troops to be subverted. As the republican arms had conquered Savoy, and were fast gaining ground in Germany, the adoption of such a decree was virtually a declaration of war against all the kings of Europe.

The Jacobins, aided by the Parisian mob, and still more by the cowardice and indecision of their opponents, were now masters of the convention, and the first use they made of their power was to bring the unfortunate king to trial, on the ridiculous charge of his having engaged in a conspiracy for the subversion of freedom. Louis defended himself with great spirit and energy, but his judges were predetermined on his conviction: six hundred and eighty-three deputies pronounced him

guilty of treason against the sovereignty of the nation, while there were only thirty-seven who took a more favorable view of his conduct. A motion for an appeal to the people was rejected; but the sentence of death was passed by a very inconsiderable majority, and this probably induced the Jacobins to hasten the execution. On the twenty-first of January, 1793, the unfortunate Louis was guillotined in his capital city; and the severity of his fate was aggravated by the insults of his cruel executioners.

This judicial murder excited general indignation throughout Europe; Chauvelin, the French ambassador, was dismissed from the British court, and many persons in England, who had hitherto applauded the efforts of the French people, became vehement opposers of revolutionary principles. A similar result was produced in Holland, where the government had been justly alarmed by the progress of the French in the Netherlands.

The convention did not wait to be attacked; a vote was passed that the republic was at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of Holland, by which artful phraseology it was intended to draw a marked distinction between the sovereign and the people of both countries. Spain was soon after added to the enemies of France, and the new republic had to contend against a coalition of all the leading powers of Europe. None of the allies threatened more loudly than the emperess Catherine; she had just concluded a successful war against Turkey, in which her general, Suwaroff, had won a large addition of territory for his mistress, and the power of Russia in the Black sea was secured; she had also triumphed over the king of Sweden, more, however, by the insubordination of her rival's officers, than by the valor of her own troops. Poland was in everything but name subjected to Russia, and the emperess was secretly maturing a plan to blot that country from the list of nations. As the coalition against the French republic was regarded as a war in the defence of the rights of kings, it was intended that a king should be placed at the head of the allied armies; and Gustavus, who had subverted the free constitution of Sweden, offered his services; but while he was preparing for the expedition, a conspiracy was formed against him by his discontented nobles, and he was murdered at a masked ball by Ankarstrom, an officer who believed himself personally injured by the king (A. D. 1792). After the death of Gustavus, the insincerity of Catherine became more manifest; she issued violent proclamations against the French, but carefully abstained from active hostility; indeed, it was manifestly her purpose to involve the continental powers in a war, which would prevent them from watching too jealously the aggrandizement of Russia.

The English and Prussians, deeming the defence of Holland a matter of primary importance, combined to check the progress of Dumouriez, who had overrun Dutch Brabant, with little opposition (A. D. 1793). But the progress of the Austrians, on the side of Germany, stopped the French in their career of conquest. Dumouriez quitted Holland to defend Louvain; he suffered a complete defeat at Neer-winden, by which his soldiers were so discouraged, that they deserted in great numbers. Dumouriez, finding himself suspected by the two great parties which divided the republic, and weary of the disorganized state of

the French government, entered into negotiations with the allied generals, and arrested the deputies sent by the convention to watch his movements. But the army did not share the anti-revolutionary feelings of Dumouriez, and he was forced to seek shelter in the Austrian camp.

Custine, the successor of Dumouriez, was unable to check the progress of the allied armies; being reinforced by a British force under the duke of York, they captured the important fortress of Valenciennes, and seemed to have opened a way to Paris. The revolutionary government punished Custine's failure by a public execution, and employed the terrors of the guillotine as an incentive to patriotism. But the separation of the allied forces was more serviceable to the cause of the convention than the cruelties of the "Committee of Public Safety," to which the supreme power in France was intrusted. Austria, Prussia, and England, had separate interests, in the pursuit of which the common cause was forgotten; the imperialists laid siege to Le Quesnoi, while the English and Dutch proceeded to invest Dunkirk. The duke of York attacked Dunkirk with great spirit, but not receiving the support by sea that he had expected, and the Hanoverian force that covered his operations having been routed by Houchard, he was obliged to raise the siege and abandon the greater portion of his artillery and military stores. The Austrians were for a time more successful, but when Hoche, the defender of Dunkirk, was promoted to the command of the republican armies, they were driven from all their conquests in Alsace, and forced to seek shelter within the imperial frontiers. In Italy, the French maintained their hold of Savoy, but they experienced some severe reverses on the Spanish frontier.

The revolutionary excitement produced the most dreadful effects beyond the Atlantic; the colored population in the French division of St. Domingo took arms to force the whites to grant them equal privileges; their claims were supported by the three deputies sent by the convention to regulate the affairs of the colony, the negroes were seduced, by offers of liberty, to revolt against their masters, and St. Domingo, which had been one of the most flourishing islands in the West Indies, was devastated by a civil war, scarcely to be paralleled for its sanguinary fury and the wanton destruction of life and property.

The wars of southern and western Europe permitted Catherine of Russia to accomplish the favorite object of her policy, the dismemberment of Poland. Austria and Prussia joined in this iniquitous scheme, for the purpose of sharing the plunder, but the Poles made a gallant struggle to maintain their independence. Kosciusko, who had served in America, under Washington, was the chief of the patriots, and his heroic efforts protracted a struggle which from the first was hopeless. Kosciusko, severely wounded, fell into the hands of his enemies, Warsaw was stormed by the brutal Suwaroff, and the kingdom of Poland, erased from the list of nations, was divided between the three confederates (A. D. 1795). The king of Prussia, more anxious to secure his new acquisitions than to support the objects of the coalition, made peace with the French, and offered to mediate between the republic and Austria.

Scarcely had the Austrians been driven from France, when that

country was convulsed by civil war (A. D. 1793.) The jacobins having, by the aid of the Parisian populace, triumphed over the rival faction in the convention, mercilessly proscribed their political adversaries as traitors, and after a mockery of trial, hurried them to execution. Among the victims to their fury was the unfortunate queen of France, Marie Antoinette, but death was to her not a punishment, but a release from suffering. The tyranny of the Jacobins provoked formidable insurrections in the south of France, and encouraged the royalists of La Vendée to take up arms in the cause of their church and their king. Nothing could exceed the fury of the Jacobins when they heard of these revolts; severe decrees were passed against the cities which had resisted their authority, but no place was so cruelly punished as Lyons, which had continued for four months in a state of insurrection. After having endured a furious bombardment, it was forced to surrender at discretion; five deputies, of whom Callot and Fouché were the chief, received a communication from the convention to punish the Lyonese revolters by the summary process of military law, and about four thousand victims were shot or guillotined after the mockery of trial before this savage tribunal. But, in the midst of their butcheries, the Jacobins did not neglect the military defence of their country; a decree of the convention declared, that all the French were soldiers, and a levy of the population, *en masse*, was ordered. To support such numerous armies, private property was seized and paid for in promissory notes, called *assignats*, whose value was speedily depreciated, a circumstance which ruined public credit in France.

Toulon having revolted, an English garrison, strengthened by Spanish and Neapolitan detachments, occupied that important seaport. It was soon besieged by the troops of the convention; the artillery of the besiegers was directed by a young Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had risen by his merits from an inferior station. Owing to his exertions, the English soon found the place untenable; they evacuated Toulon, without loss, after having destroyed the arsenal and shipping, but they abandoned the inhabitants to the fury of the conquerors, who punished their revolt with indiscriminate severity.

In the Netherlands and Germany, the French, under Pichegru and Jourdan, gained many important advantages over the imperialists and their allies; but though many battles were fought, nothing of any consequence was effected in the early part of the campaign (A. D. 1794). A more important event was the downfall of the sanguinary faction which had so long deluged France with the blood of its best citizens; Robespierre's enormities were too numerous and too shocking to be borne, even by many of the Jacobin party; a conspiracy was formed against him; the convention was induced to resume its authority, and order his arrest, and, after a brief struggle, he and his accomplices were hurried before the revolutionary tribunal, which they had themselves organized, and sent to the scaffold. This revolution did not produce the beneficial results that had been expected; Robespierre's successors were little better than himself, and they were confirmed in their hostility to Britain by the recent defeat of their navy. Lord Howe, who had been distinguished as a naval commander in the two preceding wars, encountered a French fleet of rather superior force (June 1), and

having broken the enemy's line, took six ships-of-war and sank two. This success revived the declining spirits of the English nation, discouraged by the ill success of the war in Holland. Corsica was soon after annexed to the dominions of England, but the French were victorious on the Spanish frontier, and Holland was completely subdued by Pichegru and Moreau. The prince of Orange and the English forces escaped by sea; the Dutch abolished the office of stadtholder, and adopted a new form of government, similar to that of the French republic. If there were any in Holland who expected to derive advantage from this revolution, they were grievously disappointed; the French despised their new confederates, and treated them as a conquered people, while the English seized the colonies and destroyed the remains of the once unparalleled commerce of Holland.

The alarm which the French revolution excited in England, led the government to prosecute some enthusiastic advocates of reform in parliament for high treason; three of them were brought to trial and acquitted, upon which the prosecutions of the others were abandoned. There were few in the country anxious to make a change in the established institutions, the crimes and follies of the French Jacobins had rendered innovation unpopular, and many who had hitherto been in opposition to the court, tendered their aid to the minister; the most remarkable of these converts was the eloquent Burke, whose denunciations of French principles, produced a powerful effect on the national mind.

The dismemberment of Poland, and the desertion of the coalition by the king of Prussia, gave great dissatisfaction to the British parliament, and the character of our faithless ally was made the theme of severe and not unmerited censure. He had accepted a large subsidy from England, and employed the money lavishly granted him, against the Polanders instead of the French. But the defection of Prussia did not dishearten the English or the Austrians, who were encouraged to continue the war by the distracted state of France. In Paris, the convention partially succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Jacobins, but the city was frequently endangered by their machinations, and the insurrections of the ferocious populace who supported them. The royalist war was renewed in La Vendée, and the south of France continued discontented. But the allies profited little by these commotions. The Spaniards, completely humbled, were forced to make peace with the republicans; the Austrians barely maintained their ground in Italy, and success was evenly balanced on the side of Germany. Great Britain, however, maintained its supremacy at sea; Admiral Cornwallis compelled a fleet of very superior force to retire, and Lord Bridport, with ten sail-of-the-line, attacked twelve of the enemy, three of which were compelled to strike their colors. The French were deprived of Martinique, Gaudaloupe, and St. Lucie, in the West Indies, and their reluctant allies, the Dutch, lost their settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the island of Ceylon.

The convention, by an attempt to perpetuate its authority, provoked a formidable insurrection in Paris; Bonaparte had a considerable share in subduing the revolters, more than two thousand of whom were mercilessly slaughtered. Soon afterward, France had a new constitu-

tion, consisting of a legislative assembly, an upper house, called the council of ancients, and a directory of five members, intrusted with the executive functions of government. The directors soon began to limit the powers of the legislative body, and the new constitution was found to be a delusion. But an approach had been made to regular government, and the war was carried on with fresh vigor by the directory (A. D. 1796). Marshals Jourdan and Moreau made successful irruptions into Germany, but they encountered a formidable antagonist in the archduke Charles of Austria. He stopped the invaders in their mid-career of victory, completely routed Jourdan at Kornach, and then suddenly marching against Moreau, he nearly succeeded in surprising and overwhelming that general. Moreau's celebrated retreat was more honorable to his abilities than the most brilliant victory; he led his forces through the black forest, from position to position, often compelled to yield his ground, but never thrown into confusion, until he safely crossed the Rhine with all his artillery and baggage.

The campaign in Italy, where the French were commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, was more eventful. The king of Sardinia, completely routed and cut off from his communications with the Austrians, was forced to purchase a dishonorable peace from the republic, by the cession of his most important fortresses. Napoleon then led his forces against the Austrians, forced, but with great loss, a passage over the bridge of Lodi, and gained possession of Milan and the principal cities of Lombardy. The victors made a harsh use of their triumph, the unfortunate Lombards were treated with great cruelty, the duke of Tuscany was compelled to exclude the English from the port of Leghorn, and the pope was forced to purchase the forbearance of the republicans by ceding to them Bologna, and several other towns, paying a heavy ransom, and sending three hundred precious manuscripts and pictures to enrich the national museum at Paris. The dukes of Modena and Parma were subjected to similar exactions, but the king of Naples had providently made a truce with the French before they approached his frontiers. Mantua, the last stronghold of the Austrians in Italy, was closely besieged, but the court of Vienna made vigorous preparations for its relief. Marshal Wurmser twice pushed forward against the French, but was each time defeated with great loss, a calamity owing to his unwisely dividing his forces. Alvinzi, who succeeded to the command of the Austrians, committed the same fault, and was compelled to retire; Mantua, however, was still obstinately defended, but the garrison ceased to entertain sanguine hopes of success.

In the meantime, the Corsicans grew weary of their connexion with Great Britain, drove the English from the island, and placed themselves under the protection of France. Ireland was exposed to the horrors of an invasion; a formidable squadron, having a large body of troops on board, appeared in Bantry Bay. Hoche, who had acquired considerable fame by his suppression of the insurrection in La Vendée, commanded the expedition, and, could he have effected a landing, the safety of the British empire would have been perilled; but a violent storm dispersed the ships, most of which were subsequently either sunk or captured. The death of the emperess Catherine

inspired the English minister with the hope of gaining more effective assistance from Russia; but her successor, the emperor Paul, disregarded all the solicitations addressed to him by the courts of London and Vienna.

A new enemy appeared against England; the Spanish government, always jealous of British naval power, and overawed by the French directory, entered into alliance with the republic, and began to increase its navy (A. D. 1797). At this moment, when the existence of England depended on its sailors, a formidable mutiny broke out in the fleet at Spithead; the officers were suspended from their authority and dismissed from their ships; the malcontents blockaded the mouth of the Thames, and committed several acts of depredation. Fortunately the sailors grew alarmed themselves and hastened to return to their allegiance; a few of the ringleaders were hanged, but the great body of the revolters was conciliated by an act of amnesty.

The war in Italy was not discontinued during the winter; Alvinzi made a desperate effort to retrieve the fortunes of Austria, but he was again defeated, and Mantua soon capitulated. Having very severely punished the pope for his attachment to the imperial interests, Napoleon resolved to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria. The territory of Friuli was quickly subdued, and a great part of the Tyrol occupied by the French; the archduke Charles made a bold defence, but the emperor Francis, terrified by the advance of Hoche and Moreau in Germany, sued for peace, in spite of the remonstrances of his English allies. While the terms of pacification were under discussion, Napoleon subverted the ancient constitution of Genoa and Venice, and made both republics virtually dependant on France.

Spain suffered severely in the war she had so rashly commenced. Admiral Jervis encountered a Spanish fleet of very superior force off Cape St. Vincent, and by a dexterous manœuvre cut off nine of their ships from the line, so that he could engage the rest on more equal terms. Four ships-of-the-line were taken in this brilliant engagement, to the success of which Nelson, who was now commencing his brilliant career, mainly contributed. The Spaniards lost also the valuable island of Trinidad, but an attack made by the British on Teneriffe was unsuccessful. The Dutch, too, were punished for their alliance with France. Three ships-of-the-line and four frigates were taken by the British, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover the cape. But they suffered a more severe loss on their own coast; an English squadron, commanded by Admiral Duncan, got between their ships and the shore, and took eleven out of fifteen sail-of-the-line. Two of the prizes, however, in consequence of the difficulties of the navigation, were abandoned.

A new revolution in France invested the directory with supreme power, and their opponents were banished to the unhealthy swamps of Guiana, where they were treated with great rigor. Negotiations for peace were commenced, but those with England were broken off abruptly by the extravagent demands of the French plenipotentiaries. This did not prevent the conclusion of a treaty between the republic and Austria, when the emperor was renumerated for the loss of Mantua by the cession of Venice, which he meanly accepted, and the frontiers of France were extended to the Rhine.

Great Britain was now the only power at war with France, and the directory prepared a large army for its invasion. This threat produced a noble display of patriotism throughout the country, volunteer associations for defence were formed, and every man was ready to act as a soldier. But while the British navy rode triumphant in the channel, the menace of invasion was an idle boast, and Bonaparte only used it as a pretext to cover his ulterior designs. While the French were modelling, at their pleasure, the governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, Napoleon planned an expedition to Egypt, with the hope of rendering the French influence as predominant in the east as it was in western Europe (A. D. 1798). Convoyed by a fleet, under Admiral Brueys, he sailed first to Malta, which was betrayed by the French knights. A garrison was left to secure the forts of this important island; the rest of the expedition escaping the vigilance of the English fleet, safety reached Egypt, and having effected a landing, took Alexandria by storm. The Mameluke beys, who were then masters of the country, led their brilliant cavalry to check the progress of the invaders; but these undisciplied warriors were unable to break the firm squares of the French infantry, and they were almost annihilated in the battle of Embaba.

But the hopes inspired by such success were soon dashed by the ruin of the French fleet. After a long search, Admiral Nelson discovered Brueys, in the bay of Aboukir, and immediately formed a bold plan of action. He led a part of his fleet between the French and the shore, so as to place his enemies between two fires. The victory was complete, nine sail-of-the-line were captured, L'Orient, a ship of uncommon size, blew up with the greater part of her crew; another ship-of-the-line and a frigate were burned by their respective captains.

But Great Britain was not equally fortunate in other quarters; an armament sent against the Belgic coast signally failed, and the island of St. Domingo was evacuated by the British troops. Ireland was distracted by an insurrection, planned by some enthusiastic admirers of French principles, but put into execution by an ignorant peasantry, whose excesses their leaders were unable to control. Many acts of atrocity were committed by the insurgents, and the conduct of the royal army was frequently very disgraceful. The insurrection was finally quelled; but scarcely was tranquillity restored, when a small party of French landed in Connaught, and through the cowardice of the troops first sent to oppose them, penetrated into the heart of the country. Lord Cornwallis, who had just been appointed lord lieutenant, soon overtook the French, and forced them to surrender. Judiciously tempering severity with clemency, he conciliated the discontented; and Sir John Warren, by capturing the greater part of a French fleet, averted the dangers of a future invasion.

The victory of Nelson at the Nile produced a powerful effect throughout Europe. The sultan made preparations for a vigorous defence of his dominions; the Russians sent an armament into the Mediterranean, and captured the Ionian islands, which the French had wrested from the Venetians; the king of Naples took arms to recover the Roman territories for the pope; and the emperor of Austria yielded to the suggestions of Mr. Pitt, and commenced hostilities.

The French were not daunted by this powerful coalition ; they easily repelled the Neapolitans, but they found a more formidable foe in the Russians, who entered Italy under the command of Suwaroff, and being there joined by the Austrians, gained several important advantages in spite of Marshals Moreau and Macdonald. But these successes were so dearly purchased, that the allies resolved to try a new plan of operations. Suwaroff undertook to drive the French from Switzerland ; Kray and Melas were to direct the Piedmontese and Austrian troops in Italy ; while the archduke Charles protected Germany with all the forces of the empire. Victory in general favored the allied powers : the French lost all their posts in Italy except Genoa, and that was closely besieged ; Suwaroff made rapid progress in Switzerland ; and in Germany the French arms suffered several but not very important reverses. In the meantime Napoleon invaded Syria ; but being foiled at Acre, chiefly through the heroic exertions of Sir Sydney Smith, he returned to Egypt, and having provided for the security of that country, secretly embarked for France. He escaped the vigilance of the English cruisers, and arrived at Paris just as the directory were indulging in extravagant joy for the defeat of the joint invasion of Holland by the English and Russians. It had been confidently asserted that the Dutch were anxious to throw off the yoke of France, but these representations were proved to be fallacious ; and the duke of York, who commanded the English forces, was compelled to purchase a safe retreat by restoring eight thousand French prisoners without ransom or exchange.

Bonaparte soon perceived that the French people had grown weary of the directory. Trusting to his popularity with the army, he drove the legislative council from their chamber at the point of the bayonet, and formed a new constitution, by which the executive power was intrusted to three consuls, of whom he was the chief. The first consul, in everything but name a monarch, attempted to commence negotiations ; the English ministers repulsed him rather harshly, and preparations were made for a decisive campaign.

An important and necessary change was made in the constitution of the British empire (A. D. 1800). Some difficulties had arisen from the existence of independent legislatures in England and Ireland ; the two parliaments had already divided differently on the important question of the regency, and there was reason to fear that some future discrepancy might lead to the dismemberment of the empire. To prevent such an evil, it was resolved that the two legislatures should form one imperial parliament, and the terms of the union were warmly canvassed in both countries. The measure was very unpopular in Ireland, and when first proposed, was rejected by the parliament ; but, during the recess, the minister found means to increase the number of his supporters, and in the following session the Act of Union was passed by considerable majorities.

It was expected that the first consul would attempt the invasion of England or Ireland ; but Napoleon was too well aware of his naval weakness to undertake such a hazardous enterprise. He formed a daring plan of a campaign in Italy, and led his army like Hannibal over the Alps. The Austrians could scarcely have been more surprised if an army had fallen from the clouds, than they were by the appearance

of the French columns descending from Mount St. Bernard; but, encouraged by their recent acquisition of Genoa, they prepared to make a vigorous resistance. The battle of Montebello, in which the French had the advantage, was the prelude to the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians commenced the fight with unusual spirit; both wings of their opponents were beaten, and the centre shaken; but some fresh divisions arriving to the support of the French at the last moment of the crisis, Napoleon pierced the lines of the imperialists, which were too much extended, and Murat's furious charge completed the rout of the Austrians. So disheartened was the imperial general, Melas, that he purchased a truce by resigning Genoa, and the principal fortresses in Piedmont and the Milanese, to the conquerors.

The influence of the British cabinet, and some slight successes in Germany, induced the emperor Francis to continue the war; but his rising hopes were crushed by the battle of Hohenlinden, in which the French and Bavarians under Moreau completely defeated the imperialists, and opened a passage into Upper Austria. The emperor, alarmed for his hereditary dominions, consented to a truce, and this was soon followed by the treaty of Luneville, which annihilated for a season the Austrian influence in Italy. Scarcely had Great Britain lost one ally, when she was threatened with the active hostility of another. The Russian emperor, Paul, had been chosen patron of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and when the English, after having reduced Malta by blockade, refused to restore the island to the degenerate knights, the chivalrous potentate ordered the British ships in the Russian ports to be detained, and prevailed upon Sweden and Denmark to unite with him in an armed neutrality (A. D. 1801). In the meantime Mr. Pitt, who had so long presided over the councils of Great Britain, resigned his office as premier. When he was urging forward the great measure of the union with Ireland, he had endeavored to conciliate the catholics of that country by a promise of his aid in procuring a repeal of the laws which excluded them from parliament and office; but the king's repugnance to catholic emancipation was invincible, and Mr. Pitt retired from the cabinet. Mr. Addington, his successor, had scarcely been installed, when the gratifying intelligence was received of a great triumph obtained by the British navy in the Baltic. When Mr. Pitt received intelligence of the armed neutrality, he sent a large fleet into the northern seas, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson. The latter, with twelve sail-of-the-line and some small vessels, attacked the Danish fleet, moored in a formidable position before their capital, and, after a desperate contest, took or destroyed every Danish ship that had a share in the engagement. The Danes were humbled by this loss, but they were still more disheartened by the death of the Russian emperor, Paul, who was the founder and head of the northern confederacy. This potenate's incapacity provoked the indignation of the nobles and the people, and he was murdered by a party of conspirators, who placed his son Alexander upon the throne. The young prince concluded a treaty with the British on equitable terms, and the other northern powers imitated his example.

A British army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been sent to drive the French from Egypt, and it succeeded in this object, but with the

loss of its gallant commander. Some naval enterprises were less successful: and as there was now a stable government in France, the English minister consented to commence negotiations for peace. The terms were soon arranged: France retained her acquisitions in Germany and the Netherlands, and her supremacy in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. England consented to resign Malta to the knights, to make the Ionian islands an independent republic, and to restore all her colonial conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad. The treaty was signed at Amiens, and for a short time Europe was deceived with a hope of continued tranquillity.

During this war the maritime and commercial supremacy of England had been completely established, and her colonial empire in India extended and secured. When the French invaded Egypt, Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore, inheriting his father's hostility to the English, meditated an attack on the company's territories, but he was anticipated by the vigor of the earl of Mornington, the governor-general, who, instead of waiting for an attack, invaded Mysore. Seringapatam, Tippoo's capital, was taken by storm, and that unfortunate prince fell in the assault. This conquest made the British power supreme in southern India, and led to the establishment of the company's paramount authority over the whole peninsula of Hindústan.

France had gained a vast accession of territory, but the freedom which the French had taken arms to defend was no more. The revolution, whose progress had been so strangely marked by savage crime and cruel suffering, was now fast finding its consummation in a military despotism, more arbitrary and crushing than the iron rule even of the feudal monarchs; but the French, weary of the many vicissitudes that their government had undergone, submitted to a change that promised future stability, and consoled themselves with dreams of glory for the loss of freedom.

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

Section I.—*Renewal of the War between England and France.*

When peace was restored, Napoleon directed all his energies to consolidate the power he had acquired. Permission was granted to those whom the violence of the revolution had driven from their country, to return, on certain conditions. Christianity, abolished in the madness of the preceding convulsions, was restored, and arrangements were made with the pope for the future government of the Gallican church; and finally, the consular power was conferred upon Napoleon for life, while a representative constitution preserved for the nation a mere shadow of freedom. His interference in foreign states was less honorable: he moulded the Italian and Ligurian republics at his pleasure; but the Swiss proving more refractory, Marshal Ney entered their territory with a large army, to enforce submission to the imperious dictates of the first consul. The British ministers remonstrated against this interference, but they could not prevent the French from extending their influence in Germany and Italy, as well as the Swiss cantons. Napoleon was less successful in his efforts to recover the island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo. A large French army was sent to the island, and the proceedings of its commanders were marked by gross cruelty and treachery; but these abominable means failed to crush the spirit of the insurgent negroes, and the unfortunate colony was exposed to all the horrors of a servile war. Great Britain did not interfere in this contest; the example of a successful revolt of slaves was deemed of dangerous consequence to our West Indian islands, and the reduction of St. Domingo was desired rather than deprecated.

But the encroachments of France on the independence of the neighboring states, and the determination of England to retain the island of Malta, gave rise to angry discussions, which, it was soon obvious, would only terminate in a renewal of hostilities (A. D. 1803).

The English commenced the war by issuing letters of marque, authorizing the seizure of French vessels; Napoleon retaliated, by seizing the persons of all the British whom pleasure or business had induced to visit France during the brief interval of peace. The threats of invasion were renewed, but the English people evinced a spirit of loyalty which quelled all fear of danger. In Ireland an unmeaning insurrection was raised by two enthusiasts, Russell and Emmett, but it was suppressed almost the instant it exploded, and a few of the leaders were capitally

punished. Hanover, however, was occupied by a French army, and the Dutch republic joined in the war against Britain. On the other hand, the English conquered the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago, and the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Essequebo. In Asia, the English broke the dangerous power of the Mahrattas, who were supposed, at the instigation of the French, to have formed plans for the subversion of the company's power. The earl of Mornington, who had recently been created marquis of Wellesley, disconcerted their schemes by his vigor and promptitude; and the formidable Scindiah was forced to purchase peace by the cession of a large portion of his dominions. The king of Kandi, who had assailed the British power in Ceylon, was also subdued, and the English colonial empire in Asia was at once enlarged and secured. The French colonial power was at the same time nearly annihilated: the island of St. Domingo was wrested from them by the insurgent blacks, and erected into an independent state, under its ancient Indian name of Hayti. These results might have been reasonably anticipated, for without a navy it was impossible for France to retain its colonies.

Mr. Pitt had retired from office just before the conclusion of the peace, his friends became anxious that he should return to the administration on the renewal of war, and Mr. Addington was forced to yield to their superior influence (A. D. 1804). The premier encountered many difficulties in constructing a cabinet, and had to resist a more formidable opposition in parliament than he had been accustomed to meet. While Mr. Pitt was laboring to strengthen his ministry, Napoleon was more successfully engaged in securing the supreme power in France. He accused his rivals, Moreau and Pichegru, of having plotted his destruction, in conjunction with Georges, a royalist leader, and charged the English ministers with having hired assassins to destroy him. A more atrocious crime was the murder of the most amiable of the Bourbon princes. The young duke D'Enghien was unjustifiably seized in the neutral territory of Baden, hurried to the castle of Vincennes, and shot by the sentence of a court-martial, contrary to all forms of law, as well as principles of justice. Immediately after the perpetration of this ruthless deed, Napoleon obtained the title of emperor from his servile senate; the dignity was declared hereditary in his family, and the principal powers of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, recognised the new sovereign.

The emperor of Russia was anxious to avenge the fate of the duke D'Enghien, his remonstrances against the usurpations of Napoleon were very warm, but none of the other continental sovereigns seconded his zeal, and the storm, which threatened to burst forth, soon subsided. Having no ally on the continent, England had no means of employing her military strength, and the operations of the war were confined to a few naval enterprises. Napoleon offered terms of peace; but the British minister, relying on the probable co-operation of Russia, refused to negotiate (A. D. 1805). At the same time war was commenced against Spain, by sending out a squadron to intercept the Plate fleet, laden with the treasures of Spanish America. This attempt was made before hostilities were formally declared; but the British minister justified it by referring to the intimate connexion that had been formed be-

tween the courts of Paris and Madrid. Mr. Pitt's conduct was approved by large parliamentary majorities; but he received a harsh proof of the decline of his influence, in the impeachment of his friend Lord Melville, for official delinquency. When the charge was made in the house of commons, Mr. Pitt vindicated the conduct of Lord Melville; but, notwithstanding the minister's exertions, the impeachment was carried by the casting vote of the speaker. The premier was more successful in his foreign policy; the emperor of Russia concluded a treaty with England for restraining the ambition of France, and Napoleon's encroachments in Italy induced Austria to accede to the league.

Napoleon, at the request of the constituted authorities of the Italian republic, assumed the title of king of Italy; and in the cathedral of Milan placed upon his head the ancient iron crown of the Lombard monarchs, and with less ceremony, annexed the territories of the Ligurian republic to the French empire. The Austrian emperor vainly remonstrated; and at length, relying on the aid of the Russians, published a declaration of war. Unfortunately, Francis commenced hostilities by an action as unjustifiable as any of which he accused Napoleon. The elector of Bavaria, whose son was in the French capital, declared himself neutral, upon which the Austrian troops entered his dominions, treated them as a conquered country, and compelled him to seek refuge in Franconia. Napoleon eagerly seized the opportunity of branding his enemies as the aggressors in the contest, and declaring himself the protector of the liberties of Europe.

The naval war was maintained by Great Britain with equal vigor and success. The French and Spanish fleets having formed a junction, sailed for the West Indies, but they were soon pursued by Lord Nelson, the terror of whose name induced them to return to Europe. Off Ferrol they encountered an inferior squadron, under Sir Robert Calder, and lost two of their ships, but the rest reached the bay of Cadiz, where they were strongly reinforced. Lord Nelson, with twenty-seven sail-of-the-line, appeared off the coast, and the French admiral Villeneuve, relying on his vast superiority of force, resolved to hazard an engagement. The allied fleets of France and Spain, amounting to thirty-three ships-of-the-line, besides frigates and corvettes, appeared near Cape Trafalgar, ranged in order of battle; Nelson gave immediate orders for an attack, and the English fleet, advancing in two divisions, soon broke through the adverse line. In the heat of the engagement, the heroic British commander fell mortally wounded; but he lived to know that his plans had been crowned with success, twelve of the enemies' ships having struck before he expired. A dreadful storm, which arose just after the battle closed, prevented the English from retaining all the fruits of their victory; but four prizes reached Gibraltar, fifteen French and Spanish vessels were destroyed or sunk; out of the fourteen which fled, six were wrecked, and four taken at a later period by Sir Robert Strachan. The joy which so brilliant a victory diffused throughout England was chastened by grief for the loss of the gallant Nelson; he was honorably interred at the public expense, and monuments were erected to his memory by a grateful nation.

Napoleon consoled himself for his losses at sea by the prospect of

gaining some decisive advantage over the Austrians before they could be joined by their Russian auxiliaries. He treated with contempt the threats of Gustavus, king of Sweden; and it must be confessed that the pompous boasts of that eccentric monarch, combined with his vacillating conduct, did not entitle him to much respect. The French army crossed the Rhine, and disregarding the neutrality of the king of Prussia, passed through the Franconian territories of that monarch, and having passed the Danube, began to menace the rear of the Austrians. In spite of the remonstrances of the archduke Charles, the cabinet of Vienna had intrusted the chief command of their armies to General Mack, whose talents and fidelity were both suspicious. Mack in a short time permitted himself to be surrounded by the French at Ulm; he had ample means for a protracted defence, having twenty thousand men under his command, but through cowardice or incapacity, he consented to a capitulation, by which he and his soldiers became prisoners-of-war. Intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar came to abate Napoleon's triumph, while the courage of Francis was revived by the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries. The French, pushing forward, made themselves masters of Vienna; but the Russians, encouraged by the presence of their emperor, though they had been severely harassed in Moravia, showed so much spirit, that the allies resolved to hazard an engagement. In the beginning of December, the hostile armies met near the village of Austerlitz; Kutuzoff, who directed the movements of the allies, injudiciously extended his lines, with the intention of outflanking the French; Napoleon at once saw and took advantage of the error, he separated the enemies' central divisions from those of both wings, and pouring his columns through the gaps, overwhelmed his foes in detail. After a desperate resistance, the Russians were forced to retreat; a large body attempted to escape over a frozen lake, but the French artillery poured a storm of shot from a neighboring eminence, which broke the ice around the fugitives, and the greater part of them perished in the waters. This severe defeat humbled the emperor Francis; he accepted peace on the terms dictated by the conqueror, but the emperor Alexander refused to be a party to the treaty, and returned to his own country.

During these transactions, the selfish conduct of the king of Prussia was as injurious to the allies as it was ultimately ruinous to himself. On the violation of his Franconian territories, he had taken arms, and entered into treaties with Great Britain and Russia; but Napoleon, aware that the prompt movement of a third power might disconcert all his plans, contrived to keep awake the ancient jealousy between the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, and he finally won the tacit approbation of the latter power by offering Hanover as a bribe. Thus the Prussian sovereign was induced to favor the alarming extension of French power by a share of the plunder of his own allies.

The battle of Austerlitz was a fatal blow to Mr. Pitt; he had been the chief agent in forming the coalition—he had loudly and boldly prognosticated its success, and had despised the warnings of his political adversaries; the failure of all his hopes proved too much for his shattered constitution, and he died at the commencement of the parliamentary session (A. D. 1806). His parliamentary friends procured him

a splendid funeral, and the payment of his debts at the national cost, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Section II.—*Progress of Napoleon's Power.*

While Napoleon was establishing his supremacy over the continent of Europe, the marquis of Wellesley was further extending and securing the British empire in India, by humbling the Mahratta powers. Jesswunt Holkar, a formidable chief, made a vigorous resistance, but he soon found that his soldiers could not cope with the disciplined troops of the company, and was forced to beg a peace. He obtained better terms than he could have expected, from the marquis Cornwallis, who succeeded the marquis of Wellesley, for the court of directors had found that conquests were very expensive, and that every new acquisition of territory became an additional source of expense. At this time the English nation generally took little interest in the affairs of India; men's minds were more occupied by the change of ministry consequent on the death of Mr. Pitt. It was generally desired that as large a share of the talent of the country as possible, without reference to party, should be included in the new administration; and Lord Grenville, to whom the arrangements were confided, overcame the king's reluctance to Mr. Fox, and made that gentleman one of the secretaries of state. The first measures of the ministers won them a considerable share of public favor; Lord Henry Petty introduced order into the financial accounts, which were in such a state of confusion as to afford protection to fraud and peculation; Mr. Fox proposed and carried the abolition of the infamous slave-trade, which had been so long a disgrace to England and to Christianity. The acquittal of Lord Melville by the house of peers was received with some surprise; but the ministers appear to have acted impartially in avoiding any interference that might influence the result of an official investigation.

The war was still prosecuted with great vigor; the Dutch colony of the Cape was subdued, and a small force under Sir Home Popham and General Beresford, captured the important city of Buenos Ayres in South America. The provincials, however, disappointed in the hope of obtaining freedom and independence by British aid, took up arms, and the conquerors of Buenos Ayres were forced to capitulate, while a British armament was on its way to maintain the supposed conquest.

Hastening to secure the reward of his perfidy, the king of Prussia occupied Hanover, ceding to the French the dutchy of Cleves, and some other districts, as a reward for yielding him the electorate. Gustavus of Sweden joined the British court in remonstrating against this proceeding; but as that monarch's actions were not very consistent with his menaces, the Prussians treated him with contempt. An ally of Britain was about the same time driven from his dominions. During the Austrian war, the king of Naples, encouraged by the withdrawal of the French troops from his territories, and instigated by his queen, an Austrian princess, received an army of Russians and English into his capital. Napoleon, provoked by this unexpected war, declared that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign in Naples, and assembled an army to execute his threats just as the Russian and English forces

were withdrawn. The invaders scarcely encountered any resistance, except in Calabria, where the peasants made a brief stand. The king of Naples fled to Sicily, and Napoleon conferred the vacant throne on his brother, Joseph Bonaparte. The peasants in Calabria and the Abruzzi, harassed the French by desultory attacks, and they were supported by Sir Sydney Smith, who commanded the British naval force on the Sicilian station. The queen of Naples and Sir Sydney Smith prevailed on Sir John Stuart, the commander of the British force in Sicily, to transport his troops into Calabria; the natives did not join the invaders in such force as had been expected, and they would have immediately returned, had not an opportunity offered of engaging the French general Regnier. The armies met at Maida, and the French, though greatly superior in number, were completely defeated. But the victory had no result except to raise the character of the British army, which had been for some time depressed. The French poured large bodies of soldiers into Calabria, and in a short time established their authority over the whole of the south of Italy.

Having procured the throne of Naples for his brother Joseph, Napoleon resolved to place his brother Louis on that of Holland. The Dutch submitted to the change without remonstrance, though their country thus became a mere province of France; but they consoled themselves by reflecting on the mild character of their new sovereign, who was sincerely anxious to promote the prosperity of his subjects. His efforts, were, however, controlled by his imperial brother, who was anxious of becoming the arbiter of Europe, and rendering everything subservient to the military sway of France. Still Napoleon professed an anxious desire for peace, and made overtures to Mr. Fox, for whose character he professed and probably felt the highest veneration. The negotiations were broken off by the refusal of the French to admit the Russians to a share of the treaty, and by Napoleon's perseverance in retaining power inconsistent with the independence of the other European states. While the subject was under discussion, Mr. Fox died, and was succeeded in office by Mr. (afterward Earl) Grey: the conferences were continued, but M. Talleyrand, who was the representative of France, insinuated that the change in the British cabinet blighted the hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe.

The frustration of this negotiation led to a new war; during the conferences, Napoleon's agents averred that the restoration of Hanover would not be refused; the king of Prussia was indignant at the readiness with which this pretended friend sacrificed his interests; Hanover had been the reward of subserviency, if not treachery, and he now found that he retained the bribe by a very insecure tenure. A more justifiable ground of indignation was the opposition which Napoleon gave to the efforts of the Prussians, in forming an association which might counterbalance the Confederation of the Rhine, an alliance that transferred to France the supremacy over Germany, that had formerly belonged to the house of Austria; finally, it was more than suspected that Napoleon had offered to win the favor of the Russian emperor at the expense of his Prussian ally. Frederic William was further stimulated by his queen and his subjects; the Germans generally were enraged by the military tyranny of the French, especially by the ju-

dicial murder of two booksellers, who were shot pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial for circulating libels against Napoleon.

Anger is an evil counsellor to nations as well as individuals; yielding to the suggestions of indignation rather than prudence, the king of Prussia commenced hostilities before his own arrangements were complete, or his allies ready to give him effective assistance; and he intrusted the command of his army to the duke of Brunswick, who possessed the personal bravery of a soldier, but not the prudence and abilities requisite for a general. Louis, the king's cousin, impetuously advancing to seek the French, encountered a vastly superior force; he was defeated and slain, a calamity that greatly dispirited the Prussian army. This was only the preliminary to the fatal battle of Jena; the Prussians injudiciously posted, and badly commanded, were routed with great slaughter, and what was even worse than defeat, a dispute arose between them and their Saxon allies, which induced the latter to conclude a separate peace with Napoleon. The success of the French was uninterrupted, Berlin opened its gates to the conquerors, and the division of the Prussian army, which had been long preserved unbroken by the heroic exertions of Marshal Blucher, was forced to capitulate. The fugitive king still preserved his courage, relying on the approaching aid of his Russian ally. Napoleon's forces advanced into Poland, where they were joined by many of the inhabitants, who were taught to hope that the French emperor would restore the independence of their native country; but he was incapable of such generous policy, and in after-life, he lamented too late that he sacrificed the hopes of a brave and grateful people to the temporary gain of selfish ambition. The Russians successfully engaged the French at Pultusk, but they were unable to retain their advantages, and were forced gradually to retreat.

Encouraged by his rapid success, Napoleon resolved to crush, if possible, the commercial prosperity of Great Britain; he issued a series of edicts from Berlin, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and excluding British manufactures from all the continental ports. Every country that refused obedience to these decrees was threatened with immediate vengeance, and Portugal, so long the faithful ally of England, was marked out as the first victim (A. D. 1807). Great indignation was excited throughout Britain by the French emperor's adoption of this unparalleled system; but it proved eventually more injurious to himself than to his enemies; British manufactures and colonial produce were smuggled to the continent in various ways, and Napoleon was finally compelled to connive at the illicit traffic. But the menaces of the French had roused the spirit of the English people, and complaints were made of the want of vigor and success with which the war was supported. A second expedition against Buenos Ayres, under General Whitelock, disgracefully failed, though it must be confessed that the hatred of the Spanish provincials to the English, as strangers and heretics, would probably have prevented any permanent success in South America. An armament sent against Constantinople, to gratify our Russian ally by enforcing his demands on Turkey, was equally unsuccessful; and an attempt to occupy Egypt, badly contrived, and worse executed, terminated in loss and disgrace. But the ministers might have overcome the unpopularity occasioned by these failures, had

they not displeased the king by introducing a bill for opening the highest dignities of the army and navy to Roman catholics. His majesty entertained religious objections to the measures; he demanded that the cabinet should not only abandon it for the present, but give a promise that it should not be proposed at any future period. The ministers refused to give a pledge which they regarded as unconstitutional, and resigned their offices. A new administration was formed under the auspices of the duke of Portland and Mr. Perceval; an appeal was made to the country by a dissolution of parliament, and the tide of popular prejudice ran so strong against the preceding cabinet, that many, if not most of its supporters, were rejected by the electors.

Russia vigorously maintained the war against Turkey, and gained some important advantages. The Turks, enraged by their losses, directed their vengeance against Sultan Selim, whose attempts to introduce European reforms had offended their inveterate prejudices. The Janissaries deposed their unfortunate sovereign, and raised his cousin Mustapha to the throne; but this revolution did not change the fortune of the war, for the Russians soon after gained a signal naval victory off the island of Tenedos.

But the Turkish war did not divert the attention of Alexander from the more important object of checking French ambition. Military operations were renewed during the winter, and a sanguinary battle at Eylau, in which each army lost more than twenty thousand men, led to no decisive result. In some minor engagements the allies had the advantage, but their gains were more than outbalanced by the loss of Dantzic, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered to the French. Napoleon, on the fall of Dantzic, hastened to terminate the war by the decisive battle of Friedland; the Russians fought with great bravery, but their generals were inferior in ability and experience to those of the enemy, and they were completely defeated. Königsberg was surrendered immediately after this battle, and the existence of the Prussian monarchy now depended on the discretion or moderation of the conquerors. An armistice having been concluded, Napoleon sought a personal interview with the Russian emperor, and arrangements were soon made for a conference of the two potentates on a raft in the river Niemen. In this and some subsequent interviews, Bonaparte won over the emperor Alexander to his interests, by stimulating that monarch's ambition for eastern conquest, and promises of support. Peace was restored by the treaty of Tilsit, all sacrifices were made at the expense of the Prussian monarch, by whose distress even his Russian ally did not refuse to profit; and when Frederic ventured to remonstrate, he was contemptuously informed that he owed the preservation of the miserable remnant of his kingdom to Napoleon's personal friendship for Alexander.

The eccentric king of Sweden refused to be included in this pacification, but he was unable to prevent the French from occupying Stralsund and the island of Rugen. Terms were arranged for a peace between Russia and Turkey, but so many points remained open for dispute, that it was manifest war would be renewed at no distant period. The king of Prussia was forced, not only to accede to the Berlin decrees, and exclude British manufactures and colonial produce from his

dominions, but had also to receive French garrisons into his principal fortresses, and these troops treated the unfortunate Germans with such arrogance and cruelty, that they were almost reduced to despair. Napoleon's power had now nearly touched the summit of its greatness, and had he been contented with what he had already acquired, it might have been permanent; but his restless ambition hurried him soon into an unprincipled contest, which terminated in his overthrow.

Section III.—*The French Invasion of Spain.*

After the treaty of Tilsit, it was generally believed that Napoleon would endeavor to enforce the Berlin decrees by excluding the British from the navigation of the Sound, and that he would probably avail himself of the Danish navy to execute his old project of an invasion. To prevent such an enterprise, a powerful armament was sent against Denmark, which had hitherto remained neutral in the contest. An imperious demand for the instant surrender of the Danish fleet and naval stores, to be retained as a deposite by the English until the conclusion of the war, being peremptorily rejected, the Danes were briskly attacked by land and sea. After Copenhagen had been furiously bombarded for four days, the Danish court was constrained to submit to the demands of the British, and the fleet was removed, while the indignant people could scarcely be prevented from avenging the national insult even by the presence of a superior force.

The attack on Denmark furnished the Russian emperor with a pretext for fulfilling the promises he made to Napoleon at Tilsit, and breaking off his connexion with Great Britain. He complained in strong language of the disregard which England had ever shown for the rights of neutral powers, and the unscrupulous use that had been made of her naval supremacy, and many of the maritime states seconded his remonstrances. A second fleet was saved from the grasp of the French by a less unjustifiable proceeding than the attack on Denmark. Napoleon issued one of his imperious edicts, that "the house of Braganza had ceased to reign," and to enforce it, sent an army to occupy Portugal. The prince-regent of that country, at the instigation of the British, sailed with the Portuguese fleet for Rio Janeiro, where he resolved to hold his court until peace was restored. As a retaliation for the Berlin decrees, the British government issued orders in council, restraining the trade of neutrals with France, and all countries subservient to its power. Against these regulations the government of the United States of America protested loudly, and their remonstrances assumed a very angry character, which threatened speedy hostilities. An attack made on an American frigate, whose captain refused to submit to having his ship searched by an English vessel of inferior force, was resented as a national insult; a proclamation was issued, excluding all armed British ships from the harbors and waters of the United States; and an embargo was laid on British commerce.

While the policy of the orders in council, and the proffered mediation of Austria to effect the restoration of tranquillity, were warmly discussed in the British parliament, events were occurring in Spain which gave the war an entirely new character and direction.

The annals of the world could scarcely supply a parallel to the picture of degradation which the Spanish court presented at this period. Charles, the imbecile king, was the dupe of a faithless wife and an unprincipled minister; this unworthy favorite had been raised, by the queen's partiality, from an humble station to the highest rank; Godoy, Prince of the Peace, as he was called, had neither abilities for the high office with which he was invested, nor strength of mind to support his elevation; he excluded Ferdinand, the heir apparent, from all share in the government, and thus provoked the resentment of a prince who was as ambitious of power as he was unfit to possess it. But Ferdinand's evil dispositions were as yet unknown to the Spaniards, and when Godoy attempted to ruin him by an accusation of treason, the people showed such discontent that Charles was forced to consent to his son's liberation. Napoleon won Godoy's support by proposing a partition of the peninsula, part of which should be assigned to the royal minion, as an independent sovereignty, and he thus obtained the means of pouring a large body of troops into Spain, and occupying the principal fortresses. Charles, intimidated by these proceedings, meditated flight to Spanish America, but finally resolved to resign his crown to Ferdinand (A. D. 1808). By the intrigues of the French, Charles was induced to disavow his abdication, while Ferdinand was led to expect a recognition of his royal title from the emperor Napoleon. Deluded by such representations, he proceeded to Bayonne, where he was contemptuously informed that "the Bourbons had ceased to reign;" and on his refusal to resign his claims for the petty kingdom of Etruria, he was guarded as a prisoner. A fierce riot in Madrid, occasioned by preparations for the removal of the Spanish princes to France, was cruelly punished by Murat, who massacred multitudes of the unarmed populace. Soon after, Charles, accompanied by his queen, proceeded to Bayonne, and formally abdicated his crown in favor of Napoleon. Ferdinand, daunted by intelligence of the massacre at Madrid, pursued the same course; and the French emperor summoned his brother Joseph from the throne of Naples, to occupy that of Spain. The Neapolitan kingdom was given to Murat, whose eminent services to the French emperor were not overpaid, even by the splendid donation of a crown. Many of the Spanish nobles tamely acquiesced in this arrangement, but the great bulk of the nation rejected the intruding sovereign, and preparations to maintain Spanish independence were made in the principal provinces. Andalusia took the lead: Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed in Seville, war declared against Napoleon, and a junta, or council, chosen to direct the affairs of the government. A French squadron, which had been stationed in the bay of Cadiz, was forced to surrender to a Spanish flotilla; but this would not have happened if the port had not been at the same time blockaded by the British fleet.

In every province not occupied by French troops, the adult population offered military service to the different juntas; the English sent large supplies of arms and ammunition, and released all their Spanish prisoners-of-war, a seasonable reinforcement to the patriotic armies. In their first contests with the invaders, the Spaniards obtained considerable success; Marshal Moncey was repulsed from Valencia with great loss, and Marshal Dupont, with eight thousand men, was forced to sur-

render to the patriot general, Castanos (July 20). On the very day that this unfavorable event occurred, the intrusive monarch made his triumphal entry into Madrid. Joseph Bonaparte, however, had neither the firmness nor courage of his brother Napoleon; the moment he heard of Dupont's surrender, he plundered the treasury and royal palaces of their most valuable contents, and fled to Burgos.

A bold example of Spanish heroism directed the attention of all Europe to the struggle in the peninsula. The citizens of Saragossa, distrusting the fidelity of the captain-general of Aragon, deposed him, and chose for their leader Don Joseph Palafox, a nobleman of dauntless courage, though destitute of military experience. Their city was almost destitute of defences, they had only a mere handful of regular soldiers in the garrison, and they had a very limited supply of arms and ammunition. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, they sternly refused to admit the French, and prepared for a desperate resistance. All classes were animated with the same spirit; the monks manufactured gunpowder and prepared cartridges, the women shared the toil of raising fortifications—even the children lent their feeble aid in such labor as was not beyond their strength. It is not wonderful that the French soldiers were daunted by such an heroic population. After a long and sanguinary contest they abandoned the siege, leaving Saragossa in ruins, but immortalized by the patriotic courage that had enabled its undisciplined citizens to triumph over a regular army.

The spirit of resistance soon extended to Portugal: the people of Oporto rose in a body, seized and imprisoned all the French they could find, and formed a junta under the superintendence of the bishop. A British force commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, stimulated and protected these patriotic exertions. A French division, posted at Roleia to terrify the insurgents, was driven from its position by the allied forces, and the north of Portugal delivered from the invaders. Marshal Junot collected all the forces at his disposal to drive back the English; he found Sir Arthur Wellesley at Vimiera, and immediately attacked his lines (August 21). After a brief but vigorous struggle, the French were defeated and driven in confusion toward Lisbon. Scarcely had the victory been won, when Sir Arthur Wellesley was superseded by Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who concluded a convention with Junot for the evacuation of Portugal, on terms that were generally regarded as too favorable to the French after their recent defeat.

While Napoleon was pursuing his ambitious designs against Spain, Alexander of Russia was engaged in a war with Sweden, undertaken in an equally unjust and aggressive spirit. The English sent an army under Sir John Moore to assist their ally, but that general refusing to submit to the dictates of the eccentric, or perhaps the insane Gustavus, soon returned home. Though the Swedes fought with great courage, they were unable to resist the overwhelming force of the Russians, especially as the limited resources of Sweden were wasted by Gustavus in senseless and impracticable enterprises. At length the Swedes grew weary of a sovereign whose conduct threatened the ruin of their country. He was arrested by some of his officers, deposed, and the crown transferred to the duke of Sudermania, who took the title of Charles XIII. (A. D. 1809). The new monarch was forced to purchase peace from

Russia by the cession of Finland, and the exclusion of British vessels from the ports of Sweden.

The Spaniards soon found that a central government was necessary to the success of their operations; the different juntas, therefore, chose deputies who formed a supreme junta for the general conduct of the war. The marquis de la Romana, who had commanded a large body of Spaniards employed by the French in Holstein, was enabled to return home with his troops, by British aid, and take a share in the defence of his country. But the want of concert among the Spanish leaders, and of discipline among the soldiers, rendered them unable to cope with the French; they were severely defeated at Durango, Reynosa, and Tudela, and Napoleon soon appeared in Spain at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men (A. D. 1808).

A very exaggerated notion of the capabilities of the Spaniards appears to have been formed by the English ministers. They ordered Sir John Moore to advance with the British forces in Portugal to the aid of the patriot armies, but do not seem to have sufficiently investigated the obstacles by which his march was impeded. When Sir John Moore entered Spain, he found that the French were everywhere victorious, and that it was hopeless to expect such active co-operation from the Spaniards as would enable him to turn the scale. After some hesitation, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, he retired rather precipitately into Gallicia. The English soldiers, in their retreat, displayed great courage whenever they were attacked by the French; but in other respects, their conduct was so disorderly that it was stigmatized by the general himself as disgraceful. At length a halt was made at Corunna, where the troops remained until the transports prepared for their embarkation could arrive from Vigo. In this position they were attacked by the French; but the English soldiers, though dispirited by their late retreat, and worn down by fatigue, compelled the enemy to retire. Sir John Moore was mortally wounded in this battle, and was buried on the field. The embarkation of the army was very feebly resisted, and though the British gained no honor by the campaign, its conclusion impressed the enemy with greater respect for English patience and valor than they had previously been accustomed to entertain.

At the beginning of the year 1809, the possession of Spain seemed assured to Napoleon, but neither the Spaniards nor the British despaired of final success. The English parliament readily voted the necessary supplies for the defence of Spain and Portugal, and reinforcements were sent to the peninsula. About the same time, his royal highness the duke of York was accused of having connived at some abuses in the command of the army; he was acquitted by a great majority of the house of commons, but he deemed it prudent to resign his situation, and Sir David Dundas was appointed commander-in-chief.

Austria once more resolved to try the hazards of war. The emperor Francis was induced to take this precipitate step by the harsh remonstrances and menaces of Napoleon. Taking advantage of the absence of the large body of French troops employed in Spain, the archduke Charles entered Bavaria and took possession of Munich. But the rapid measures of Bonaparte baffled the Austrian calculations; he speedily collected a large army and defeated the archduke at Eckmuhl, so se-

verely, that he was compelled to cross the Danube. Vienna was thus opened to the conqueror, and Napoleon took possession of that capital. The archduke was still undismayed; he attacked the French in their positions at Asperne and Essling. The battle was very sanguinary and obstinate; it terminated to the advantage of the Austrians, but they had suffered such severe loss that they were unable to profit by their victory. The failure of the archduke John, in Italy, more than counterbalanced the success of the Austrians at Asperne, and was the chief cause of their final overthrow at Wagram (July 5). It would be impossible to describe within reasonable limits the various conflicts that terminated in this result; suffice it to say, that the Austrians were driven from all their positions, forced to retreat in confusion, and only saved from total ruin by an armistice.

The Tyrolese and Voralbergers had been transferred to the king of Bavaria by the treaty of Presburg, but their national privileges and immunities had been guarantied by the articles of pacification. But Maximilian Joseph was as regardless of a compact as his master Napoleon; he violated the Tyrolese constitution without scruple, crushed the peasants with severe taxes, and punished remonstrances as seditious. The Tyrolese seized the opportunity of the Austrian war to raise the standard of revolt; success attended their early operations, and the Bavarians were expelled from the principal towns. A French army entered the country and laid it waste with fire and sword; but the Tyrolese, animated by an heroic peasant named Hoffer, expelled the invaders once more, and secured a brief interval of tranquillity. When the total defeat of the Austrians at Wagram compelled the emperor Francis to accept peace on any terms, the Tyrolese were assailed by overwhelming forces; they made a desperate resistance, but the French and Bavarian columns penetrated their fastnesses, desolated the land with fire and sword, and punished the leading patriots as rebels. Hoffer was taken prisoner and put to death by the sentence of a court-martial; Mayer, another gallant chieftain, shared the same fate, and the green hills of Tyrol were again subjected to Bavarian tyranny.

Several efforts were made in Germany to shake off the French yoke. Schill, who commanded a regiment in the Prussian service, collected a considerable force and harassed the French detachments in Saxony and Westphalia, but he was defeated and slain by some Dutch and Danish troops, near Stralsund. The duke of Brunswick made a bold effort to recover his hereditary dominions, but after the overthrow of the Austrians he despaired of success, and sought refuge in England. The archduke Ferdinand invaded Saxony, while Napoleon's brother Jerome trembled for the security of his Westphalian throne, in consequence of the progress of General Kienmayer. But the success of Napoleon in Austria frustrated the exertions of the patriots in the north of Germany, especially as no effort was made to send them support from England.

The attention of the British ministry was occupied by an expedition of a very different nature, for which the most ample preparations were made. A fleet of thirty-seven sail-of-the-line, twenty-nine ships of inferior rate, besides small craft, and an army of forty thousand men, were sent to the island of Welcheren, on the coast of Holland. After many delays, the fort of Flushing was besieged and taken; but Antwerp,

which was the great object of attack, had, in the meantime, been secured, and the commanders despaired of success. Soon afterward the pestilential climate of Walcheren spread disease through the British army and navy; the greater part of the forces returned to England; the progress of the disease soon rendered the removal of the remainder necessary, and the only result of this costly armament was the destruction of the fortifications of Flushing. Their naval successes in some degree consoled the English for this disappointment. Lord Cochrane destroyed four vessels, forming part of a French squadron, in Basque-roads, and irreparably injured several others; Lord Collingwood was similarly successful in the Mediterranean, and the French were deprived of their remaining colonies in the West Indies.

Some European islands, especially those called the Ionian, were added to the British dominions, a proceeding which gave some offence to the new sultan of Turkey, Mahmoud II., who had been elevated to the throne on the deposition of his cousin Selim and his half-brother Mustapha. But the progress of the Russian arms induced Mahmoud to court an alliance with Great Britain, and jealousy of the same power inclined the Persian shah to renew his former friendly connexions with England.

Though the Russian emperor did not join Napoleon in the war against Austria, he received a share of the provinces which Francis was forced to resign, in order to purchase peace. But though the Austrian emperor was compelled to make many great and painful sacrifices, he obtained more favorable conditions than had been anticipated; and Napoleon received general praise for the moderation with which he used his victory. The secret cause of this affected generosity was subsequently revealed, and proved that it resulted from a plan for more effectually securing his despotism over Europe.

After the retreat of the British from Corunna, the French seemed to have permanently secured possession of Spain. Though the marquis de la Romana and the duke del Infantado held out against the invaders, yet Saragossa was taken, in spite of the heroic resistance of its inhabitants; and Soult having invaded Portugal, made himself master of Oporto. Victor also advanced toward the same country, and, on his march, overthrew the Spanish army of Estremadura. But Oporto was soon recovered by a British force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the removal of a large body of the French to take part in the Austrian war revived the courage of the Spaniards. Sir Arthur Wellesley, believing it possible to strike an important blow before the French grand army could be reinforced, boldly, and perhaps rashly, advanced into Spain. He was attacked at Talavera (July 28), by the united forces of Jourdan, Victor, and Sebastiani, who were rather the masters than the servants of the nominal king, Joseph Bonaparte. British valor has rarely been more nobly displayed than in this engagement; the French were beaten back at every point, and had the Spaniards displayed the same courage and zeal as their allies, the retreat might have been changed into a total rout. The misconduct of the Spaniards, indeed, deprived the English of the chief fruits of their victory; they were soon compelled to act only on the defensive, and to retreat slowly toward the frontiers of Portugal. Nor were the patriots more successful in other

quarters; they did not, however, despair, and the supreme junta published a spirited proclamation, animating the national courage, and convoking an assembly of the cortes or estates of the realm, to form a fixed constitutional government.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the king's accession diffused joy through England. About the same time the death of the duke of Portland, and some dissensions in the cabinet, led to a partial change in the ministry. Mr. Perceval was appointed premier, and several angry debates ensued in both houses of parliament. The opponents of the ministry failed in procuring a condemnation of the Walcheren expedition; but, during the discussion, party spirit raged with great violence, and Sir Francis Burdett, having assailed the privileges of the house of commons in very unmeasured terms, was ordered to be committed to the Tower. He declared his intention to resist the warrant, but was arrested and committed to the Tower by a military force. The soldiers, on their return, were assaulted by the mob, and a riot ensued, in which several lives were lost. At the close of the session, the popular baronet was liberated, as a matter of course; he brought actions for what he regarded as an illegal arrest, against the speaker and the serjeant-at-arms, but the court of King's Bench disallowed his claims, and supported the privileges of the house of commons.

These ebullitions of party violence did not weaken the British cabinet, though they induced the enemies of England to believe the country on the verge of a convulsion. France was apparently tranquil, and Napoleon revealed the secret of his moderation at Vienna, by procuring a divorce from the emperess Josephine, the faithful companion of his former fortunes, and offering his hand to the archdutchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis (A. D. 1810). This marriage, which seemed permanently to establish Bonaparte's power, became eventually the principal cause of his ruin, for it alarmed all the northern powers, and especially the Russians, who justly feared that Napoleon, secured by the Austrian alliance, would strive to make himself absolute master of Europe. His arbitrary conduct to Holland justified these suspicions; he removed his brother from the throne of that country, and annexed it as a province to France.

The disputes respecting the trade of neutrals, between England and America, began to assume a very hostile aspect, and it was feared that war could not long be delayed. But public attention was diverted from this subject to the struggle in Portugal, where Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had recently been created Lord Wellington, nobly sustained the honor of the English arms. The French army, strongly reinforced, was placed under the command of Massena, prince of Essling; the fortresses of Astorga, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida, were captured; Lord Wellington retired slowly before a superior force, and Massena flattered himself that he would soon obtain possession of Lisbon. His presumption was first checked at Busaco, where the British made a stand and inflicted a severe check on their assailants; but the hopes of the French were completely destroyed when they saw Lord Wellington take up his position in the formidable lines of Torres Vedras. Not daring to advance, and ashamed to retreat, Massena remained for more than a month watching his cautious adversary, and losing thou-

sands of his men by disease or desertion. He at length retreated to Santarem, but though he received a large reinforcement, he did not venture to resume offensive operations.

A desultory war was maintained in Spain; the patriot armies were usually defeated in regular engagements, but the invaders were severely harassed by the incessant attacks of the guerilla parties; convoys were intercepted, stragglers cut off, and outposts exposed to constant danger. Cadiz, the residence of the supreme junta and the seat of government, was besieged, but the strength of its works and the ease with which relief was obtained by sea, prevented the French from making any progress in its reduction. The cortes assembled in this city and framed a form of constitutional government, which, however, had many violent opponents among the higher orders of the nobility and clergy.

Most of the French and Dutch colonies in the Indian seas were subdued, under the direction of Lord Minto, the governer-general of India, a nobleman whose judicious administration of affairs in the east, not only extended the British dominions in the east, but suppressed a dangerous mutiny in the presidency of Madras, occasioned by the adoption of economical regulations, which curtailed the allowances made to officers in the company's service.

In the north of Europe, little of moment, in war, occurred; the Danes and Russians had some trivial naval engagements with English vessels; but Sweden was the theatre of a most extraordinary revolution, which, for a time, added her to the enemies of England. The crown prince died suddenly, not without some suspicion of poison, and the Swedish senate tendered the succession to Charles John Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's most celebrated marshals, who had won their favor by the leniency and prudence he displayed some years before in the north of Germany. Bernadotte accepted the offer, to the secret annoyance of Napoleon, who had long been jealous of his military fame and independent spirit.

Civilized Europe might now be said to be arrayed against Great Britain, but the spirit of its inhabitants did not sink. Its sovereign, afflicted by grief for the loss of his favorite daughter, was seized by the disease under which he had formerly suffered, and fell into a state of mental derangement, from which he never afterward recovered (A. D. 1811). The prince of Wales was appointed regent, under restrictions similar to those proposed by Mr. Pitt in 1789, but these were subsequently removed when it was found that he intended steadily to pursue his father's system of policy.

It was not long before Lord Wellington reaped the fruits of his prudent arrangements for the defence of Portugal. Massena was forced to retreat from Santarem, but before he evacuated the country, he ravaged it in the most frightful manner, destroying many noble monuments of architecture in mere wantonness. The British parliament voted the sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the Portuguese, and a liberal subscription for the same purpose was formed by private liberality. Almeida was the only town in Portugal retained by the French; it was blockaded by the allies, and Massena's efforts to relieve it led to the battle of Fuentes d'Onor. The engagement was severe, but British valor triumphed; the garrison of Almeida,

disheartened by the defeat of their countrymen, evacuated the place, and Portugal was delivered from the presence of an enemy.

The liberation of Spain was a more difficult task, and it was rendered still more so by the surrender of Badajoz to Marshal Soult, after a very brief and ineffective defence. Lord Wellington sent Sir William Beresford to recover this important place, but the advance of the French from Seville, compelled that general to raise the siege. The united forces of the British and Spanish encountered the French at Albuera, and gained an important victory; Badajoz was once more invested, but the approach of Soult on one side and Marmont on the other, induced Lord Wellington to retire beyond the Tagus. But in his anxiety to save Badajoz, Soult had so much weakened the force which blockaded Cadiz, that the Spaniards resolved to hazard an expedition against the invading armies in Andalusia. General La Pena, aided by the British lieutenant-general, Graham, undertook to direct these operations, and great hopes were entertained of success. But though Graham obtained a brilliant victory at Barossa, over Marshal Victor, no efforts were made to follow up his success. In the other Spanish provinces, the patriotic armies were still more unfortunate; Mina, indeed, from his mountains, threatened and harassed the invaders, but the other Spanish leaders showed themselves equally deficient in courage and conduct. Neither did all the expected advantages result from the assembling of the cortes; they prepared, indeed, a constitutional code, which, however, was scarcely suited to the Spanish people; but they maintained the onerous restrictions on the colonial trade, and thus gave deep offence to the South American provinces, and drove them to organize plans for self-government.

In other quarters the war was more favorable to British interests; the island of Java was wrested from the Dutch; several flotillas were destroyed by English frigates in the Italian seas, and an attempt made by the Danes to recover the island of Anholt, in the Baltic, was defeated by the gallant garrison. Sweden could scarcely be said to be at war with Great Britain; Bernadotte soon discovered that subserviency to France was inconsistent with the interests of his adopted country, and he secretly entered into negotiations with the Russian emperor for restoring their mutual independence. But Alexander was still too deeply engaged in pursuing the favorite policy of the czars, and establishing the supremacy of Russia on both sides of the Black sea, at the expense of Turkey and Persia. His success was far from answering his expectations; the wild tribes of the Caucacus severely harassed the invaders of Asiatic Turkey; and though Kutusoff was more successful on the European side, his acquisitions were obtained by a very disproportionate expenditure of blood and treasure. The disorganized state of the Turkish provinces prevented the sultan from effectively defending his dominions; in most of them a military aristocracy had usurped the chief power of the state, and in Egypt especially, the Mameluke beys acted as independent princes. Mohammed Ali, pacha of Egypt, finding that the beys would not submit to his power, and fearing the hazards of civil war, invited them to a banquet, where they were all ruthlessly massacred. The sultan applauded this perfidy, but

ere long he found Mohammed Ali a more dangerous subject than the turbulent lords whom he had removed.

The mental disease of George III. showed no symptoms of improvement, and as the time approached when the restrictions imposed on the authority of the prince regent would expire, some anxiety was felt about the probable fate of the ministry. But the prince regent had become reconciled to the cabinet, and after a faint effort to gain the support of Lords Grey and Grenville, it was resolved that no change should be made in the government (A. D. 1812). At a later period in the year, negotiations were resumed, in consequence of the murder of Mr. Perceval; the premier was shot in the lobby of the house of commons, by Bellingham, a merchant, who believed that the ministers had shown indifference to his fancied claims on the Russian government. After some delay, the old cabinet was reconstructed, under the auspices of the earl of Liverpool, and the plans for forming a united administration were abandoned.

Lord William Bentinck, the British minister in Sicily, strenuously exerted himself to remedy the evils which the imbecility of the king and the tyranny of the queen had introduced into the government of that island. He succeeded in procuring the establishment of a constitution similar to that of Britain; and the island began to enjoy peace and prosperity in a greater degree than had been experienced for several centuries.

A change in the Spanish constitution revived the courage of the nation; a new regency, the promulgation of the constitutional code, and various reforms in the different branches of the administration, gave fresh spirit to the Spaniards, and inspired hopes of final success. Lord Wellington opened the campaign with the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; the capture of this important fortress was followed by that of Badajoz, but the victors suffered severe loss of both places. Wellington, who had been created an earl for these exploits, next marched against Marmont, and took the important city of Salamanca. Marmont, strengthened by large reinforcements, hoped not only to defeat the British, but to intercept their retreat. As he extended his lines for this purpose, Wellington seized the favorable opportunity, and, pouring his whole force on the weakened divisions, gained the most complete victory that the allies had yet won in the peninsula. Indeed if the Spaniards had displayed the same energy as the British and the Portuguese, Marmont's entire army would have been ruined. Still the immediate results of the battle of Salamanca were very great; Madrid was evacuated by the intrusive king Joseph; the blockade of Cadiz was raised; and the city of Seville was taken by Colonel Skerret and the Spanish general La Cruz.

The failure of the British at the siege of Burgos, the want of concert in the Spanish councils, and the great reinforcements received by the French, compelled Wellington to resign the fruits of his victory; he retired leisurely to the frontiers of Portugal, and firmly waited an opportunity for renewing his efforts. But events in other parts of the globe were producing the most important results in favor of Spanish independence; the South American colonies, alarmed by an earthquake which was superstitiously believed to be a visitation of Providence, returned to

their allegiance, and the Russian emperor prepared to measure his strength with the colossal power of Napoleon.

Section IV.—*The Russian War.*

No long time after the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, Alexander began to doubt the prudence of the compact he had made with the French emperor, and the subsequent marriage of Napoleon to an Austrian princess gave him fresh grounds of alarm. The Austrian emperor, however, was not very sincerely attached to his son-in-law; Napoleon had given his infant son the title of king of Rome, a very plain intimation of his design to retain his hold on Italy. The interests of his subjects, many of whom were almost ruined by the suspension of the trade with Great Britain, compelled Alexander to seek for some relaxation of the restrictive system established by the Berlin decrees; but Napoleon would not abandon his favorite policy, and the discussions between the courts of St. Peterburgh and Paris began to assume an angry and even hostile tone. Both parties, however, professed an anxious desire for peace, and Napoleon even made overtures to the British government, but as he refused to restore Spain to its legitimate sovereign, or to withdraw his troops from Prussia, negotiations were fruitless, and both sides prepared for war.

Alexander entered into alliance with Sweden and England: Napoleon arrayed under his banners the military strength of western and southern Europe. But the selfishness of the French emperor in the very outset deprived him of the best security for success; to secure the aid of Austria, he refused to restore the independence of Poland, and thus lost the hearts of a brave and enthusiastic race of warriors, who would have powerfully aided his advance, or effectually covered his retreat. Trusting to the vast number of his victorious legions, Napoleon crossed the Niemen, routed a division of Cossacks at Kowno, and directed his march to the capital of Lithuania. The Russians retired before the French deliberately, wasting the country as they retreated. Several sharp battles were fought without any important result; but the hopes of the Russians were raised by the conclusion of a treaty with the Turks, which enabled them to direct all their energies to repel the invaders. Napoleon with his main body directed his march toward Moscow, while a large division of his forces menaced the road to St. Petersburgh. The Russians repelled the latter, but the main force of the invaders advanced to Smolensko, which was justly regarded as the bulwark of Moscow. A dreadful battle was fought under the walls of Smolensko; it terminated in favor of the French, but they purchased their victory very dearly, and the Russians made an orderly retreat.

Kutusoff now assumed the command of the Russians, and resolved to hazard another battle for the protection of Moscow; he fixed upon a position near the village of Borodino, and there firmly awaited the enemy. The battle was furious and sanguinary, nearly seventy thousand of the combatants fell without giving to either side a decisive victory. The Russians indeed maintained their ground; but the French having been joined by new reinforcements, Kutusoff was forced to retreat and abandon Moscow to its fate. This ancient capital of the czars is revered by the Russians, as Jerusalem was by the Jews; they

give it the fond name of Mother Moscow, and regard it as the sanctuary of their nation. But when the invaders approached, the citizens resolved not only to abandon their beloved metropolis, but to consign it to the flames. Napoleon entered Moscow, and took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the czars; but while he was holding a council, fires broke out in various parts of the city, and though many of the incendiaries were shot, it was found impossible to check the conflagration.

When the greater part of the city was destroyed, its stores consumed, and all supplies cut off, Napoleon found himself in a very embarrassing position. With great reluctance he gave orders for a retreat, and the French obeyed with so much precipitation, that they were unable to complete the demolition of Moscow. Before the fugitives had proceeded far on their route, they began to experience the horrors of a Russian winter; thousands became the victims of cold and hunger, while their pursuers, taking courage from their calamities, harassed them severely at every step. It had been Napoleon's intention to make a stand at Smolensko, but the magnitude of his losses, the disorganized state of his army, and the increasing want of provisions, rendered such a course impossible. Once more the French had to undertake a perilous march, amid the rigors of the severest winter ever known, pursued by enraged enemies, deprived of food, of clothing, and of shelter. Language fails to describe the horrors of such a retreat; every hour added to the miseries of the sufferers; they lost the discipline of soldiers, and almost the semblance of men. The passage of the Borodino was one of the most terrific scenes recorded in history; in their eagerness to place the river between themselves and their pursuers, the French rushed in a disorderly crowd over the bridges, under a heavy fire of artillery from the heights behind them. Eight thousand were killed or drowned in this calamitous passage, and long before all had crossed over, Napoleon ordered the bridges to be set on fire, abandoning twelve thousand of his followers to the mercy of the irritated Russians. Napoleon at length resolved to provide for his personal security, and fled to Paris, where indeed some revolutionary attempts rendered his presence necessary; the miserable remnant of his once mighty host found a precarious shelter in Poland.

In the meantime Great Britain was engaged in active hostilities with the United States. The Americans twice invaded Canada, but were defeated; they were more successful at sea, where the superiority of their frigates in size and weight of metal to the British vessels of the same denomination, secured their victory in some engagements between single ships. But this war attracted comparatively but little attention; every mind was too deeply occupied with the great struggle on the continent of Europe.

The domestic affairs of England, though of importance, did not divert attention from the contest with Napoleon. An unfortunate publicity was given to the discords between the prince regent and his consort; a bill for emancipating the catholics was rejected, after having passed several stages, in the house of commons, and the charter of the East India company was renewed for twenty years. Notwithstanding his recent reverses, Napoleon found that he still possessed the confi-

dence of the French nation, a large conscription was ordered to supply the losses of the late campaign; and the emperor having provided for the internal security of his dominions, hasted to the north of Europe, where he had to encounter the hostility of a new enemy.

It was with great reluctance that the king of Prussia sent an army to serve under Napoleon, and the officers and soldiers of the contingent were far from being anxious for the success of the cause in which they were engaged. During the retreat, one Prussian corps separated itself from the division to which it was attached, and concluded a convention of neutrality; as the Russians advanced, the Prussian monarch took courage to assert his independence, and he entered into alliance with Alexander. But notwithstanding his recent losses, Napoleon had assembled an army numerically superior to those of his adversaries; in three sanguinary battles the French gained the advantage, but they were unable to obtain a decided victory; and Napoleon, alarmed by the magnitude of his losses, and the obstinacy of his enemies, consented to an armistice. During the truce the British government encouraged the allies by large subsidies, and the aid of Sweden was purchased not only by money, but by a promise to aid that power in the acquisition of Norway. But what was of far greater importance, the emperor of Austria was induced to abandon the cause of his son-in-law, and take an active part in the confederation for restraining the power of France.

Napoleon, establishing his headquarters at Dresden, commenced a series of vigorous operations against his several foes. They were at first successful; but the tide of fortune turned; several of his divisions were defeated, the Bavarians joined the allies, and at length the baffled emperor retired to Leipsic. Under the walls of this ancient city the battle was fought which decided the fate of Europe (Oct. 18). While the result of the engagement was yet undecided, the Saxon troops in the French service deserted in a body to the allies, and the position thus abandoned was immediately occupied by the Swedish forces. Napoleon's soldiers, driven from their lines in every direction, were compelled to seek shelter in Leipsic, but, as the city was incapable of defence, a further retreat became necessary. The French emperor gave the requisite orders, but did not wait to see them executed; the evacuation of the city was not completed when the allies forced an entrance; the French, entangled in the streets, suffered very severely, and many were drowned as they crowded over the narrow bridge, which was their only path of safety. The bridge was blown up before the whole of the fugitives could pass, and this obstruction of the retreat swelled the number of the slain and the captives.

The battle of Leipsic liberated Germany; Napoleon fled to France, his followers were severely harassed in their retreat, especially as the Bavarians made a vigorous effort to intercept them at Hanau; their sufferings were very great, and multitudes were made prisoners by the allied armies, as they advanced to the Rhine. Bernadotte was naturally reluctant to join in the meditated invasion of France, but he undertook the task of expelling the enemy from the circle of Lower Saxony. At his approach, the Hanoverians eagerly seized the opportunity of delivering themselves from a foreign yoke, and returning once more under

the paternal government of the Guelphs. The flame of independence spread to Holland, and kindled even the cold bosoms of the Dutch. Insurrections broke out in the principal towns, the hereditary claims of the house of Orange were rapturously acknowledged, and when the stadtholder arrived from England, he found the Hollanders eager, not only to acknowledge his former power, but to extend it by conferring on him the title of royalty.

While the allies were thus triumphant in Germany, Wellington was now gloriously occupied in the liberation of Spain. Early in the spring, he concentrated his forces near Ciudad Rodrigo, and by a series of able movements, compelled the French not only to abandon their positions on the Douro, but to retire beyond the Ebro. Marshal Jourdan, who exercised the real authority, for Joseph was king only in name, resolved to make one vigorous effort for the maintenance of the French power, and chose a strong position near Vittoria, as the theatre of a decisive engagement. The allied army advanced with an eagerness that insured success; the heights that protected the hostile lines were successively stormed, and at length the French were forced to retreat in such disorder, that they abandoned their artillery, baggage, and military chest. In the east of Spain the allies were less successful; Sir John Murray, on the approach of Marshal Suchet, abandoned the siege of Tarragona with unnecessary precipitation; but the arrival of Lord William Bentinck prevented the enemy from profiting by this partial success.

When the news of the battle of Vittoria reached Napoleon, he sent Marshal Soult from Germany to take the command of the army in Spain, where Pampeluna and St. Sebastian had been invested by Wellington, now raised to the dignity of marquis. Soult's operations were vigorous, but unsuccessful; his forces were unable to make any impression on the British lines, and so severe was their repulse, that they fled to their own frontiers. St. Sebastian was soon after taken by storm, but not without a very severe loss to the conquerors, and the British now prepared to invade France.

The allies crossed the Bidassoa, and advanced slowly but steadily toward Bayonne: Soult showed great courage and talent in his arrangements, but his efforts were foiled by the superior valor of the British soldiers, and two regiments of Dutch and Germans quitting his lines, went over to the camp of his allies. Spain was now free, but the efforts of the enlightened portion of the cortes to secure its future happiness, by the establishment of a constitutional government, were frustrated by the interested opposition of the clergy, and the ignorant bigotry of the people.

The war between Great Britain and the United States continued to be maintained with the obstinacy that characterizes the quarrels between "foes who once were friends;" but it was not productive of any important event. The Americans were unsuccessful in their repeated invasions of Canada, but they established their naval superiority on the lakes, while the honor of the British flag was nobly maintained in the engagement between the frigates Chesapeake and Shannon.

The memorable year 1814 opened with the invasion of France; the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies forced an entrance through the

eastern frontiers, while Wellington was making an alarming progress on the western side. Never, in the hours of his greatest success, did Napoleon display more promptitude and ability; but he had beaten his enemies into the art of conquering, and even partial success was injurious, because it inspired hopes which prevented him from embracing the proffered opportunities of negotiation. Several furious but indecisive battles were fought: the allied armies had moved at too great a distance from each other, and it was not until they had suffered severely for their error, that they learned the necessity of a combined plan of operations. But in other quarters the success of the allies was more decided; Bernadotte completed the liberation of the north of Germany, and not only intimidated the Danish court into an abandonment of the French alliance, but enforced its consent to the transfer of Norway; thence he marched to the Netherlands, where the allies had made considerable progress, though General Graham had been baffled, with much loss, in an attempt to surprise Bergen-op-Zoom.

But Napoleon was much more alarmed by the progress of Wellington in the southwest of France. The English general having driven the French from their posts, crossed the Adour, and invested the citadel of Bayonne. As he advanced, the old partisans of the Bourbons began to revive, the exiled family was proclaimed, and the white flag hoisted at Bordeaux. More mortifying was the defection of Murat; eager to secure his crown, the king of Naples entered into a secret treaty with Austria, and lent his aid in the expulsion of the French from Italy.

But in the meantime the fate of France was decided; Napoleon moved his main army eastward, hoping to intimidate the allies into a retreat, by threatening their communications. Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg immediately decided on marching to Paris, and having defeated the forces of Marmont and Mortier, who guarded the road, soon came in sight of that metropolis. The outworks that defended Paris were stormed, and the intimidated citizens hastened to secure their persons and property by a capitulation. The allied sovereigns, Frederic and Alexander, made a triumphant entry into the city (March 31), and were hailed as liberators by the fickle populace.

When Napoleon heard that the Austrians had effected a junction with the Prussians, he hasted back to defend his capital, but before he reached Fontainebleau the capitulation had been signed, and a provisional government installed, without any regard to his authority. On the 2d of April he was formally deposed; and on the 6th of the same month, Louis XVIII. was invited to ascend the throne of his ancestors. A constitutional charter was framed for the protection of the French people, and Napoleon was promised the sovereignty of the island of Elba, and a pension. Before intelligence of these events was received in the south, a sanguinary battle had been fought between the armies of Soult and Wellington at Toulouse, which ended in the complete discomfiture of the former; but the British general sincerely lamented a triumph which had been purchased by a useless expenditure of human life.

On the 3d of May, Louis XVIII. returned from his tedious exile, and landed at Calais. The preliminaries of a general peace were sign-

ed at Paris ; and it was arranged that the details and the adjustment of the claims of the different European princes should be referred to a future convocation at Vienna.

Section V.—*History of Europe from the dethronement of Napoleon to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna.*

Before his final overthrow, Napoleon liberated the captive Ferdinand, well aware that Spain would have little reason to rejoice in the restoration of such a sovereign. No sooner had he obtained his freedom than he annulled all the proceedings of the cortes, re-established the old despotism with all its abuses, and even revived the horrors of the inquisition. Several of those who had most strenuously resisted the French invasion were punished by imprisonment or exile, their attachment to constitutional freedom being deemed to outweigh their former services. The allies could not be blamed for the perfidy and tyranny of Ferdinand, but they incurred just censure by aiding in the forcible annexation of Norway to Sweden, against the earnest remonstrances of the inhabitants, and they displayed little policy in uniting Belgium to Holland, for the countries were opposed to each other in their religious creeds and commercial interests.

The American war was protracted more in a spirit of revenge than sound policy ; a sanguinary but indecisive struggle took place in Canada ; an English armament captured Washington, the capital of the United States, and destroyed the public buildings ; but similar attacks on Baltimore and New Orleans were repulsed with great loss. Peace was at length concluded at Ghent, and we may confidently hope that hostilities will never again be renewed between two nations so closely united by the ties of language, religion, and blood. Before this war was terminated, the emperor Alexander, and Frederic, king of Prussia, accompanied by their most distinguished marshals and statesmen, personally visited England, and were received with great enthusiasm. But the convulsion produced in the commercial world by the sudden transition from war to peace, was necessarily followed by numerous bankruptcies and great distress, which threw a shade of gloom over the general joy.

The conduct of Louis XVIII. immediately after his accession to the throne, was calculated to win popularity ; but the establishment of a censorship over the press, his anxiety to restore the power and influence of the clergy, and to remunerate the loyal emigrants who had shared the calamities of his exile, gave general offence, and revived the courage of the friends of Napoleon. A secret conspiracy was formed for restoring the emperor, and he, dreading that the allied powers, whose plenipotentiaries were assembled at Vienna, would remove him from Elba to a place of greater security, resolved to make a bold effort for the recovery of his throne. Accompanied only by eleven hundred men, he landed at Frejus (March 1, 1815), and advanced into the interior of the country. At first he received little encouragement ; but being joined by the garrison of Grenoble, and supported by secret promises of aid from other divisions of the army, he proceeded to Lyons, where he held his court. Louis made a spirited appeal to the loyalty of the

French nation; but Marshal Ney having set the example of defection, all the soldiery declared in favor of the emperor; and Louis, compelled to abandon his kingdom, sought safety in Ghent.

Though the allied powers had shown a great want of vigilance and caution in not preventing, as they easily might have done, the escape of Napoleon, they were not for a moment undetermined in resolving on the course of action rendered necessary by that event. A proclamation was issued by the congress of Vienna, denouncing him as the common enemy of Europe, and excluding him from the pale of civil and social relations. A treaty was concluded, by which each of the four powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, engaged to maintain an army of 150,000 men until they had rendered Napoleon incapable of disturbing the tranquillity of Europe; and the Prussians and the English at once began to assemble their forces on the northern frontiers of France.

Napoleon, disappointed in his hope of procuring the acquiescence of the allied powers in his usurpation, prepared boldly to meet the danger by which he was menaced. He gratified the vanity of the Parisians by the splendid ceremonial of proclaiming a new constitution in the Champ de Mars, and at the same time he made the most vigorous exertions to recruit his armies and supply his military stores. In a short time, far shorter than had been anticipated, his troops were ready for action, and instead of waiting for the attack of his enemies, he resolved to become the aggressor. The first brunt of the war fell on the Prussians, who were driven from their advanced posts. Blucher immediately concentrated his forces at Ligny; while the duke of Wellington, with the British and subsidiary troops, occupied a parallel position at Quatre Bras. The main body of the French attacked the Prussian lines, and, after a sanguinary battle, compelled Blucher to abandon Ligny (June 16); but his retreat was effected in good order, and in a very few hours his troops were ready to renew the fight. In the meantime the British had defeated the enemy at Quatre Bras, but the retreat of the Prussians rendered a corresponding movement necessary on their part; and Wellington led his army to the memorable position of Waterloo.

Flushed by his recent victory over the Prussians, Napoleon, on the morning of the 18th of June, appeared in front of the English position, and commenced an attack, in full assurance of success. His first effort was directed against Hougoumont, a post which protected the English right; but after a murderous conflict, the French were baffled, and the place maintained. The emperor's next effort was to turn the left wing so as to intercept the communication with the Prussians, but this still more signally failed; Sir Thomas Picton's division, though with the loss of their brave commander, repulsed the French infantry, while the Scotch Greys, aided by a corps of dragoons, routed the French cavalry, particularly the cuirassiers, who fondly deemed themselves invincible.

A third great effort was made against the centre, and at first some advantages were gained. The French seized the farm of La Haye Sainte, which covered the position, and poured masses of cavalry and infantry on the British lines. But Wellington, forming his troops in hollow squares, maintained a steady resistance, and the efforts of the baffled assailants gradually relaxed. At this moment the Prussian troops began to appear on the right flank of the French, and to take a

share in the engagement. Napoleon now mustered his guard for one decisive engagement, but did not, as was expected, place himself at their head. The imperial guard advanced under a perfect storm of artillery and musketry from the British lines, which had been gradually advanced after the defeat of the former attacks. They attempted to deploy, under this formidable fire, but their lines were shaken, and they began to fall into confusion. Wellington seized the decisive moment to charge; the effect was instantaneous, not a single French soldier remained to cross a bayonet; and as the British pressed forward, the retreat was soon a perfect rout. As the English were too much fatigued to pursue the fugitives, that duty devolved upon the Prussians, and they executed it with the vigor of men who felt that they had the wrongs of their country to avenge. Out of the entire French army not more than forty thousand men could again be imbodied.

Napoleon continued his melancholy flight to Paris, where he soon found that his reign was at an end. He abdicated the crown in favor of his son, but while his resignation was received, the acknowledgment of Napoleon II. was evaded. He lingered so long in the hope of some favorable change, that his opportunities of escape were cut off, and he was forced to seek refuge on board a British man-of-war. After some discussion respecting his destination, it was resolved that he should be imprisoned for life, in the island of St. Helena; and to this rock, in the Atlantic ocean, he was sent, with a small train of attendants.

Murat's fate was still more calamitous; no sooner had he heard of Napoleon's landing in France, than he renounced his alliance with Austria, and endeavored to unite all the Italians in a league against that power. His efforts completely failed; his forces were routed at Ferrara, the cowardly Neapolitans could not be induced to make any effective resistance, and finally he fled disguised from his kingdom. His restless ambition induced him, with only thirty followers, to make an effort to recover his dominions; he landed on the Calabrian coast, but he was made a prisoner, and shot by sentence of a court-martial.

After the victory at Waterloo, the Prussians and the British advanced toward Paris, without encountering any serious opposition. The two legislative chambers were reluctant to restore the king, at least unconditionally, but their appeal to the nation was disregarded, and on the nearer approach of the allies, a convention was concluded by which Louis was restored. A few of Napoleon's most strenuous supporters were excluded from the act of amnesty; Ney and Labedoyère were shot, but Lavalette escaped by the aid of his wife and some British officers.

The future peace of Europe now depended on the congress of Vienna, but the decrees of this body were guided more by the convenience of sovereigns, than the wishes of nations. The ancient republics of Venice and Genoa were abolished; the territories of the former were given to Austria, while the latter were assigned to the king of Sardinia; Poland was annexed to the territories of Russia, and the Prussian dominions enlarged at the expense of Saxony. When these arrangements were completed, the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, entered into a solemn compact called the Holy Alliance; the professed object of the treaty was to preserve the peace of Europe, on the prin-

ciples which God, in his revelation, has pointed out as the source of tranquillity and prosperity. But the contracting parties understood by these principles the maintenance of despotic power, and made their engagement a pretext for resisting the efforts made subsequently, by several nations, to establish constitutional freedom.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE PEACE.

Section I.—*State of Europe at the Close of the War.*

When the sanguinary and expensive wars arising out of the French revolution terminated, the different nations of Europe that shared in the contest were so enfeebled and harassed, that they sank at once into inactive repose. But the transition from war to peace made such a complete change in all commercial transactions, that credit was shaken, trade injured, manufactures checked, and thousands suddenly deprived of employment. These evils were more sensibly felt in England than in any other country; for while the tide of war swept over every other European state, England, protected by her insular situation, enjoyed internal tranquillity, and was enabled to sell with profit, not only her manufactures, but her agricultural produce to less favored countries. Peace permitted the people of the continent to supply themselves with many of the articles which they had previously been forced to import; and the jealousy with which the continental sovereigns began to regard the commercial prosperity of England, induced them to encourage native manufactures; hence the demand for British goods and produce suddenly slackened, and distress was felt by every portion of the community. Several serious riots occurred in the agricultural distress; but still more alarming symptoms of dissatisfaction were displayed in the metropolis, where meetings were held under pretence of procuring a reform in the constitution, but which threatened to end in revolution. Several strong restrictive statutes were passed by parliament, and energetic, if not severe measures adopted by the government; it was not, however, until the commercial crisis had passed over, and the embarrassments of transition disappeared that the public tranquillity was restored.

There were not, however, wanting more cheering occurrences which relieved the gloom; the piratical states of Algiers were humbled; Lord Exmouth, with a united squadron of English and Dutch, attacked the city of Algiers, destroyed its fortifications, and compelled the dey to abolish Christian slavery (A. D. 1816). Great joy was also diffused by the marriage of the princess Charlotte, the pride and the hope of England, to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. But the expectations of the nation were fatally disappointed; the princess died on the 6th of November, 1817, after having been delivered of a dead child. The national sorrow was general and profound, and there never was an occasion in which the British nation showed greater regret for the loss of an individual. But this was only the beginning of a series of deaths

in the royal family; Queen Charlotte died during the ensuing year, she was soon followed to the grave by the duke of Kent, and finally, the aged monarch George III., without having enjoyed one lucid interval during his long illness, sank quietly into the tomb.

France, much to the surprise of the neighboring states, enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity under the mild and conciliatory government of Louis XVIII. The revolution, and its consequent wars, had given the chief property of the country, and consequently the elements of political power, to the middle classes of society; their interests could only be secured by the preservation of peace, and they became zealous royalists, because they regarded the monarchy as the surest pledge for the maintenance of public order. Some of them carried their zeal to such extravagant lengths that they provoked resistance, and the king was forced to interfere, to prevent the ill consequences that were likely to result from the indiscretion of those who claimed to be his best friends.

The united kingdom of the Netherlands, though apparently tranquil, was secretly shaken by the national antipathy between the Belgians and the Dutch. Gratitude induced the sovereign to accede to the holy alliance, a circumstance which gave great offence to many of his subjects, especially in Flanders, where a republican spirit, fostered by municipal institutions, had prevailed from the time of the Middle Ages.

Great disappointment was felt in Germany, by the delay or refusal of the constitutions, which the several states had been taught to expect during the war of independence. But the principal sovereigns, especially the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, alarmed by the remembrance of the calamities that political innovations had produced in France, steadily opposed every change in the forms of government, but, at the same time, zealously labored to secure to their subjects the benefit of a just and enlightened administration.

Spain was far more unfortunate; the imbecile Ferdinand was the tool of the courtiers and the priests; at their instigation he revived the ancient principles of despotism and bigotry, punishing with remorseless severity every expression of liberal sentiments in politics or religion. The arbitrary conduct of the court was not the only cause of the misery that prevailed in the Peninsula; the South American colonies, which had long been regarded as the chief and almost the only source of the small share of commercial prosperity which the Spaniards retained, openly revolted, and raised the standard of independence. Ferdinand made some faint efforts to subdue the insurgents, but he was badly supported by his subjects, and the troops he had assembled refused to embark. Finally, the liberals having gained over a great portion of the army, compelled the king to establish a democratic constitution, by which the royal power was almost annihilated (A. D. 1820). Similar revolutions took place in Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont; alarm seized the minds of the European sovereigns, and they secretly combined to check popular movements. But experience soon proved that those who had framed the Spanish constitution were ignorant of the wants and wishes of the Spanish people. Louis XVIII. alarmed for the safety of France by the revolutionary movements in Spain, sent an army, under the command of the duke of Angouleme, to restore the royal authority; the invaders encountered no effective opposition; the

cortes fled before them to Cadiz, and when the French approached that city, they permitted the king to resume his former despotic authority (A. D. 1823). The revolutions of Naples and Piedmont ended similarly; the liberals laid down their arms on the approach of the Austrian armies, and the new constitutions were abolished.

The accession of Charles John Bernadotte, to the crown of Sweden, made no change in the politics of the northern nations; his right of inheritance had been solemnly recognised by the allied sovereigns, at the congress of Vienna, and his conduct as a crown-prince had taught the Swedes to respect and love the monarch they had chosen. Even the Norwegians became reconciled to their fate, and learned to console themselves for the loss of national independence by the blessings that result from paternal government.

No sooner was peace restored between Great Britain and the United States than the old feelings of friendship and kindred revived between the two countries, and the leading statesmen, in both, showed an earnest desire to have former animosities buried in oblivion. But far different were the feelings between Spain and her revolted colonies; the South American states vigorously maintained their struggle for independence, and finally succeeded. The English government delayed acknowledging these republics until the duke of Angouleme had crossed the Pyrenees, when consuls were sent out to the chief states, and commercial treaties formed with their governments.

From this rapid sketch, it will be seen that throughout the greater part of the civilized world there was a struggle between the principles of monarchy and democracy, and that even England, though it had long enjoyed the blessings of a free constitution, was not wholly exempt from the agitation.

Section II.—*History of Europe during the reign of George IV.*

George IV. had so long wielded the supreme executive power in England, under the title of regent, that no political change was made or expected when he assumed the royal dignity. A month had not elapsed after his accession, when a plot was discovered for the murder of all his majesty's ministers, and thus facilitating a revolution, which had been planned by a few obscure enthusiasts. The conspirators used to assemble in Cato street, an obscure place near the Edgeware road; they were arrested in their rendezvous, just as they were preparing to execute their project, all their plans having been betrayed to government by a spy who had pretended to join in the conspiracy. Such were the insanity and misery of these wretched men, who proposed to subvert a powerful government, that when they were searched, not even a shilling was found among the whole party. The government pitying their delusion, punished only the ringleaders, and this clemency had a beneficial effect in calming political agitation.

Preparations were now made for the king's coronation, when they were suspended by an event which excited more public interest, and stimulated more angry passions than any other which had occurred for several years. This was the return of Queen Caroline to England, and her subsequent trial before the house of lords. Her marriage had been

unfortunate almost from the commencement; she was early separated from her husband; after the lapse of some years, her conduct was made the subject of official inquiry; at the commencement of the regency she was excluded from court, and these indignities induced her to quit England. She visited the most celebrated spots along the coast of the Mediterranean, and then selected a permanent residence in that part of Italy subject to the Austrian government. Reports injurious to her character were circulated; commissioners were sent to Milan to investigate them, and the ministers, in consequence of the evidence thus collected, excluded her name from the liturgy, on the king's accession. Irritated at such an insult, she resolved to return to England, though a pension of fifty thousand pounds annually was offered to purchase her submission, and though she was informed that her landing would be the signal for the commencement of a prosecution.

No sooner had the queen landed, than messages were sent to both houses of parliament, recommending that her conduct should be investigated. "A Bill of Pains and Penalties" was introduced, to deprive her of royal rights and dignities, and a trial commenced which lasted forty-five days, when the bill was read a second time by a majority of forty-five. On the third reading, however, the ministers could only command a majority of nine, and the bill was abandoned. During these proceedings, the agitation of the public mind knew no bounds; addresses to the queen poured in from all sides, and when the bill was abandoned, her friends celebrated her escape as an acquittal. The remainder of her melancholy history may be briefly told: her popularity sank as rapidly as it had risen; she was refused a share in the ceremonial of the coronation; her appeals to the nation were disregarded; and the sense of disappointment and degradation produced a mortal disease which terminated her unhappy life. Her funeral was marked by a disgraceful riot: the mob determined that her remains should pass through the city of London, and triumphed over the troops that tried to carry the hearse by a different route.

Soon after his coronation the king visited Ireland, Scotland, and Hanover; he was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm, but the permanent results expected from these visits were not realized. In Ireland, party spirit blazed more furiously than ever, and the depreciation of agricultural produce rendering it difficult for tenants to pay their rents, led to a series of agrarian outrages which could only be checked by severe coercive laws. The distress of the lower classes, which indeed almost exceeded credibility, was relieved by a general and generous subscription in England, which arrested the progress of a pestilential disease, produced by famine and distress.

England suffered severely from the financial difficulties produced by the immense expenditure of the late war. While statesmen were engaged in devising means to alleviate the pressure of taxation, Napoleon Bonaparte, the cause of so many calamities, died almost unnoticed in his place of exile at St. Helena. During the king's visit to Scotland, Lord Londonderry, who had so long directed the foreign affairs of England, committed suicide; his place was supplied by Mr. Canning, who was supposed to be favorable to what was called a more liberal line of policy than that of his predecessor.

The distracted condition of Spain at this period engaged the attention of Europe. Ferdinand had been compelled to grant his subjects a free and almost a republican constitution, but the ministers forced upon him by the cortes, showed little wisdom or moderation, and the proceedings of the cortes themselves were unworthy the dignity of a deliberative assembly. In consequence of these errors, a large party was formed in the Peninsula to restore absolute monarchy; several bodies of insurgents were raised by the monks and friars, who feared that the estates of the monasteries and the church would be confiscated; they called themselves the "Army of the Faith," and were zealously supported by the lower ranks of the populace. Under these circumstances, a congress of the European powers was held at Verona, and a resolution was adopted for subverting the Spanish constitution, and restoring the absolute power of the king. The duke of Wellington, on the part of England, refused to sanction this design, and the execution of it was intrusted to the king of France, who was naturally anxious to check the progress of revolutionary principles, before his own throne was endangered by the contagion.

Early in the year 1823, the duc d'Angouleme entered Spain at the head of a powerful army; the constitutionalists made but a feeble resistance, and the king was restored to absolute authority with little trouble. Ferdinand made a bad use of his power; he persecuted all whom he suspected of liberal principles with the utmost severity, and revived all the ancient abuses which had so long disgraced the government of Spain. Though the English ministers maintained a strict neutrality during this contest, they severely censured the conduct of the French government, and as a counterpoise, they recognised the independence of the South American republics, which had withdrawn themselves from their allegiance to Spain.

During the Spanish war, which excited little interest, the sympathies of civilized Europe were engaged in the Greek revolution, which, however, was a barbarous and sanguinary struggle, that for many years seemed to promise no decisive result. The principal members of the Holy Alliance viewed the Greek insurrection with secret dislike, for they regarded it as a rebellion against legitimate authority; but the young and enthusiastic spirits throughout Europe viewed it as a just revolt against Turkish tyranny, and hoped that its success would restore the classical ages of Greece. Among the many volunteers who went to aid the insurgents was the celebrated poet, Lord Byron; before, however, they could profit by his services, he was attacked by fever, and died prematurely at Missolonghi.

Commercial embarrassments and political disputes diverted the attention of England from foreign affairs; a sudden rage for speculation seized the people; projects and joint-stock companies were multiplied without number, but suddenly the bubbles burst, and a terrible reaction ensued. The panic in the money-market was equal to the overweening confidence which had led to these extravagant speculations. But the evil was transitory, and it had perhaps some beneficial influence in limiting attention to those branches of trade best suited to the condition of the country. Political agitation was not so easily cured; the leaders of the Irish catholics formed an association to procure the repeal of

the restrictive laws by which members of their church were excluded from parliament and offices of state. This body assumed all the forms and some of the functions of a legislative assembly, and though an act of parliament was passed for its suppression, the statute was eluded by the legal skill of the popular leaders in the association.

Soon after Mr. Canning's accession to power, the attention of all Europe was excited by an event which seemed to prove that England had not only deserted the principles of the Holy Alliance, but was about to take her position at the head of a more liberal political system. On the death of John VI., king of Portugal (March 10, 1826), the crown devolved to his eldest son, Don Pedro, who reigned, with the title of emperor, over the old Portuguese colonies in Brazil. Compelled to choose between his empire and his kingdom, Pedro selected the former; but he sent to Portugal a constitutional charter, and a formal resignation of the crown in favor of his daughter Donna Maria. Pedro's brother, Don Miguel, the queen dowager, and the most bigoted portion of the clergy, labored hard to frustrate this arrangement, and their machinations were encouraged by the French and Spanish cabinets. Several Portuguese regiments were induced to desert across the frontier and proclaim Don Miguel absolute king. As the Spanish government notoriously supplied the rebels with military stores and arms, the Portuguese minister applied to the British government for aid, and a message was sent to both houses of parliament, calling on them to aid in maintaining the independence of Portugal. Mr. Canning introduced the subject in the house of commons, describing the situation and policy of Great Britain, placed as a mediator between the conflicting opinions that convulsed Europe; and such was the effect of his eloquence, that only four persons in a full house could be got to oppose the address. A British armament was sent to the Tagus: its effect was instantaneous and decisive. The French diplomatic agent was recalled, the Spanish cabinet forced to desist from its intrigues, and Portugal restored to temporary tranquillity.

Death and disease among the great and noble of the land produced some important changes in the councils of Great Britain. In the beginning of the year 1827, the duke of York, who had solemnly pledged himself to oppose the claims of the catholics to the utmost, sank under disease. He was sincerely lamented even by his political opponents; for his conduct in the management of the army, ever since he had been restored to the office of commander-in-chief, had deservedly won for him the honorable appellation of "the soldier's friend." Soon afterward the earl of Liverpool, who by his conciliating conduct as premier, had held together the friends and the opponents of catholic emancipation in the cabinet, was seized with a fit of apoplexy, which terminated his political existence, though his natural life was protracted for several months. Mr. Canning, who had long been a distinguished advocate of the catholic claims, was appointed his successor, upon which all the members of the cabinet, opposed to concession, resigned in a body. The fatigues and anxieties imposed upon him proved too much for the new premier; he sank under them, and was succeeded by Mr. F. Robinson, who was at the same time raised to the peerage, with the title of Lord Goderich. Before relating the overthrow of this feeble minis-

try, we must turn our attention to the events in another part of the globe, which accelerated its downfall.

Notwithstanding the horrid atrocities committed on both sides during the Greek war, the sympathies of Christendom in favor of the insurgents continually increased; it was expected that Alexander, emperor of Russia, would have taken some measures in their favor, but he died rather suddenly while engaged in a survey of his southern provinces. At this crisis, the sultan, unable to crush the revolt by his own strength, sought the aid of his powerful vassal, Mohammed Ali, the pacha of Egypt. This provincial governor, who had acted for some time more like an independent monarch than a tributary, readily sent his adopted son, Ibrahim Pacha, with a powerful army, into the Morea. The excesses of the Turks and Egyptians were so shocking to humanity, that the European powers felt bound to interfere, especially as the protracted contest was very pernicious to the commerce of the Levant. A treaty for the pacification of Greece was concluded in London between Russia, France, and England, by which it was stipulated that Greece should enjoy a qualified independence under the sovereignty of Turkey, and that measures should be taken to coerce the sultan if he refused his consent to these arrangements.

The Austrian cabinet refused to share in this treaty. Dread of a similar insurrection in Italy, which was scarcely less oppressed, and which could equally appeal to classical sympathies and reminiscences, induced the court of Vienna to oppose anything that seemed like sanctioning a revolt. But not content with refusing to join the allies, the Austrians secretly urged the sultan to reject the proffered compromise, and the court of Constantinople, already bent on the extermination of the Greeks, made more vigorous exertions than ever. The fleets of England, Russia, and France, which had been sent to support the negotiations, when it was known that the sultan's answer was unfavorable, blockaded the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the harbor of Navarino, and Sir Edward Codrington, who commanded the allied squadrons, concluded an armistice with Ibrahim Pacha, in order to alleviate the horrors of war. This armistice was flagrantly violated by the Turks and Egyptians in every particular, and the allied squadrons entered the harbor of Navarino, in order to enforce compliance with its stipulations. A shot fired from a Turkish ship at an English boat, was the signal or the pretext for a general engagement, which ended in the utter annihilation of the Turco-Egyptian armament. The independence of Greece was thus virtually secured, and its completion was secured soon after by the arrival of a small military force from France, which compelled the Turks to evacuate the Morea.

In Russia and in France the victory of Navarino was regarded as a national triumph; in England it only increased the embarrassments of Lord Goderich's distracted cabinet, the members of which were at variance on almost every point of policy, foreign and domestic. Finding themselves unable to determine in what manner the event should be noticed in the king's speech, the ministers resigned their situations before the meeting of parliament, and the task of forming a new administration was intrusted to the duke of Wellington.

The sultan was not daunted by the intelligence of the destruction of

his fleet; it seemed, indeed, rather to confirm him in his obstinacy. After many ineffectual efforts to change his resolution, the ambassadors of France, England, and Russia, demanded their passports, and quitted Constantinople, a proceeding which was of course equivalent to a declaration of war. But the allies were no longer united in their policy: France and England were not unreasonably jealous of Russian ambition; France limited her exertions to protecting the Morea, the new ministers of England declared the victory of Navarino "an untoward event"—a phrase which led to the belief that they were disposed to look favorably on the pretensions of Turkey. This error precipitated what all wished to avoid, a war between Russia and Turkey. Still more unfortunate, the events of the first European campaign led many European statesmen to believe that Turkey could defend herself from her own resources; though the Russians had taken Varna by the treachery of its governor, they were forced to raise the siege of Shumlah, and retire with some precipitation. It was unnoticed or forgotten that this failure was more than compensated by the decisive success of the Russians in the Asiatic provinces, where the real strength of the Turkish empire lies; they conquered the greater part of ancient Armenia, occupied the fortresses which command the principal lines of march, and thus laid the foundation of decisive success in the next campaign.

In consequence of the general misapprehension respecting the position and resources of the belligerant parties, Turkey narrowly escaped being blotted from the map of Europe. The Russians opened the campaign by surprising Sizopoli, and laying siege to Silistria. The grand vizier advanced to the relief of the fortress, but he was surprised on his march by Marshal Diebitsch, and defeated. In this battle the Turks behaved so courageously that the Russians almost despaired of success, and made an attempt to open negotiations. Their offers were rejected; the vizier, trusting to his impregnable position at Shumlah, remained quietly in his intrenchments, while the Russians pressed forward the siege of Silistria. That city surrendered on the last day of June, but it was the middle of July before Diebitsch could concentrate his forces for the bold enterprise which decided the fortune of the war. Having masked Shumlah with one division of his forces, he forced a passage through the defiles of the Balkan, and took Aidos by storm. The vizier, alarmed by this unexpected movement, determined to remove his quarters to Salamno. He was encountered by Diebitsch on his march, and irretrievably defeated. The very soldiers who had so recently fought the Russians for seventeen hours, now scarcely withstood them for as many minutes; they fled at the first onset, abandoning arms, ammunition, artillery, and baggage. Adrianople, the second city in the Turkish empire, was captured without firing a shot; Stamboul itself must have fallen, had not the sultan consented to the terms of peace dictated by the conquerors. He signed a treaty on the 14th of September, by which he recognised the independence of Greece, and granted to Russia very considerable advantages, and a guarantee for the payment of the expenses of the war. Greece indeed was already virtually free; the French expedition had recovered the fortresses of the Morea from the Turks and Egyptians, while the Greeks themselves had gained considerable advantages in the north. It was resolved that the final

destinies of the country should be arranged by a congress of the great powers in London. The crown of Greece was first offered to Prince Leopold, the relict of the late princess Charlotte, but after a long negotiation he rejected it, and it was finally bestowed on Prince Otho, the son of the king of Bavaria.

A revolution of a very different character took place in Portugal. When Don Pedro resigned the throne of that kingdom in favor of his daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria, he appointed his brother, Don Miguel regent, reasonably hoping that he might thus secure his daughter's rights, and the constitutional privileges which he had given to the Portuguese. Before quitting Vienna to assume the reins of power, Don Miguel took an oath of fidelity to the charter; when he visited England, on his way to Portugal, he repeated his protestations of attachment to the constitution and the rights of his niece so warmly, that the British statesmen, assured of his fidelity, consented to withdraw their troops from Lisbon. Unfortunately, after his return, he resigned himself to the guidance of the queen-mother, an unprincipled woman, who seemed to think that a bigoted zeal for what she believed to be the cause of religion would atone for every other crime. At her instigation, he induced the fanatic rabble, by means of an artful priesthood, to proclaim him absolute king, and to denounce the charter as inconsistent with the purity of the Roman faith. The friends of the constitution organized a resistance at Oporto and in the island of Madeira; but their efforts were badly directed, and worse supported. They were finally defeated and driven into exile, while Don Miguel commenced a bitter persecution against all who had been conspicuous for their advocacy of liberal opinions. The principal powers of Europe manifested their detestation of such treachery, by withdrawing their ambassadors from the court of Lisbon.

France during this period was greatly agitated by political strife. Charles X. was more bitterly opposed to revolutionary principles than his brother, and he yielded to the counsels of the bigoted priests, who persuaded him that it was his duty to restore to the church all the power which it had possessed in the dark ages. On the other hand, the French people became persuaded that a plot was formed to deprive them of the constitutional privileges which they had gained after so long a struggle; thus the nation became gradually alienated from the court, and the court from the nation; while some turbulent spirits endeavored to aggravate this hostility, in the hope of profiting by a future convulsion. A new ministry was forced upon the king by the popular party; the members of it professed moderate principles, but they wanted the abilities and the influence necessary for steering a safe course between the extremes of royal prerogative on one side, and popular encroachment on the other. They were driven, by the majority of the chambers, to make larger concessions to the demands of the people than they had originally intended, and the reluctance with which they yielded, deprived them of popular gratitude. Even their sending an armament to aid the Greeks in the Morea, their recalling the French army of occupation from Spain, and their acknowledging the independence of the South American republics, failed to conciliate the support of the democratic party, while these measures rendered them perfectly odious to

the royalists. They were suddenly dismissed, and the formation of a cabinet was intrusted to Prince Polignac, whose appointment was studiously represented as a declaration of war by Charles X. against his subjects.

Interesting as these events were, they excited little attention in England, where the public mind was intently fixed on the struggle in parliament, between those who sought to effect important constitutional changes, and those who were resolved to resist all innovation. The duke of Wellington's cabinet had been placed in office mainly by the influence of that portion of the aristocracy which was anxious to check the progress of change, and resist certain proposed measures, which they deemed inconsistent with the supremacy, if not the safety, of the established church. One of these measures was the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, by which dissenters were excluded from office; it was proposed in the house of commons, and on a division the ministers were left in such a minority, that they not only withdrew further opposition, but adopted the measure as their own, and carried it successfully through both houses of parliament.

This event gave fresh vigor to the efforts made by the Irish catholics to procure the concessions which they usually called emancipation. The rejection of a bill for the purpose by the house of lords in 1828, only roused them to greater exertion; and on the other hand, the partisans of protestant ascendency in Ireland began to form clubs for the protection of their peculiar privileges. An unexpected event exasperated the strife of parties, and threatened to bring matters to a dangerous crisis. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, having accepted office under the duke of Wellington, vacated his seat for the county of Clare, reasonably expecting that there would be no obstacle to his re-election. Mr. O'Connell, an Irish catholic, who had been long recognised as the popular leader, offered himself as a candidate for the vacant seat, and in spite of the disqualifying laws, was elected by an overwhelming majority. It was considered disputable whether he might not take his seat, but on all hands it was allowed that he was the legal representative of the county.

This was a state of things which could not with safety be permitted to continue; the ministers felt that they should either increase the severity of the exclusive laws, which the temper of the times would hardly have permitted, or that they should remove the few restrictions which prevented catholics from enjoying the full benefits of the constitution. They chose the latter alternative, and after some difficulty in overcoming the king's reluctance, they had the concession of the catholic claims recommended in the royal speech, at the opening of the session of parliament. The bill for giving effect to this recommendation was strenuously opposed in both houses, but as it was supported by the united strength of the ministers and the party by which they were most commonly resisted, it passed steadily through both houses, and received the royal assent on the 13th of April, 1829.

From the time that this important measure was carried, the domestic condition of England presented an aspect of more tranquillity than had been witnessed for many years. Party strife seemed hushed within and without the walls of parliament, as if both parties had been wearied

out by the protracted discussion of the question they had just settled. This calm was increased by the gloom which the illness of the king diffused over the nation. Early in 1830 the symptoms of the disease became alarming, and for many weeks before its termination, all hopes of a favorable result were abandoned. On the 26th of June, George IV. died at Windsor castle, after having borne the agonies of protracted sickness with great firmness, patience, and resignation.

Section III.—*History of Europe during the Reign of William IV.*

Few monarchs ever obtained such immediate popularity on their accession as William IV. He had been educated in the navy, always a favorite branch of service with the British people; he was eminent for the domestic virtues, which are the more readily comprehended by a nation, as their value is felt in every walk of life; his habits were economical, and his manners familiar; he exhibited himself to his people, conversed with them, and shared in their tastes and amusements. As he had been intimately connected with some of the leading whigs before his accession to the throne, it was generally believed that the policy by which that party had been jealously excluded from power during the two preceding reigns would be abandoned, and it was hoped that a new cabinet would be formed by the coalition of ministers with their opponents. The parliamentary debates soon put an end to these expectations; the opposition to the ministry, which had been almost nominal since the settlement of the catholic question, was more than usually violent in the debate on the address; the formal business of the house was indeed despatched with all possible expedition, preparatory to a new election; but before parliament could be prorogued, the whigs were virtually pledged to irreconcilable war with the administration.

It is now time to turn to the affairs of France, which had for two years been fast hastening to a crisis. Never had a ministry in any country to encounter such a storm of virulence and invective, as that which assailed the cabinet of Prince Polignac; though he was perhaps justly suspected of arbitrary designs, yet his first measures were dignified and moderate; some of them even seem to have been framed in a spirit of conciliation. But nothing could purchase the forbearance of his opponents; they scrupled not to have recourse to downright falsehood, and in some cases accused him of designs so exquisitely absurd, that they appeared to have been invented for the express purpose of measuring the extent of popular credulity. Charles X. more than shared the odium thrown on his obnoxious favorite; his patronage of the Jesuits and monastic orders, his revival of austere and rigid etiquette in his court, and his marked dislike of those who had acquired eminence in the revolution, or under Napoleon, were circumstances which rendered him unpopular with the great bulk of the nation so long estranged from the Bourbons and their policy.

Polignac defied the storm; but unfortunately, as the contest continued, he departed from the course of caution and prudence, probably because injustice had driven him into anger, and he soon furnished his adversaries with just grounds for continued hostility. When the cham-

bers assembled, the royal speech was a direct attack on the first principles of the constitution, concluding with a threat of resuming the concessions made by the charter, which was notoriously impotent, and therefore supremely ridiculous. A very uncourtly reply was voted by the chamber of deputies, after a very animated debate, by a majority of forty. The only alternative now left was a dissolution of the chambers, or a change of the ministry; Charles X. chose the former, trusting that events might turn the popular current, and give him a more manageable chamber at a new election.

Charles and his ministers appear to have hoped that their unpopularity would be overcome, and their future projects facilitated, by gratifying the taste of the French people for military glory. An armament was therefore prepared with extraordinary care, and sent against Algiers, under the pretext that the dey had insulted the honor of France. The success of the expedition corresponded with the exertions made to ensure it; the city of Algiers was taken after a very slight resistance, the dey was sent prisoner to Italy, and his vast treasures remained at the disposal of the conquerors. It was reasonable that the maritime powers should feel jealous at the establishment of French garrisons and colonies in northern Africa; to allay their suspicions, a promise was made that the occupation of Algiers should be merely temporary; but the French nation formed such an infatuated attachment to their conquest, that they have kept it ever since, though it causes an annual waste of life and treasure, without conferring any appreciable advantage either on Africa or on France.

Polignac, relying on the moral effect which the conquest of Algiers would produce, dissolved the chambers, but, with the same infatuation which seems to have directed all his movements, he at the same time dismissed the only two moderate members of his cabinet, and supplied their places by the most unpopular men in France. Such a course, as ought to have been foreseen, more than counterbalanced any benefit which the ministers might have gained from the conquest of Algiers; the elections left them in a miserable minority, and matters were consequently brought to a crisis.

The majority of the commercial classes and landed proprietors in France dreaded the renewal of civil commotions; they knew that there was an active republican party in the country, which though not very numerous, was very unscrupulous and energetic; they feared, and not without reason, that the triumph of this party, which was no unlikely termination of a revolutionary struggle, would lead to the renewal of the horrors perpetrated during the reign of terror, when the Jacobins were in power. But at the same time, these classes were equally hostile to the restoration of the ancient despotism, which they believed to be the object of the king and his ministers. Had Charles X. declared that he would be contented with the prerogatives of a constitutional monarch, dismissed his obnoxious ministers, and formed a cabinet of moderate men, the crisis would have passed over without danger; unfortunately, more arbitrary counsels prevailed; Polignac and his colleagues resolved to terminate the struggle by subverting the constitution.

On the morning of the 26th of July, three ordinances were pub-

lished, which virtually subverted the constitutional privileges granted by the charter. The first dissolved the newly elected chamber of deputies before it assembled: the second changed the law of elections, and disfranchised the great body of electors; and the third subjected the press to new and severe restrictions which would completely have annihilated its liberties.

It was late in the day before intelligence of these events was generally circulated through Paris, and the news, at first, seemed to excite astonishment rather than indignation; the ministers passed the day in quiet at their hotels, receiving the visits of their friends and congratulating themselves upon the delusive tranquillity. But their opponents were not inactive; expresses were sent to summon all the deputies of their party within reach, and those who had already arrived in Paris held a private meeting to concert measures of resistance. The principal journalists acted with still greater promptitude; they prepared and published a protest against the restrictions on the press, whose daring language would probably have exposed them to the penalties of treason had the contest terminated differently.

On the morning of the 27th, few of the journals appeared, for the publication of those which were not sanctioned by the minister of the interior was prohibited by the police. The printers, thus suddenly deprived of employment, formed a body of vindictive rioters, and their numbers were increased by the closing of several large factories in the suburbs of Paris. The proprietors of two journals printed their papers in defiance of the ordinance, and the first disturbance was occasioned by the police forcing an entrance into their establishments, breaking the presses, scattering the types, and rendering the machinery unserviceable. So little was an insurrection anticipated, that Charles, accompanied by the dauphin, went on a hunting match to Rambouillet; and his ministers neglected the ordinary precaution of strengthening the garrison of the capital. It was only on the morning of the 27th that Marmont received his appointment as military governor of Paris, and it was not till after four in the afternoon that orders were given to put the troops under arms.

Between six and seven o'clock in the evening some detachments of troops were sent to the aid of the police; this was the signal for commencing the contest; several smart skirmishes took place between the citizens and the soldiers, in which the latter were generally successful, so that Marmont wrote a letter to the king, congratulating him on the suppression of the riot, while the ministers issued their last ordinance, declaring Paris in a state of siege. When night closed in, the citizens destroyed every lamp in the city, thus securing the protection of darkness for their preparations to renew the struggle.

On the morning of the 28th, Marmont was astonished to find that the riots which he had deemed suppressed, had assumed the formidable aspect of a revolution. The citizens were ready and organized for a decisive contest; they were in possession of the arsenal and the powder magazine; they had procured arms from the shops of the gunsmiths and the police stations; they had erected barricades across the principal streets, and had selected leaders competent to direct their exertions. Under these circumstances, the marshal hesitated before taking any

decisive step; it was noon before he had resolved how to act, and he then determined to clear the streets by military force. He divided his troops into four columns, which he directed to move in different directions, thus unwisely separating his forces, so that they could not act in concert. Every step taken by the columns was marked by a series of murderous conflicts; they were assailed with musketry from the barricades, from the windows and tops of houses, from the corners of streets, and from the narrow alleys and passages which abound in Paris. When the cavalry attempted to charge, they were overwhelmed with stones and articles of furniture flung from the houses; their horses stumbled in the unpaved streets, or were checked by the barricades, while the citizens, protected by their dwellings, kept up a heavy fire, which the disheartened horsemen were unable to return. Though the royal guards performed their duty, the troops of the line showed great reluctance to fire on the citizens, and hence the insurgents were enabled to seize many important posts with little or no opposition. When evening closed the troops had been defeated in every direction; they returned to their barracks, weary, hungry, and dispirited; by some inexplicable blunder, no provision was made for their refreshment, while every family in Paris vied in supplying the insurgents with everything they wanted.

Marmont was now fully sensible of the perils of his situation; he wrote to the infatuated king, representing the dangerous condition of Paris, and soliciting fresh instructions; the orders he received in reply, urged him to persevere, and indirectly censured his former conduct, by directing him "to act with masses."

The contest was renewed on the morning of the third day, the soldiers evincing great feebleness, while the populace seemed animated by a certainty of success. While the issue was yet doubtful, two regiments of the line went over to the insurgents in a body; the citizens thus strengthened, rushed through the gap which this defection left in the royal line, took the Louvre by assault, and soon compelled the troops that remained faithful to the royal cause, either to lay down their arms or evacuate Paris. The revolution was speedily completed by the installation of a provisional government; measures were adopted for the speedy convocation of the chambers, and in a few hours the capital had nearly assumed its ordinary aspect of tranquillity.

Charles and his ministers appear to have believed that the country would not follow the example of Paris. They were speedily convinced of their error; the king was abandoned, not only by his courtiers, but even by his household servants; he was forced to wait helplessly in his country-seat, until he was dismissed to contemptuous exile by the national commissioners. His ministers attempted to escape in disguise, but were most of them arrested, a circumstance which occasioned great perplexity to the new government. In the meantime, the duke of Orleans, far the most popular of the royal family, was chosen lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and when the chambers met, he was elected to the throne, with the title of Louis Philippe I., king of the French.

This revolution produced an extraordinary degree of political excitement throughout Europe; even in England the rick-burnings

and other incendiary acts gave formidable signs of popular discontent; but the personal attachment of the nation to the sovereign, and the prudent measures of the government, prevented any attempt at revolution. When parliament assembled, the duke of Wellington took an early opportunity of declaring that he would resist any attempt to make a change in the representative system of the country, and this declaration, which was wholly unexpected, or rather, which was contrary to very general expectations, at once deprived the ministers of the popularity they had hitherto enjoyed. An event of trifling importance in itself, but very grave in its consequences, proved still more injurious to the Wellington administration. The king had been invited to dine with the lord-mayor of London on the 9th of November, and his ministers were of course expected to accompany him. All the preparations were complete, when a city magistrate, having heard that some persons intended to insult the duke of Wellington, in consequence of his late unpopular speech, wrote to his grace, recommending him not to come without a military escort. The riots in Paris and Brussels, which had commenced with trifling disturbances, and ended in revolutions, were too recent not to alarm the ministers; they resolved that the king's visit to the city should be postponed to some more favorable conjuncture.

This announcement produced a general panic; business was suspended; the funds fell four per cent. in a few hours: the city of London continued in the greatest anxiety and alarm, for every one believed that some dreadful conspiracy was discovered at the moment it was about to explode. A day sufficed to show that no substantial grounds for apprehension existed, and people excused their vain terrors by throwing all the blame upon the government. The ministers were overwhelmed with a storm of indignant ridicule, which was scarcely merited, for they could not have anticipated such an extensive and groundless panic, and there could be little doubt of the propriety of removing any pretext for a tumultuous assembly in the long nights of November.

This strange occurrence proved fatal to the ministry, which indeed had previously been tottering. On a question of confidence, the ministers were defeated by a majority of twenty-nine in the house of commons, upon which the duke of Wellington and his colleagues immediately resigned their offices. A new ministry was formed under the auspices of Earl Grey, composed of the old whig opposition, and the party commonly called Mr. Canning's friends; it was recommended to the nation by the premier's early declaration, that the principles of his cabinet should be reform, retrenchment, and peace.

But to preserve the peace of Europe was now a task of no ordinary difficulty. The excitement produced by the late French revolution had aroused an insurrectionary spirit in every country where the people had to complain of real or fancied wrongs; and the continental sovereigns, alarmed for their power, looked with jealousy on every movement that seemed likely to lead to a popular triumph. The emperor of Russia went so far, as to hesitate about acknowledging the title of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, and when he at length yielded to the example and influence of the other European states, his recognition of

a king elected by the people was so reluctant and ungracious, as to be deemed an insult by the French nation.

Nowhere did the insurrectionary spirit thus excited produce more decisive effects than in Belgium, whose compulsory union with Holland was one of the most unwise arrangements of the congress of Vienna. The Dutch and Flemings differed in language, in habits, and in religion; their commercial interests were opposed, their national antipathies were ancient and inveterate. In the midst of these anxieties produced by the events in Paris, the Dutch ministers continued to goad the Belgians by restrictive laws, and at length drove them into open revolt. On the night of the 25th of August, a formidable riot began in Brussels; the Dutch authorities and garrison, after having exhibited the most flagrant proofs of incapacity and cowardice, were driven out, and a provisional government installed in the city. The king of Holland hesitated between concession and the employment of force; he adopted a middle course of policy, and sent his sons to redress grievances, and an army to enforce the royal authority; at the same time he convoked the states-general. The Dutch princes were received with such coolness at Brussels, that they returned to the army; soon after, Prince Frederick, having learned that the patriots were divided among themselves, led the royal troops to Brussels, and at the same time published an amnesty, but unfortunately, with such sweeping exceptions, that it should rather be called an edict of proscription. For four days the Dutch and Belgians contested the possession of the city with equal want of skill and courage, but with somewhat more of energy on the part of the insurgents. Finally, the Dutch were driven out, and a provisional government established. Proposals of mediation were made by the prince of Orange, which were disavowed by his father, the king of Holland, and equally rejected by the Flemings; thus refused by both parties, he allowed matters to take their course, and Belgium became an independent state. Many tedious negotiations and discussions were necessary before this disarrangement of the European powers could be adjusted so as to avert the danger of a general war. At length Leopold, prince of Saxe Coburg, nearly connected with the royal family of England, was elected sovereign of the new kingdom, and to conciliate his subjects and strengthen his throne, he formed a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the king of the French.

Germany was not exempt from the perils of popular commotion. In the year 1813, the sovereigns of the principal German states had promised popular constitutions to their subjects, as a reward for their exertions in delivering the continent from the tyranny of Napoleon. These promises had not been fulfilled; there were many discontented persons anxious to profit by the example of France and Belgium, but fortunately, in the principal states, the personal character of the sovereigns had so endeared them to the people, that no insurrection was attempted. In some of the minor states there were slight revolutions; the duke of Brunswick was deposed by his subjects, and the throne transferred to his brother; the king of Saxony was forced to resign in favor of his nephew; and the elector of Hesse was compelled to grant a constitutional charter.

Spain continued to languish under the iron sway of Ferdinand VII.;

the people generally seemed to have no wish for liberty, and the abortive efforts to establish the constitution again were easily quelled, and cruelly punished. The condition of Portugal appeared to be similar; Don Miguel, who had usurped the throne, was so strenuously supported by the priests and monks, that every attempt to effect a change seemed hopeless. Italy shared in the excitement of the time, but the jealous watchfulness of Austria, and the formidable garrisons which that power had established in northern Italy, effectually prevented any outbreak. Insurrectionary movements took place in several of the Swiss cantons, but the disputes were arranged with promptness and equity, so speedily as to avert the horrors of civil war.

Poland was one of the last countries to catch the flame of insurrection, but there it raged most furiously. Provoked by the cruelties of the archduke Constantine, who governed the country for his brother, the emperor of Russia, the Poles took up arms, at a time when all the statesmen of Europe were intent on maintaining peace, and were therefore compelled to withhold their sympathies from the gallant struggle. Unaided and unsupported, the Poles for nearly two years maintained an unequal struggle against the gigantic power of Russia; they were finally crushed, and have ever since been subjected to the yoke of the most cruel despotism.

France, which had scattered these elements of discord, was far from enjoying tranquillity itself. The republican party deemed itself betrayed by the election of a king, and several who had consented to that arrangement were dissatisfied with the limited extension of popular privileges gained by the revolution. A great number of idle and discontented young men were anxious to involve Europe in a war of opinion, and they denounced the king as a traitor to the principles which had placed him on the throne, because he refused to gratify their insane wishes. The total separation of the church from the state alienated the French clergy; while the royalists recovered from their first terror, began to entertain hopes of a restoration. Thus surrounded by difficulties and dangers, Louis Philippe was far from finding his throne a bed of roses; but he evinced firmness and talent adequate to the occasion, and he was zealously supported by the middle classes, who looked upon him as their guarantee for constitutional freedom and assured tranquillity.

His success, however, would have been doubtful but for the efficient support he received from the national guard, whose organization was rapidly completed in Paris and the provinces. This civic body repressed the riots of the workmen and artisans, broke up the meetings of revolutionary clubs, and frustrated the attempts of republican fanatics, without incurring the odium which would have been attached to the exertions of the police and military. The severest test to which the stability of the new government in Paris was exposed, arose from the trials of the ministers who had signed the fatal ordinances. Louis Philippe made no effort to seize these delinquents, and would probably have been rejoiced at their escape; four of them were, as we have said, arrested by some zealous patriots, at a distance from Paris, as they were endeavoring to escape under the protection of false passports; the government had no option, but was forced to send them for

trial before the chamber of peers. The partisans of anarchy took advantage of the popular excitement to raise formidable riots, which might have terminated in a new and sanguinary revolution, but for the zeal and firmness of the national guard. After an impartial trial, Polignac and his companions were condemned to perpetual imprisonment and civil death, and were quickly removed from the capital to a distant prison. Tranquillity was re-established on the morning of the third day after the trial, and the citizens of Paris demonstrated the extent of their late alarms by the brilliant illuminations with which they celebrated the restoration of order.

England was deeply engaged in an attempt to remodel her constitution. Early in 1831, the new premier declared that "ministers had succeeded in framing a measure of reform, which they were persuaded would prove efficient without exceeding the bounds of that wise moderation with which such a measure should be accompanied." On the 1st of March the measure was introduced to the house of commons by Lord John Russell, andfrom that moment to its final success it almost wholly engrossed the attention of the country. The debate on the first reading of the bill lasted the unprecedented number of seven nights; the discussion on the second reading was shorter, but more animated; it was carried only by a majority of one. Ministers were subsequently defeated on two divisions, and at their instigation the king hastily dissolved the parliament. The elections took place amid such popular excitement, that ardent supporters of the ministerial measure were returned by nearly all the large constituencies, and the success of the reform bill, at least so far as the house of commons was concerned, was secured.

The reform bill passed slowly but securely through the house of commons, it was then sent up to the lords, and after a debate of five nights, rejected by a majority of 41. Great was the popular disappointment, but the promptitude with which the house of commons, on the motion of Lord Ebrington, passed a vote of confidence in ministers, and pledged itself to persevere with the measure of reform, calmed the agitation in the metropolis and the greater part of the country. Some serious riots, however, occurred at Derby and Nottingham, which were not suppressed until considerable mischief was done; Bristol suffered still more severely from the excesses of a licentious mob, whose fury was not checked until many lives were lost, and a great amount of valuable property wantonly destroyed.

While the excitement respecting the reform bill was at the highest, a new pestilential disease was imported into the country. It was called the Asiatic cholera, because it first appeared in India, whence it gradually extended in a northwestern direction to Europe. Its ravages in Great Britain were not, by any means, so great as they had been in some parts of the continent, yet they were very destructive; they were met by a bold and generous offer of service from the physicians throughout the empire, and their conduct, while the pestilence prevailed, reflected the highest honor on the character of the medical profession in Great Britain.

A new reform bill was introduced into the house of commons immediately after the assembling of parliament; it passed there with lit-

tle opposition, and was sent up to the house of lords. As no change had been made in the constitution of that body, great anxiety was felt respecting the fate of the measure; but some peers, who had formerly opposed it, became anxious for a compromise, and the second reading was carried by a majority of nine. But these new allies of the ministry were resolved to make important alterations in the character of the measure, and when the bill went into committee the ministers found themselves in a minority. Earl Grey proposed to the king the creation of a sufficient number of peers to turn the scale, but his majesty refused to proceed to such extremities, and all the members of the cabinet resigned. The duke of Wellington received, through Lord Lyndhurst, his majesty's commands to form a new administration, and he undertook the task in the face of the greatest difficulties that it had ever been the fate of a British statesman to encounter. The nation was plunged into an extraordinary and dangerous state of excitement; the house of commons by a majority of eighty, virtually pledged itself to the support of the late ministry; addresses to the crown were sent from various popular bodies, which were by no means distinguished by moderation of tone or language; associations were formed to secure the success of the reform measure, and the country seemed brought to the verge of a revolution. Under such circumstances, the duke of Wellington saw that success was hopeless, he resigned the commission with which he had been intrusted, and advised his majesty to renew his communications with his former advisers. Earl Grey returned to office; a secret compact was made that no new peers should be created if the reform bill were suffered to pass; and the measure having been rapidly hurried through the remaining stages, received the royal assent on the 7th of June. The Irish and Scotch reform bills attracted comparatively but little notice; a law for enforcing the collection of tithes in Ireland was more vigorously opposed, and the ignorant peasants of Ireland were encouraged by their advocates to resist the payment of the impost.

While England was engrossed by the discussions on the reform bill, the new monarchy established in France was exposed to the most imminent dangers from the republicans on the one hand, and the partisans of the exiled family on the other. The republican party was the more violent and infinitely the more dangerous, because, in the capital at least, there was a much greater mass, to whom its opinions and incentives were likely to be agreeable. There was also a spirit of fanaticism in its members, which almost amounted to insanity; several attempts were made to assassinate the king, and his frequent escapes may be justly regarded as providential. When any of the apostles of sedition were brought to trial, they openly maintained their revolutionary doctrines; treated the king with scorn and derision; inveighed against the existing institutions of the country; entered into brutal and violent altercations with the public prosecutor; menaced the juries and insulted the judges. The very extravagance of this evil at length worked out a remedy: the bombast of the republicans was carried to such an excess of absurdity, that it became ridiculous; the republicans were disarmed when they found that the nonsense of their inflated speeches produced not intimidation, but shouts of laughter. Moderate men took courage;

the middle classes, to whose prosperity, peace abroad and tranquillity at home were essentially necessary, rallied round the monarchy, and the republicans were forced to remain silent, until some new excitement of the public mind would afford an opportunity for disseminating mischievous falsehoods.

An insurrection of the Carlists, as the partisans of the exiled family were called, in the south of France, injured the cause it was designed to serve. It was easily suppressed, but the government learned that the dutchess de Berri, whose son, the duke of Bourdeaux, was the legitimate heir to the crown, had made arrangements for landing in La Vendée, and heading the royalists in the province. Such preparations were made, that when the dutchess landed, she found her partisans disheartened, and their movements so closely watched, that it was scarcely possible for them to assemble in any force. Still she resolved to persevere, but the enterprise degenerated into a series of isolated and insignificant attacks, made by small bodies in a strong country, and the proceedings of the royalists, consequently, resembled those of brigands. The dutchess continued five months in the country, though actively pursued by the military and police ; she was at length betrayed by one of her associates, and made prisoner. The government of Louis Philippe treated the royal captive with great clemency ; she had not been long in prison when it was discovered that she was pregnant, having been privately married some time before her arrest. This unfortunate circumstance threw such an air of ridicule over the entire enterprise, that the royalists abandoned all further efforts against the government.

While the south of France was thus agitated by the royalists, Paris narrowly escaped the perils of a republican revolution. The funeral of General Lamarque afforded the opportunity for this outbreak, which lasted about five hours, and was attended with great loss of life. The entire body of the military and all the respectable citizens supported the cause of monarchy and good order, or else the consequence would have been a new revolution. The revolt had the effect of strengthening the ministerial influence in the chambers ; when they met, the opposition could not muster more than half the number of votes that supported the cabinet.

A treaty had been concluded by the representative of the five great powers, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, arranging the conditions on which Belgium should be separated from Holland ; to these terms the Belgians had acceded, but they were declined by the Dutch, who still retained the citadel of Antwerp. A French army entered Belgium, and proceeded to besiege this fortress ; it was taken after a sharp siege, and was immediately given up to a Belgian garrison, the French retiring within their own frontiers in order to avert the jealousies and suspicions of the European powers.

Turkey was exposed to the greatest danger, by the rebellion of its powerful vassal, the pacha of Egypt. Mohammed Ali was anxious to annex Syria to his territories, a dispute with the governor of Acre furnished him a pretext for invading the country ; the sultan commanded him to desist, and on his refusal treated him as a rebel ; Mohammed Ali was so indignant, that he extended his designs to the whole empire ; his forces routed the Turkish armies in every battle ; Syria and a great

part of Asia Minor were subdued with little difficulty, and Constantinople itself would have fallen but for the prompt interference of Russia. The sultan was thus saved from his rebellious vassal, but the independence of his empire was fearfully compromised.

The declining health in King Ferdinand directed attention to the law of succession in Spain: his only child was an infant daughter, and the Salic law, introduced by the Bourbon dynasty, excluded females from the throne. Ferdinand had repealed this law, but when he was supposed to be in his mortal agonies, the partisans of his brother, Don Carlos, who was looked upon as the surest support of the priesthood and of arbitrary power, induced him to disinherit his daughter, and recognise Don Carlos as heir to the crown. The very next day Ferdinand was restored to consciousness and understanding; the queen instantly brought before him the injustice he had been induced to commit, and the king was so indignant that he not only dismissed his ministers but threw himself into the arms of the liberal party. A general amnesty was published; those who had been exiled for supporting the constitution were invited home, and the Carlist party was so discouraged that it sank without resistance. Don Carlos himself, his wife, and his wife's sister, the princess of Beira, were compelled to quit Madrid; they sought and found shelter with Don Miguel, the usurper of Portugal.

On the 20th of September, 1833, Ferdinand died: his daughter was proclaimed at Madrid, but Carlist insurrections broke out in several parts of Spain, and have continued, with little interruption, almost ever since.

The excitement produced by the French revolution extended beyond the Atlantic. Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, was compelled by his subjects to abdicate the throne in favor of his infant son; an event the more singular, as he had some time before resigned the crown of Portugal in favor of his daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria. When Pedro returned to Europe, he resolved to assert his daughter's rights, which had been usurped by Don Miguel; soldiers were secretly enlisted in France and England, the refugees from Portugal and Brazil were formed into regiments, and, after some delay, a respectable armament was collected in the Azores, which had remained faithful to Donna Maria. Pedro resolved to invade the north of Portugal; he landed near Oporto, and made himself master of that city; but his further operations were cramped by the want of money, and of the munitions of war; Oporto was invested by Don Miguel, and for several months the contest between the two brothers was confined to the desultory operations of a siege. At length, in the summer of 1833, Don Pedro intrusted the command of his naval force to Admiral Napier; this gallant officer, after having landed a division of the army in the province, sought Don Miguel's fleet; though superior in number of ships, men, and weight of metal, he attacked it with such energy, that in a short time all the large vessels belonging to the usurper struck their colors. This brilliant success, followed by the capture of Lisbon, which yielded to Pedro's forces with little difficulty, and the recognition of the young queen by the principal powers of Europe, proved fatal to Miguel's cause. After some faint attempts at protracted resistance, he abandoned the struggle, and sought shelter in Italy.

Don Pedro's death, which soon followed his triumph, did little injury to the constitutional cause. His daughter retains the crown; she was married first to the prince at Leuchtenberg, who did not long survive his nuptials; her second husband is Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg, nearly allied to the queen of Great Britain.

Several disturbances in the papal states gave the French a pretext for seizing the citadel of Ancona, which gave just grounds of offence to Austria. But neither party wished to hazard the perils of war. The pope excommunicated all the liberals in his dominions, but was mortified to find that ecclesiastical censures, once so formidable, were now ridiculous. When the French evacuated Ancona, he was obliged to hire a body of Swiss troops for his personal protection, and the pay of these mercenaries almost ruined his treasury. To such a low estate is the papal power now reduced, which was once supreme in Europe, and exercised unlimited sway over the consciences and conduct of potentates and nations.

The attention of the first reformed parliament of Great Britain was chiefly engrossed by domestic affairs. In consequence of the continued agrarian disturbances in Ireland, a coercive statute was passed, containing many severe enactments; but at the same time, the Irish church was forced to make some sacrifices, a tax for ecclesiastical purposes was levied on its revenues, and the number of bishoprics was diminished.

But measures of still greater importance soon occupied the attention of parliament; the charter of the bank of England was renewed, on terms advantageous to the country; the East India company was deprived of its exclusive commercial privileges, and the trade to Hindústan and China thrown open; but the company was permitted to retain its territorial sovereignty. Finally, a plan was adopted for the abolition of West India slavery; the service of the negro was changed into apprenticeship for a limited period, and a compensation of twenty millions was voted to the planters. There was a very active though not a very large section of the house of commons dissatisfied with the limited extent of change produced by the reform bill; they demanded much greater innovations, and they succeeded in exciting feelings of discontent in the lower classes of the community. Popular discontent was not confined to England, it was general throughout Europe, but fortunately no serious efforts were made to disturb the public tranquillity.

The second session of the reformed parliament was rendered memorable by the passing of an act for altering the administration of the poor laws, which was very fiercely attacked outside the walls of parliament. It was, however, generally supported by the leading men of all parties; though its enactment greatly weakened the popularity of the ministers. The cabinet was itself divided respecting the policy to be pursued toward Ireland, and the dissensions respecting the regulation of the church, and the renewal of the Coercion bill, in that country, arose to such a height, that several of the ministry resigned. Lord Melbourne succeeded Earl Grey as premier, but it was generally believed that the king was by no means pleased with the change; and that on the Irish church question, he was far from being satisfied with the line of con-

duct pursued by his ministers. In the month of November, the death of Earl Spencer removed Lord Althorp, the chancellor of the exchequer, to the house of lords, and rendered some new modifications necessary. The king took advantage of the opportunity to dismiss the ministers, an express was sent to summon Sir Robert Peel from the continent, to assume the office of premier; and the duke of Wellington, who had administered the government in the interim, was appointed foreign secretary. Parliament was immediately dissolved, and the three kingdoms were agitated by a violent explosion of party spirit. A tithe-affray in Ireland, which ended with the loss of life, supplied the opponents of the ministry with a pretext for rousing the passions of the peasantry in that country, and of this they availed themselves so effectually, that the ministerial candidates were defeated in almost every election.

While the country was anxiously waiting the result of the struggle between the rival political parties, both houses of parliament were burned to the ground. This event at first excited some alarm, but it was soon allayed, for the cause of the fire was clearly proved to be accidental. When parliament met, Sir Robert Peel's cabinet was found to be in a minority in the house of commons. The premier, however, persevered in spite of hostile majorities, until he was defeated on the question of the Irish church, when he and his colleagues resigned. The Melbourne cabinet was restored, with the remarkable exception of Lord Brougham, whose place as chancellor was supplied by Lord Cottenham.

On the death of his brother, Don Carlos, after a vain attempt to assert his claims, was driven from Spain into Portugal, and so closely pursued that he was forced to take refuge on board an English ship-of-war. He came to London, where several abortive efforts were made to induce him to abandon his pretensions. But in the meantime his partisans in the Biscayan provinces had organized a formidable revolt, under a brave leader, Zumalacarregui, and a priest named Merino. Don Carlos secretly quitted London, passed through France in disguise, and appeared at the head of the insurgents. A quadrupartite treaty was concluded between Spain, Portugal, France, and England, for supporting the rights of the infant queen. It was agreed that France should guard the frontiers, to prevent the Carlists from receiving any aid by land; that England should watch the northern coasts; and that Portugal should aid the queen of Spain with a body of auxiliary troops if necessary.

Notwithstanding these arrangements, the Carlists were generally successful, and, at length, the court of Madrid applied to England for direct assistance. This was refused; but permission was given to raise an auxiliary legion of ten thousand men in the United Kingdom, the command of which was intrusted to Colonel Evans. But the effect produced by this force was far inferior to what had been expected; in the dilapidated state of the Spanish finances, it was found difficult to supply the legion with pay, provisions, and the munitions of war. A revolution at Madrid, which rendered the form of government very democratic, alienated the king of the French from the cause of the Spanish queen, and the war lingered, without any prospect of restored

tranquillity. At the end of its second year of service, the British legion was disbanded, and the Spanish government and its auxiliary force parted with feelings of mutual dissatisfaction.

After the departure of the legion, the Carlists, weary of the war, entered into negotiations with the queen regent, and returned to their allegiance. Carlos was again compelled to become an exile; but defeat could not break his spirit, and he continued to declare himself the rightful heir to the Spanish crown, though rejected by the people, and disavowed by the other sovereigns of Europe. Spain, however, was too disorganized for tranquillity to be easily restored; the queen regent endeavored, with more good will than ability, to reconcile contending factions; but her efforts proved unavailing, and, wearied of her situation, she resigned the regency in the summer of 1840.

The people of England generally felt little interest in the affairs of Spain; public attention was principally directed to the state of Ireland and Canada. The great Irish questions discussed in parliament were, the reform of the corporations on the same plan that had been adopted in the reform of the English and Scotch corporations; the regulation of tithes, and the establishment of a provision for the poor; but the different views taken by the majorities in the houses of commons and lords, prevented the conclusion of any final arrangements. In Canada, the descendants of the old French settlers, for the most part bigoted and ignorant, viewed with great dissatisfaction the superiority to which the English settlers had attained, in consequence of their knowledge, spirit, and enterprise; they attributed this pre-eminence to the partiality of the government, and, instigated by designing demagogues, clamored for constitutional changes, little short of a recognition of their independence. Their demands were refused, and the deluded Canadians were persuaded to hazard a revolt. After a brief struggle, the insurgents were reduced, and since the termination of the revolt, Upper and Lower Canada have been united into one province by an act of the British legislature.

Great embarrassment was produced in the commercial world by the failure of the American banks, which rendered many leading merchants and traders unable to fulfil their engagements. The crisis was sensibly felt in England, where it greatly checked the speculations in railroads, which perhaps were beginning to be carried to a perilous extent; the manufacturing districts suffered most severely, but the pressure gradually abated, and trade began to flow in its accustomed channels. Parties were so nicely balanced in the British parliament, that no measure of importance could be arranged; a further gloom was thrown over the discussions by the increasing illness of the king, and the certainty that its termination must be fatal. William IV. died on the morning of the 20th of June, 1837, sincerely regretted by every class of his subjects. During the seven years that he swayed the sceptre, England enjoyed tranquillity both at home and abroad; it was the only reign in British history in which there was no execution for high treason, and no foreign war.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF COLONIZATION.

In order to avoid frequent interruptions in the course of the narrative, it has been deemed advisable to reserve the account of the principal European colonies for the close of the volume, and thus to bring before the reader one of the most remarkable features in modern history. The discovery of a new world gave an extraordinary impulse to emigration, and produced one of the most striking series of events in the annals of mankind. The subject naturally divides itself into two great parts—the European colonies in the western, and those in the eastern world; and to the former we shall first direct our attention.

Section I.—*The Establishment of the Spaniards in Mexico.*

Immediately after the discovery of America, the first Spanish colony was established in Hispaniola, better known by the more modern name of St. Domingo. The queen Isabella had given strict orders to protect the Indians, and had issued a proclamation prohibiting the Spaniards from compelling them to work. The natives, who considered exemption from toil as supreme felicity, resisted every attempt to induce them to labor for hire, and so many Spaniards fell victims to the diseases peculiar to the climate, that hands were wanting to work the mines or till the soil. A system of compulsory labor was therefore adopted almost by necessity, and it was soon extended, until the Indians were reduced to hopeless slavery. The mines of Hispaniola, when first discovered, were exceedingly productive, and the riches acquired by the early adventurers attracted fresh crowds of greedy but enterprising settlers to its shores. The hardships to which the Indians were subjected, rapidly decreased their numbers, and in the same proportion diminished the profits of the adventurers. It was therefore resolved to seek new settlements; the island of Puerto Rico was annexed to the Spanish dominions, and its unfortunate inhabitants were subjected to the same cruel tyranny as the natives of Hispaniola. The island of Cuba was next conquered; though it is seven hundred miles in length, and was then densely populated, such was the unwarlike character of the inhabitants, that three hundred Spaniards were sufficient for its total subjugation.

More important conquests were opened by the intrepidity of Balboa, who had founded a small settlement on the isthmus of Darien.

At length the Spaniards began to prepare an expedition for establishing their empire on the American continent. An armament was organ-

ized in Cuba, and the command intrusted to Fernando Cortez, a commander possessing great skill and bravery, but avaricious and cruel even beyond the general average of his countrymen at that period. On the 2d of April, 1519, this bold adventurer entered the harbor of St. Juan de Uloa, on the coast of Yucatan. By means of a female captive, he was enabled to open communications with the natives; and they, instead of opposing the entrance of these fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they too soon had reason to repent. The Mexicans had attained a pretty high degree of civilization; they had a regular government, a system of law, and an established priesthood; they recorded events by a species of picture-writing, not so perfect as the Egyptian system of hieroglyphics, but which, nevertheless, admitted more minuteness and particularity than is generally imagined; their architectural structures were remarkable for their strength and beauty; they had advanced so far in science as to construct a pretty accurate calendar; and they possessed considerable skill, not only in the useful, but also in the ornamental arts of life. Cortez saw that such a nation must be treated differently from the rude savages in the islands; he therefore concealed his real intentions, and merely demanded to be introduced to the sovereign of the country, the emperor Montezuma.

The Indian caziques were unwilling to admit strangers possessed of such formidable weapons as muskets and artillery into the interior of their country; and Montezuma, who was of a weak and cowardly disposition, was still more reluctant to receive a visit from strangers, of whose prowess he had received an exaggerated description. He therefore resolved to temporize, and sent ambassadors to Cortez with rich presents, declining the proposed interview. But these magnificent gifts served only to increase the rapacity of the Spaniards. Cortez resolved to temporize; he changed his camp into a permanent settlement, which subsequently grew into the city of Vera Cruz, and patiently watched from his intrenchments the course of events. He had not long continued in this position, when he received an embassy from the Zempoallans, a tribe which had been long discontented with the government of Montezuma. He immediately entered into a close alliance with these disaffected subjects, and sent an embassy to Spain to procure a ratification of his powers, and set fire to his fleet, in order that his companions, deprived of all hope of escape, should look for safety only in victory. Having completed his preparations, he marched through an unknown country to subdue a mighty empire, with a force amounting to five hundred foot, fifteen horsemen, and six pieces of artillery. His first hostile encounter was with the Tlascalans, the most warlike race in Mexico; their country was a republic, under the protection of the empire, and they fought with the fury of men animated by a love of freedom. But nothing could resist the superiority which their firearms gave the Spaniards; the Tlascalans, after several defeats, yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Spain, and engaged to assist Cortez in all his future operations. Aided by six thousand of these new allies, he advanced to Cholula, a town of great importance, where, by Montezuma's order, he was received with open professions of friendship, while plans were secretly devised for his destruction. Cortez discovered the

plot, and punished it by the massacre of six thousand of the citizens; the rest were so terrified, that, at the command of the Spaniard, they returned to their usual occupations, and treated with the utmost respect the men whose hands were stained with the blood of their countrymen.

As a picture of national prosperity long since extinct, we shall here insert the description given by Cortez in his despatches to the Spanish monarch of the ancient city of Tlascala, which still exists, though much decayed: "This city is so extensive, so well worthy of admiration, that although I omit much that I could say of it, I feel assured that the little I shall say will be scarcely credited, since it is larger than Granada, and much stronger, and contains as many fine houses and a much larger population than that city did at the time of its capture; and it is much better supplied with the products of the earth, such as corn, and with fowls and game, fish from the rivers, various kinds of vegetables, and other excellent articles of food. There is in this city a market, in which every day thirty thousand people are engaged in buying and selling, besides many other merchants who are scattered about the city. The market contains a great variety of articles both of food and clothing, and all kinds of shoes for the feet; jewels of gold and silver, and precious stones, and ornaments of feathers, all as well arranged as they can possibly be found in any public squares or markets in the world. There is much earthenware of every style and a good quality, equal to the best of Spanish manufacture. Wood, coal, edible and medicinal plants, are sold in great quantities. There are houses where they wash and shave the heads as barbers, and also for baths. Finally, there is found among them a well-regulated police; the people are rational and well disposed, and altogether greatly superior to the most civilized African nation."

From Cholula, Cortez advanced toward the city of Mexico, and had almost reached its gates before the feeble Montezuma had determined whether he should receive him as a friend or as an enemy. After some hesitation, Montezuma went forth to meet Cortez, with all the magnificence of barbarous parade, and granted the Spaniards a lodging in the capital.

But notwithstanding his apparent triumph, the situation of Cortez was one of extraordinary danger and perplexity. He was in a city surrounded by a lake, the bridges and causeways of which might easily be broken; and his little band, thus cut off from all communication with its allies, must then have fallen victims to superior numbers. To avert this danger, he adopted the bold resolution of seizing Montezuma as a hostage for his safety, and he actually brought him a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. Under pretence of gratifying the monarch's curiosity to see the structure of European vessels, the Spaniards built two brigantines, and launched them on the lake, thus securing to themselves the means of retreat in case of any reverse of fortune.

The ostensible pretext for this act of violence was that a cazique, named Qualpopoca, had slain several Spaniards in the city of Nautecal or Almeira. The account which Cortez gives of the transaction is too singular to be omitted, especially as his despatches are utterly unknown in this country. It will be seen that he never gives Montezuma, or as he writes his name, Muteczuma the title of king or emperor, but speaks

of him as if his right to royalty had been sacrificed from the moment that the Spaniards had landed in his country.

The offending cazique, Qualpopoca, was brought to the capital, as our readers are probably aware, and, with his followers, was burnt alive. Cortez tells this part of the story with much *naïveté:* "So they were publicly burnt in a square of the city, without creating any disturbance; and on the day of their execution, as they confessed that Muteczuma had directed them to kill the Spaniards, I caused him to be put in irons, which threw him into great consternation." All this was manifestly done merely from the motives above intimated, namely, "to subserve the interests of your majesty and our own security;" yet Cortez had some apprehension lest he might offend royal sympathies, and so, in respect of his demeanor toward Montezuma, he writes to the emperor:—

"Such was the kindness of my treatment toward him, and his own contentment with his situation, that when at different times I tempted him with the offer of his liberty, begging that he would return to his palace, he as often replied that he was well pleased with his present quarters, and did not wish to leave them, as he wanted nothing that he was accustomed to enjoy in his own palace; and that in case he went away, there would be reason to fear the importunities of the local governors, his vassals, might lead him to act against his own wishes, and in opposition to your majesty, while he desired in every possible manner to promote your majesty's service; that so far he had informed them what he desired to have done, and was well content to remain where he was; and should they wish to suggest anything to him, he could answer that he was not at liberty, and thus excuse himself from attending to them."

Cortez thus describes the original city of Mexico, which he soon afterward totally destroyed: "This great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets (I speak of the principal ones) are very wide and straight; some of them, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. * * * This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as, for instance, articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. * * * Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell everything by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell anything by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience-house, where ten or twelve persons, who are ma-

gistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people, observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true. This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs: in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use beside the houses containing the idols there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples, and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and woodwork carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial-places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions."

But danger impended over Cortez from an unexpected quarter. The governor of Cuba, anxious to share in the plunder of Mexico, of whose wealth, great as it really was, he had received very exaggerated statements, sent a new armament, under the command of Narvaez, to deprive the conqueror of the fruits of his victory. Cortez, leaving a small garrison in Mexico, marched against Narvaez, and by a series of prudent operations, not only overcame him, but induced his followers to enlist under his own banners. This reinforcement was particularly valuable at a time when the Mexicans, weary of Spanish cruelty and tyranny, had resolved to make the most desperate efforts for expelling the invaders. Scarcely had Cortez returned to Mexico, when his quarters were attacked with desperate fury; and though thousands of the assailants were slain, fresh thousands eagerly hurried forward to take their place. At length Cortez brought out Montezuma in his royal robes on the ramparts, trusting that his influence over his subjects would induce them to suspend hostilities. But the unfortunate emperor was mortally wounded by a missile flung by one of his own subjects; and Cortez, having done

everything which prudence and valor could dictate, was forced to abandon the capital. The Spaniards suffered severely in this calamitous retreat; they lost their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, together with the greater part of the treasure for which they had encountered so many perils. A splendid victory at Otumba, over the Mexicans, who attempted to intercept them, restored the confidence of the Spaniards, and they reached the friendly territories of the Tlascalans in safety. Having collected some reinforcements, and by judicious arts revived the courage of his men, Cortez once more advanced toward Mexico, and, halting on the borders of the lake, he began to build some brigantines, in order to attack the city by water. While thus engaged, he succeeded in detaching many of the neighboring cities from their allegiance to the new emperor, Guatimozin; and having obtained some fresh troops from Hispaniola, he prepared for a vigorous siege by launching his brigantines on the lake. Guatimozin made a gallant resistance, and repulsed the Spaniards in an attempt to take the city by storm; but being unable to resist the slower operations of European tactics, he attempted to escape over the lake, when his canoe was intercepted by a brigantine, and the unfortunate emperor remained a prisoner. As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased, and all the provinces of the empire imitated the example of the capital. Guatimozin was cruelly tortured to extort a confession of concealed treasure, and his unfortunate subjects became the slaves of their rapacious conquerors. Cortez himself was treated with gross ingratitude by his sovereign, whose dominions he had enlarged by the conquest of an empire, and he died in comparative obscurity.

The first thought of the conquerors was to propagate the Christian faith in their new dominions, not only from motives of bigotry, but in obedience to the soundest dictates of prudence. Missionaries were invited from Europe to aid in the great work of civilization; between the years 1522 and 1545, numbers of monastics came from various parts of the world to aid in the conversion of Mexico. Many practices unknown to the Roman ritual were admitted and consecrated.

It must not be omitted that the missionaries honorably exerted themselves to protect the Mexicans from the sanguinary cruelty of the Spaniards; Sahagun and Las Casas were particularly famous for their exertions in behalf of the vanquished; they obtained bulls from the pope, and edicts from the Spanish government, fully recognising the claims of the Indians to the rights of humanity, and though they failed to obtain a full measure of justice for the native Mexicans, they saved them from the wretched fate which swept away the native population in almost every other colony of Spain. In consequence of the protection thus accorded them, both by the secular and regular clergy, the attachment of the native Mexicans to the Romish religion became more ardent and passionate than that of the Spaniards themselves, and it still continues to be felt, though the country has been restored to independence.

The edicts of the Spanish monarchs in favor of the Indians were disregarded; the population began to decrease rapidly, and a new system was adopted by which oppression was reduced to an organized form, and ameliorated by being placed under the control of the govern-

ment. It was determined that the native Americans should be regarded as serfs attached to the soil, and distributed into *encomiendas*, a kind of fiefs or estates established in favor of the Spanish settlers, who took the name of *Conquistadores*. Slavery, which had previously been arbitrary, was thus invested with legal forms; the Indian tribes divided into sections, some of which contained more than a hundred families, were assigned either to the soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the war of invasion, or to the civilians sent from Madrid to administer the government of the provinces. It was fortunate for the Mexicans that their masters did not erect fortified castles, like the feudal barons of the middle ages; instead of these they established *haciendas*, or large farms, which they had the wisdom to govern according to the old forms of the Mexican proprietary. There was no change or interruption in the cultivation of plants indigenous to the soil; the serf cultivated the soil according to hereditary routine, and so identified himself with his master, that he frequently took his name. There are many Indian families of the present day bearing Spanish names, whose blood has never been mingled with that of Europeans. Another fortunate circumstance contributed to the preservation of the native Mexicans; the Spanish settlers in that country did not enter into any of those mining speculations which led their brethren in Hispaniola and other islands of the Antilles to sacrifice the natives by myriads to their grasping cupidity. The *Conquistadores* had neither the capital nor the intelligence necessary for such enterprises; they contented themselves, in imitation of the natives, with washing the earth, silt, and sands, brought down from the mountains by rivers and winter torrents, to extract the grains of gold which they contained. The mines of Mexico, which have spread so much of the precious metals over the surface of the globe, were not discovered until after the conquest, and brought very trifling profits to those who first attempted their exploration. The loss of these speculators was a positive gain to humanity.

Up to the eighteenth century the condition of the Mexican peasants was very little different from that of the serfs in Poland or Russia. About that period their condition began to be sensibly ameliorated. Many families of *Conquistadores* became extinct, and the *encomiendas* were not again distributed by the government. The viceroys and the provincial councils, called *Audiencias*, paid particular attention to the interests of those Indians who were liberated by the breaking up of the *encomiendas;* they abolished every vestige of compulsory labor in the mines, requiring that this employment should be voluntary, and fairly remunerated. Several abuses, however, prevailed in the colonial administration, from the monopolies established by the agents of the Spanish governments; they conferred upon themselves the exclusive privilege of selling those articles most likely to be used by an agricultural population, and fixed whatever price they pleased upon these commodities. Having thus, by a system of force and fraud, got the Indians deeply into their debt, they established a law by which insolvent debtors became the absolute slaves of their creditors. Many edicts were issued to check these abuses, but they were not effectually remedied until after the revolution which gave independence to Mexico.

We shall now briefly state the circumstances which led to the as-

sertion of Mexican independence. On the 8th of July, 1808, a corvette from Cadiz brought intelligence of the dethronement of the Spanish Bourbons, by Napoleon, and the transfer of the monarchy to Joseph Bonaparte. The viceroy at first published the news without a word of comment, but soon recovering from his first surprise, he issued a proclamation declaring his intention to preserve his fidelity to King Ferdinand, and exhorting the Mexican people to maintain the rights of their legitimate sovereign. It was the first time that "the people" had been named in any act of state, emanating from the colonial government, and this was among the chief causes of the extraordinary enthusiasm with which the viceroy's appeal was received. It was proposed to establish a provisional government on the model of the juntas, which had been formed by the patriots in Spain. This proposition, favorably received by the viceroy, was rejected by his council as inconsistent with the ascendency which had hitherto been enjoyed by all pure Spaniards; three months were spent in controversy, until at length the council or *audiencia* took the bold measure of arresting the viceroy, and throwing him into the prisons of the inquisition on a charge of heresy. As, however, there was some danger that the populace might rise in his favor, the *audiencia*, having first invested itself with the functions of regency, sent the governor a prisoner to Cadiz, where he was long confined in a dungeon.

The Creoles and Indians were indignant at this usurpation, and they were still more enraged by the undisguised contempt with which their claims were treated by the Spanish oligarchy. Bataller, one of the leading members of the council, was accustomed to say that "no native American should participate in the government, so long as there was a mule-driver in La Mancha, or a cobbler in Castille to represent Spanish ascendency." The juntas of Spain, though engaged in a desperate struggle for their own freedom, were obstinate in their resolution to keep the colonies in dependance, and they sent out Venegas as viceroy, with positive orders to maintain the ascendency of the Spaniards, and keep the Creoles and Indians in their own condition of degradation.

A priest of Indian descent, Hidalgo, the curate of Dolores, raised the standard of revolt; he declared to his congregation that the Europeans had formed a plot to deliver up the country to the French Jacobins; he exhorted them to take up arms to defend their liberties and their religion, and to march boldly to battle in the name of King Ferdinand and the blessed Virgin. On the 18th of September, 1810, he made himself master of San Felipe, and San Miguel el-Grande; he confiscated the property of all the Europeans, declaring that the soil of Mexico belonged of right to the Mexicans themselves. Several other cities were conquered, and in all of them the Indians and Creoles sacrificed every European without mercy, their commander seeming to wink at their excesses, which he trusted would prevent terms of peace from being offered or accepted.

Venegas, the viceroy, made the most vigorous efforts to check the progress of this rebellion; he conciliated the Creoles by investing one of their body with high military rank; he caused Hidalgo to be excommunicated by the ecclesiastical authorities, and he paraded an image

of the Virgin, to which superstition attached miraculous powers, through the streets of Mexico. This last expedient caused Hidalgo to stop short in the midst of his victorious career, and at a time when he was joined by several regiments of provincial militia, and by the curate Morelos, whose abilities were equivalent to a host. Hidalgo retired from before the walls of Mexico, which could not have resisted a vigorous assault. He was overtaken and defeated by an army of Spaniards and Creoles; several of the towns which had submitted to him were recaptured, and the victors more than retaliated the sanguinary excesses of the insurgents. The royal army continued to pursue Hidalgo and his half-armed associates; a second victory completed their ruin; Hidalgo and two of his principal officers endeavoring to escape to the United States were betrayed to the Spaniards, March 21, 1811, and after a long confinement, in which they were vainly tortured to obtain a confession of the extent of the conspiracy, they were publicly executed.

The dispersed army of Hidalgo divided itself into separate bands, and maintained a ruinous guerilla warfare against their oppressors. Rayon and Morelos resolved to unite them once more in a grand scheme of patriotic warfare. Rayon caused a national junta to be established in the district where the Spaniards had least power; and in its name an address was sent to the viceroy requiring him to convoke a national cortes, similar to that which had been assembled in Spain, and insisting on the equality of the American and the European Spaniards in all political rights. The tone of this manifesto was equally firm and respectful, but it gave such offence to the viceroy Venegas, that he ordered it to be burned by the common hangman in the market-place of Mexico.

Morelos, who had succeeded to the influence of Hidalgo, prudently initiated his troops to habits of discipline in skirmishes and petty enterprises before venturing on any decisive engagement with the regular armies of Spain. His defence of Cuantha, where he was besieged by the royalists for several weeks, gave lustre to his very defeat. Yielding to famine, he evacuated the town, and led his army to Izucar, with the loss of only seventeen men. The barbarous cruelties perpetrated by the Spanish General Calleja in the town after the garrison had withdrawn, rendered the royalist cause so odious, that many who had hitherto supported the viceroy passed over to the ranks of the insurgents. It would be tedious to enumerate the battles, skirmishes, and sieges which filled the next two years; we must limit ourselves to saying that Morelos was continuously successful until the close of the year 1813, when he was decisively defeated by Iturbide. Thenceforward his career was one continued series of misfortunes, until, on the 5th of November, 1815, he was surprised by an overwhelming force, and made prisoner after a desperate resistance. He was carried in chains to Mexico, degraded from his clerical rank, and executed. The Mexican junta, or congress, was soon after dissolved, and the revolt became once more a confused series of partial and desultory insurrections which the Spaniards hoped to quell in detail. In 1817 the younger Mina attempted to rekindle the flames of insurrection in Mexico; but, as he refused to assert the absolute independence of the country, he did not

receive such enthusiastic support as Hidalgo or Morelos. After a brilliant career, in which he displayed the most extraordinary bravery and resources of genius, he was overthrown, made prisoner, and shot as a traitor.

The insurrection in Mexico was virtually at an end, when news arrived that the army which had been assembled in Spain to restore the absolute authority of the sovereign in America, had revolted at Cadiz, proclaimed the constitution, and demanded the convocation of the cortes. The viceroy, Apodaca, was a devoted partisan of absolute power; he formed a plan for inviting Ferdinand to Mexico, and there restoring him to his despotic authority, and he employed as his chief agent Don Augustin Iturbide, who had shown himself a bitter enemy of Mexican liberty during the entire course of the preceding insurrection. Iturbide drew up a very different plan from that which Apodaca had contemplated; it asserted the civic equality of all the inhabitants of Mexico, established a constitution, proclaimed the country independent, invited Ferdinand to become its sovereign with the title of emperor, and in case of his refusal declared that the crown should be proffered to some other prince of the blood. The old Spaniards of Mexico, in a storm of mingled rage and fear, deposed Apodaca, and chose Francisco Novello viceroy in his place. This false step rendered Iturbide irresistible; the Creoles and Indians flocked to his standard; several Spanish officers, disliking the new viceroy, joined him with their regiments; and on the 27th of November, 1821, the royalist army surrendered the capital, and consented to evacuate Mexico. The treaty which the viceroy had concluded with the insurgents was annulled by the cortes of Madrid, and the effect of this imprudence was the utter ruin of the party which clung to the hope of seeing a Bourbon prince placed at the head of the new state.

The congress which assembled in Mexico seemed disposed to form a federative republic; but the partisans of Iturbide suddenly proclaimed their favorite emperor, and the deputies were constrained to ratify their choice. He did not retain the sovereignty for an entire year; he was dethroned, as he had been elevated, by the army; the congress pronounced upon him sentence of perpetual exile, but with laudable generosity granted a considerable pension for his support. Iturbide, after the lapse of rather more than a year, returned to Mexico, July 16th, 1824, in the hopes of reviving his party. He fell into the hands of the republicans, and was immediately put to death. A republic was then established; soon after the fortress of St. Juan d'Ulloa, the last possession of the government, was surrendered by capitulation, and the standard of Castile, after an ascendency of more than three hundred years, disappeared for ever from the coasts of Mexico.

The progress of the Mexican republic since the establishment of its independence has not been prosperous. Conspiracies, insurrections, and civil wars, have kept every part of the territory in misery and confusion. Texas, one of the richest provinces, has separated from the Mexican union, and established its independence. All European Spaniards have been compelled to quit the territories of the republic, which thus drove away some of the most wealthy, intelligent, and industrious

of its citizens. The Mexican finances have fallen into confusion, and the army seems to be the sole ruling power in the state.

Section II.—*The Establishment of the Spaniards in Peru.*

The discovery of a passage round the South American continent into the Pacific ocean, by Magellan, and the establishment of a colony at Panama, soon after Balboa had ascertained the nature of the isthmus, incited the Spanish adventurers to undertake new conquests. Pizarro, one of the most enterprising men that ever visited the New World, having with great difficulty prepared a small armament, landed in Peru (A. D. 1531), and though at first disappointed by the barren appearance of the coast, he found so much treasure at Coague as to convince him that the accounts which Balboa had received of the riches of the country were not exaggerated. When the Spaniards first appeared in Peru, the nation was divided by a civil war between the sons of the late inca, or sovereign; Huascar, the elder, was dethroned by his brother Atahualpa, and detained in captivity, while his partisans were secretly maturing plans for his restoration. Pizarro advanced into the country with the professed design of acting as mediator, but with the perfidious purpose of seizing Atahualpa, as Cortes had the unfortunate Montezuma. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberation, and with as little compunction, as if he had been engaged in the most honorable transaction. When the Spaniards approached the capital, the inca was easily persuaded to consent to an interview; and he visited the invaders with a barbarous magnificence, and ostentatious display of wealth, which inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, almost beyond the power of restraint. When Atahualpa reached the Spanish camp, he was addressed by Valverde, the chaplain to the expedition, in a long, and what must to the inca have appeared an incomprehensible discourse. The priest, after a brief notice of the mysteries of creation and redemption, proceeded to explain the doctrine of the pope's supremacy. He then dwelt upon the grant which Pope Alexander had made to the crown of Spain, and by virtue of it called upon Atahualpa at once to embrace Christianity, and acknowledge himself a vassal of the Spanish monarch. The inca, completely puzzled, demanded where Valverde had learned such wonderful things. "In this book," replied the priest, presenting the monarch with his breviary. The inca took the book, turned over the leaves, and then put it to his ear. "This tells me nothing!" he exclaimed, flinging the breviary on the ground. "Blasphemy! blasphemy!" exclaimed Valverde; "to arms, to arms, my Christian brethren! avenge the profanation of God's word by the polluted hands of infidels."

This solemn farce appears to have been preconcerted. Ere Valverde had concluded, the trumpets sounded a charge; a dreadful fire of artillery and musketry was opened on the defenceless Peruvians; and, in the midst of their surprise and consternation, they were charged by the cavalry, whose appearance to men who had never before beheld a horse, seemed something supernatural. Atahualpa was taken prisoner and conveyed to the Spanish camp, while the invaders satiated themselves with the rich spoils of the field. The unfortunate inca at-

tempted to procure his liberation by the payment of an enormous ransom, but Pizarro, after receiving the gold, resolved to deprive the credulous monarch of life. He was brought to trial under the most iniquitous pretences, and sentenced to be burned alive; but on his consenting to receive baptism from Valverde, his sentence was so far mitigated that he was first strangled at the stake. The Spaniards quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoils; the Peruvians took advantage of their discord to raise formidable insurrections, and the new kingdom seemed likely to be lost almost as soon as it was gained. Pizarro himself was murdered by Almagro, the son of one of his old companions, whom he had put to death for treason, and but for the arrival of Vara de Castro, who had been sent as governor from Spain, the confusion produced by this crime would probably have been without a remedy. De Castro conquered Almagro, and by his judicious measures restored tranquillity to the distracted province. Fresh disturbances were excited by the ambition of Gonzalo Pizarro, and it was not until more than a quarter of a century after its conquest, that the royal authority was firmly established in Peru.

The government established by the Spaniards in Peru was far more iniquitous and oppressive than that of Mexico, because the Peruvian mines were, from the first moment of the conquest, almost the only objects which engaged the attention of the Spanish and the provincial governments. A horrible system of conscription was devised for working these mines; all the Indians between the ages of eighteen and fifty were enrolled in seven lists, the individuals on each list being obliged to work for six months in the mines, so that this forced labor came on the unfortunate Indians at intervals of three years and a half; four out of every five were supposed to perish annually in these deadly labors, and to add to the misery of the natives, they were not allowed to purchase the necessaries of life except from privileged dealers, who robbed them of their earnings without remorse or scruple. Toward the close of the last century two serious insurrections of the native Peruvians filled the Spaniards with terror; they were not suppressed until the rebellion had taxed the resources and power of the provincial government to the utmost, and the sanguinary massacres of all who were suspected of having joined in the revolt, left the country in a state of helplessness and exhaustion from which it had not recovered at the commencement of the revolution.

As it was impossible to gratify the rapacious cupidity of all the Spaniards who sought to share in the produce of the Peruvian mines, it became a principle of colonial policy to keep alive the spirit of adventure, by sending divisions to wrest new tracts of land from the natives, without organizing any new system of conquest. It was thus that Chili became finally annexed to the Spanish dominions; but the efforts made for its conquest were desultory and separated by long intervals, so that over a great part of the country the sovereignty of Spain was merely nominal. The colonists and natives, however, seem never to have wished for independence, until the desire of nationality was pressed upon them by the irresistible force of circumstances, and in fact their first revolutionary movements were made in the name of loyalty and obedience.

When Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king of Spain by Napoleon, all the Spanish colonies of South America resolved to remain faithful to the ancient dynasty. It was suspected that the European Spaniards were disposed to make terms with the French emperor, and therefore native juntas were elected to maintain the rights of Ferdinand. In September, 1810, the Chilians formed a junta in Santiago; the Spanish general of the district attempted to disperse this body; a smart skirmish ensued, and the Chilians, having obtained the victory, became desirous to establish a perpetual system of self-government. The struggle for independence in Chili and Peru resembled the Mexican war in its general outlines: at first the patriots, after gaining advantages of which they did not know how to make use, were reduced to temporary submission. But the Spanish yoke, always heavy, proved intolerable to men who had obtained a brief experience of freedom; new insurrections were raised in every quarter, the superior discipline which had previously given victory to the royalists was acquired by the revolters; several European officers joined them, the Spanish government feebly supported its defenders, and the viceroys showed themselves destitute of talent either as generals or statesmen. The independence of the Spanish colonies in South America was nearly completed in the year 1823, but the last Spanish garrison was not surrendered until the 26th of February, 1826, when Rodil, the only royalist leader who had exhibited courage, fidelity, and talent, surrendered the citadel of Callao to the patriots.

Before the revolution the provinces of upper Peru formed part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; but as the manners, habits, and even the language of the Peruvians, differed materially from those of the people on the Rio de la Plata, the latter, after forming themselves into the Argentine republic, left their neighbors free to pursue any course they pleased. A general assembly of the Peruvian provinces solemnly proclaimed that upper Peru should henceforth form an independent nation, that it should be named Bolivia in honor of Bolivar, the chief agent in its liberation, and that the rights of person and property should form the basis of its republican constitution. A million of dollars was voted to Bolivar as a tribute of national gratitude, but that chivalrous general refused to receive the money, and requested that it should be expended in purchasing the freedom of the few negroes who still remained slaves in Bolivia.

In lower Peru the Bolivian constitution was far from being so popular as it had been in the upper provinces. It was indeed at first accepted, and Bolivar chosen president, but when he went to suppress an insurrection in Columbia, advantage was taken of his absence to set aside the system he had established. Since that period Columbia, Bolivia, and Peru, have suffered severely from intestine wars and civil commotions, which have greatly deteriorated the vast natural resources of these states. Bolivia has indeed regained tranquillity, and its rulers appear desirous to extend its commerce and encourage those branches of industry most likely to benefit the community. It is the only one of the new republics in which the finances are in a wholesome condition; its revenues are not only sufficient for the necessary expenses of the state, but there is a considerable surplus, which is wisely ex-

pended on the maintenance and construction of roads, and on facilitating the means of communication internally among the inhabitants themselves and externally with strangers.

Previous to the expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro, Florida had been discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon. Its verdant forests and magnificent flowering aloes seemed so inviting, that a colony was formed with little difficulty. But the Indians of Florida were the most warlike of the native races in America, and they severely harassed the settlers. Soto, a companion of Pizarro, led an expedition into the interior, where he discovered the Mississippi. He died on the banks of the river, and his followers, anxious to conceal his death from the Indians, sank his body in the stream. A plan was formed by the leaders of the French Huguenots for emigrating to Florida, and an exploring party was sent out, but the jealousy of Spain was roused; the adventurers were closely pursued, made prisoners, and put to death. Florida remained subject to Spain until the year 1818, when, in consequence of the depredations of the Indians, which the governors pleaded their inability to restrain, the Americans, under General Jackson, entered the province and annexed it to the United States. The Spanish government remonstrated, but had not the means of obtaining redress; and it finally acceded to the cession (A. D. 1821).

Section III.—*Portuguese Colonies in South America.*

Brazil was accidentally discovered by a Portuguese admiral bound to the East Indies, in the year 1501, but he did not ascertain whether it was an island or part of the continent, a subject which long remained a matter of doubt. No effort was made to colonize the country for nearly half a century; this apparent neglect arose from the reluctance of the Portuguese to interfere with the pretensions of the court of Spain, for the papal grant of newly-discovered countries to the Spanish monarch was held by the court of Madrid to include the whole American continent. At length the king of Portugal, envious of the wealth acquired by the Spaniards, sent out a small body of colonists, who founded St. Salvador (A. D. 1549). These settlers reported that the native Brazilians were far lower in the scale of civilization than the Mexicans or Peruvians; they were divided into a number of petty tribes or states, constantly at war with each other, and the invaders, though few in number, were easily able to subdue the Indian tribes in detail, by fomenting their animosities and cautiously holding the balance between their contending interests. This course of policy was rendered necessary by the personal bravery of the native Brazilians; though ignorant of discipline and unable to act in masses, they displayed great individual courage in battle; they were skilful in the use of bows, darts, wooden clubs, and shields, and frequently were victorious in petty skirmishes. But they were unable to resist European tactics and European policy, and hence they were finally reduced under the yoke, with which they soon appeared to be contented. The facility with which the Portuguese made themselves masters of this rich territory excited the cupidity of other powers, and they were successively attacked by the Spaniards, the French, and the Dutch. The latter

were the most dangerous enemies, they had just effected their deliverance from the iron despotism of Spain, under which the Portuguese themselves groaned at the period, and hence they had such a party in the country that their conquest would have been certain had they not alienated their supporters by attempting to establish odious monopolies. From the time of the expulsion of the Dutch, the Portuguese made it their object to keep everything connected with Brazil a profound secret, and little was known of the country until it asserted its independence.

For more than three centuries one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the globe was thus, by the policy of Portugal, restricted from all intercourse and commerce with the other nations of Europe, and even the residence or admission of foreigners was equally prohibited. The vessels of the allies of the mother-country were occasionally permitted to anchor in its ports, but neither passengers nor crew were allowed to land excepting under the superintendence of a guard of soldiers.

Previously to the year 1808, though the viceroy resident in Rio de Janeiro was nominally the highest functionary of the government, yet this personage was, in reality, invested with but little political power except in the province of Rio, where alone he acted as captain-general, the virtual administration of the colony being intrusted chiefly to similar officers, one of whom was appointed to each province. They were nominated for three years only, and received their instructions from the court of Lisbon, to which they were compelled to render an account of their proceedings. They were not only prohibited from marrying within the sphere of their jurisdiction, but also from the transaction of any commercial pursuits, as well as from accepting any present or emolument, in addition to the stipend allotted them by the government. For the management and application of the public finances bodies were appointed denominated "Juntas de Fazenda," Juntas of Finance; of which the captains-general of the respective provinces were the presidents.

The highest functions of the judicial power were confided to a court of appeal composed of disembargadores, or chief judges, to whom succeeded the onvidores, or itinerant judges, who were under the obligation of making an annual circuit to the districts committed to their charge, for the purpose of passing judgment in criminal cases. For the adjudication of certain cases, judges termed "Juizes de Fora," who were selected from among such as had taken their degree in Coimbra as bachelors of law, were appointed, who, as well as the officers of the higher tribunals, were all nominated by the court of Portugal. In the less populous and inferior districts, "Juizes ordinarios," with the same attributes as the "Juizes de fora," were also occasionally selected by the votes of individuals denominated "Bous de pivo," the qualification for which title was to have held office in the municipalities. From the sentence of these "Juizes" appeal could be made to the court of disembargadores in Rio, and from this again, ultimately, to the "Disembargo do Baco" in Lisbon. Unless, however, the appellant were possessed either of great interest at court, or, in default of it, could bribe higher than his antagonist, these final appeals were seldom of any real utility.

The statutes on which the decisions of the judicial power were founded, was the Portuguese code framed during the reigns of the two Philips, and entitled "Ordnacoens do Reino," to which were appended all the "Cartas de Lei" and decrees issued since the accession of the house of Braganza, forming altogether about nine volumes.

Though in ordinary cases the decision of both civil and criminal causes was left exclusively to the judicial authorities, the mandate of the captains general was at any time sufficient either to suspend or set aside the ordinary operation of the law.

The municipalities were close corporations, formed on the model of those of Portugal; where those bodies had formerly been intrusted with the nomination of deputies to the supreme cortes: though this as well as many other important privileges, had latterly fallen into desuetude.

On occasions of public ceremony the national banner was still carried in their processions, and they were still recognised, in appearance at least, as the representatives of the people. In Brazil also their power was once considerable, and instances have occurred of the deposition of the captains general by the municipalities, and of this exercise of authority having been sanctioned by the entire approbation of the government of Lisbon, though toward the end of the last century their powers had been restricted almost exclusively to the improvement of roads, the construction of bridges, the control of the markets, and other objects of minor importance. Their executive officers, who were entitled "Juizes Almotaceis" were nominated by the municipalities themselves every three months, and were charged with the power of exacting fines and enforcing imprisonment according to certain established regulations.

The regular troops were recruited according to the direction, and placed entirely at the disposition of the captains-general, but the officers were nominated by the court of Lisbon. The militia, or troops of the second line, were enlisted by the officers of each respective corps, and the officers themselves were also appointed in Lisbon, at the proposition of the captains-general. Though serving gratuitously, this latter force was often employed in very laborious and odious services, and its members as well as the regular troops were amenable to martial law in all matters relative to their military duty.

In addition to the preceding were the Ordenanças, or troops of the third line, who by the regulations of their institution ought to have been composed exclusively of such individuals as were incapacitated by physical defects or otherwise from serving in the militia. Their duty was to defend the country in cases of emergency, but this service was merely nominal, and, by a perversion of the real objects of the institution, it became customary for all possessed of sufficient patronage to obtain a post in the Ordenanças for the express object of avoiding enrolment in the militia. The fidalgos, or Portuguese noblemen of the first rank, were exempt from personal service altogether.

The orders of knighthood were those of Santo Iago, San Bento de Aviz, and the order of Christ, of all of which the sovereigns of Portugal were the grand masters and perpetual administrators. Among the privileges appertaining to the office of grand master of the order of Christ, a pontifical bull had conferred that of an entire ecclesiastical

jurisdiction over ultra-marine conquests, and by virtue of this title, the crown of Portugal shortly after the discovery of Brazil appropriated to its own use all the tithes levied in the country; with however a proviso, binding the monarch to provide for the celebration of public worship, and to pay a stipulated sum for the adequate maintenance of the various clergy. By the same authority the presentation of ecclesiastial benefices was also constituted one of the exclusive privileges of royalty, though, at the proposition of the bishops, with an injunction that the natives of the respective captaincies, and more especially the descendants of the ancient nobility who were among the first emigrants to Brazil, should on all occasions be preferred, the right of presentation still being restricted to the sovereign.

The stipulations made for the maintenance of the established religion, and the due support of the clergy, were nevertheless but very imperfectly complied with.

Many priests came to be dependant on the mere fees of their office for subsistence, and the stipend paid to the highest dignitaries of the church was but trifling when compared with what would have accrued to them, had they been allowed to retain possession of their tithes. The revenue of the archbishop of Bahia, the head functionary of the Brazilian church, never amounted to more than ten contos of rees per annum, at par, 2,812*l.* 10*s.* sterling; nor was the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, embracing within its limits, the provinces of Rio Grande, Espirito Santo, and Santa Catherine, ever worth to its incumbent more than six contos of rees, or, 1,687*l.* 10*s.* per annum. These peculiarities in the condition of the clergy are perhaps worthy of more particular note than the circumstances of any other class, since they will be found to have exercised a most important influence during the period of the subsequent revolution.

The jealousy of the Portuguese government constantly led them to dread the growth of every power or corporation which might hereafter militate against the exercise of its authority; and on this account not only were the civil and ecclesiastical functionaries brought more immediately under control than in the mother-country, but even the increase of capitalists and large proprietors was systematically prevented. The entailment of landed property could be effected only by virtue of an express permission from the sovereign; and all manufactures, excepting the preparation of sugar, were most rigidly prohibited.

During the year 1769 a conspiracy was formed by a few influential individuals in Villa Rica, not so much, however, with the design of proclaiming an independent republic, as from a desire to ascertain what co-operation they were likely to meet with in case that step should subsequently be adopted. From a diminution in the product of the coal-mines in this district, several of the individuals working them were in considerable arrear for taxes. These arrears the government in Lisbon had ordered to be paid up, with but little regard to the practicability of the demand. Much irritation had in consequence been excited, and a military officer of the name of Joaquim Jozé da Silva Xavier, commonly termed "Tiradentes," or the Tooth-drawer, was sent off for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the inhabitants of Rio Janeiro. Here the imprudence of Tiradentes led to an immediate dis-

covery of the association, the members of which were forthwith arrested. Altogether, however, their numbers did not amount to forty, yet, though little could be urged in evidence against them, they were all sentenced to death, banishment, or the galleys, according to the different degrees of their supposed guilt.

These sentences were nevertheless mitigated in favor of all, except the unfortunate Tiradentes, who, though but an instrument in the hands of others, was, after the lapse of two years, condemned to be hanged, decapitated, and quartered; by the same sentence it was, among other ignominious provisions, enacted that his head should be exposed in the public square in Villa Rica, his house razed to the ground, and his children and grandchildren declared infamous. A conspiracy, originating exclusively among the people of color, was also organized in Bahia during the year 1801, but like the former, it was discovered before any attempt had been made to put it into execution. The communication between the different provinces was neither sufficient to facilitate a general revolt, nor indeed were the free population disposed to it. Their condition, as contrasted with that which is the result of European civilization, was wretched; yet the tyranny exercised over them was of a negative rather than of a positive character. Their wants were few, and from the almost total absence of nobility, large proprietors, or powerful ecclesiastical dignitaries, there was an equality throughout their entire association which prevented their being sensible of any undue privations. Could they have been exempted from all extraneous impulse, ages might have rolled away, and Brazil have been known to Europe, only as the colossal, yet submissive, and unaspiring dependancy of Portugal. But events were occurring elsewhere, about the close of the eighteenth century, the effects of which were fated to extend their influence to the very ends of the earth. The young republic of France emerged from amid the storms of the revolution, and the crowned heads of all the surrounding states entered into one mighty coalition to crush the intruder. In this attempt their efforts were partially successful, yet their aggressive policy was, ere long, followed up by a fearful and overwhelming counteraction. They raised up a spirit which they afterward in vain attempted to exorcise. They called forth a conqueror who for a while scattered all their armaments before him, and who burst and riveted at will the manacles of many nations. The results of his victories were not bounded by the hemisphere wherein they were achieved. They gave birth to the immediate independence of all the Spanish colonies in South America, and by compelling the royal family of Portugal to seek refuge in Brazil, they created as it were a new era in her history.

The royal family of Portugal sailed from Lisbon under the escort of a British squadron, and reached Rio Janeiro on the 7th of March, 1808. As Portugal was occupied by a French army, it would have been absurd to maintain the ancient monopoly of trade, and the ports of Brazil were thrown open to foreigners of every nation by a royal decree. As the dowager-queen of Portugal was in a state of mental imbecility, the government was administered by her son, Don John, with the title of regent; he introduced several great improvements into the government; Brazil was no longer treated as a colony; it was

raised to the dignity of a nation, and the progress of amelioration in its financial and commercial condition was unusually rapid.

The first cause of discontent was the preference which the court naturally showed for officers of Portuguese birth; and this jealousy was increased by the contempt with which the Europeans treated every one of Brazilian birth. Indeed, a Portuguese general formally proposed that all Brazilians should be declared incompetent to hold a higher rank than that of captain, and though no such law was formally enacted, its spirit was acted upon in every department of the administration. Dissatisfaction was silent, but it was deeply felt and rapidly extending, when in October, 1820, intelligence arrived of the revolt in Portugal in favor of a constitutional government. On the 26th of February, 1821, the king was compelled to proclaim the constitution in Rio de Janeiro, and to promise that he would convoke a Brazilian cortes.

In the meantime the cortes at Lisbon began to form projects for securing to Portugal its ancient monopoly of Brazilian commerce, and to render its provinces once more colonies dependant on the mother-country. These projects were eagerly supported by the Portuguese in Brazil, who trusted to revive their ancient ascendency over the colonists and natives. Violent disputes, frequently ending in bloodshed, arose between the Portuguese and the Brazilians; Don John, who had assumed the title of king on his mother's death, returned to Lisbon, leaving his son, Don Pedro, at the head of the Brazilian government, which he clearly saw would not long remain dependant on Portugal. The cortes of Lisbon assumed the right of legislating for the colonies without consulting their inclinations; they abolished the tribunals which had been created in Rio Janeiro, and passed a decree recalling Don Pedro to Europe. These decrees were resisted by the Brazilians, and after some delay they took the decisive step of declaring their independence, and establishing a constitutional monarchy under Don Pedro as emperor.

We have elsewhere noticed the revolution in which Pedro was dethroned and a regency established in the name of his son. Since that period Brazil has enjoyed more tranquillity than any of the other South American states, and but for the difficulties which arise from the continuance of negro slavery in the country, it would seem to have every fair prospect of advancing rapidly in social prosperity and political importance.

Paraguay can not with propriety be reckoned among the colonies either of Spain or Portugal, though both governments have claimed it as their own. It was first brought under European control by the jesuit missionaries, who professed a nominal obedience to the crown of Spain. Their success in making converts was greater than that of their brethren in any other quarter of the globe; they instructed the Indians who embraced Christianity in agriculture and the arts of social life; the surrounding tribes were not slow in perceiving the advantages which their countrymen had derived from the change, and they came voluntarily to seek instruction. In a very short time the jesuits became complete masters of the country; in order to perpetuate their dominion, they carefully excluded all foreigners from Paraguay, and infused into

the minds of the natives a suspicious jealousy, or rather hatred of foreigners, which has never since been eradicated.

When the order of the jesuits was abolished, Paraguay was all but left to itself, and its name was scarcely mentioned in Europe, until it took a share in the revolutionary movement which established so many new states in South America. Doctor Francia headed the revolution of Paraguay, and obtained absolute power for himself, with the title of dictator. He established as rigid a system for excluding foreigners as the jesuits themselves, and his successors appear to continue the same course of policy.

Section IV.—*The English in America.*

England had shared in the ardor for discovery which the successful enterprise of Columbus diffused throughout Europe. Newfoundland was visited by Sebastian Cabot, in the reign of Henry VII.; and two unsuccessful voyages were made to the southern seas, by the same navigator, in the reign of Henry VIII. But the object which long continued to be the favorite one of the English adventurers, was the discovery of a passage through the northern seas to India and China. Sir Hugh Willoughby, and Richard Chancellor, hoped that this might be attained by sailing to the northeast; the latter reached Archangel, a port then unknown in western Europe, and though he failed in his principal object, he laid the foundation of an active commerce between Great Britain and Russia. The company of Merchant Adventurers, incorporated by Edward VI., were indefatigable in their efforts to open new courses of trade, by encouraging maritime and inland discovery; while their navigators penetrated to Nova Zembla and the river Oby, several of their factors accompanied some Russian caravans into Persia, by the route of Astrachan and the Caspian sea; and the accounts which they published on their return, first gave British merchants accurate intelligence concerning the state of the remote regions of the east. These enterprises were renewed under the reign of Elizabeth; a commercial treaty was concluded with the shah of Persia, and such information obtained respecting India, as greatly increased the national ardor for opening a communication with that country by sea. But every effort to discover a northwest or northeast passage failed; Martin Frobisher, like every navigator from his days to those of Sir John Ross, found the seas blockaded with fields of ice, through which no opening could be made. This disappointment might have damped the spirit of the English, but for the successful enterprise of Sir Francis Drake, who circumnavigated the globe with a small squadron, and returned home with an account of many important discoveries in the Pacific ocean. War with Spain rendered this information peculiarly important; and the English resolved to attack their enemies through their colonies, and thus cut off the sources of the wealth which rendered Philip II. formidable to Europe.

In the sketch of the history of the United States will be found an account of the colonies planted by the English within the limits of that country.

Canada was the first colony established by the French in Canada;

but the early settlers suffered so many misfortunes, that the country was several times on the point of being abandoned. It began, however, to prosper after the foundation of Quebec, by Champlain (A. D. 1608), and the formation of a new colony at Montreal. The contests of the French with the Iroquois and the Hurons were less perilous than those of the New Englanders with the Pequods and Narragansets, but they were less ably conducted, and more injurious to the prosperity of the colony.

At a much later period, the French colonized Louisiana (A. D. 1686), with the hope of securing the fertile countries watered by the Mississippi. The settlement was more valued by the government than Canada, because it was supposed to contain mines of gold, and for the same reason possession of it was equally coveted by the English and the Spaniards. Having two colonies, one at the northern and one at the southern extremity of the British settlements, the French government prepared to connect them by a chain of forts which would have completely hemmed in the English. A furious war ensued between the two nations in the back woods, which ended in the complete overthrow of the French. Canada and Louisiana were ceded to England by the peace of 1763; but the latter is now joined to the United States, while the former still continues under British government. In the history of the other British American colonies there is nothing of sufficient importance to deserve a place in this summary. The most important of them now form a great republic, which must for the future occupy a conspicuous position in Modern History; and among the best guides to a correct estimate of their future career, is a knowledge of the circumstances attending their foundation.

Section V.—*Colonization of the West Indies.*

We have already mentioned the settlements of the Spaniards in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, and shall now briefly give a sketch of the colonization of the other principal islands. Barbadoes, one of the earliest English settlements, was totally uninhabited when the English took possession of it (A. D. 1623). Its prosperity first began to attract notice when some of the Dutch, who were expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese, introduced the manufacture of sugar, and the cultivation of the cane, from which that useful article is extracted. Negroes were not imported as slaves until about the year 1630; previously to which time the planters are said to have been frequently guilty of kidnapping the Caribs. The negroes multiplied so fast, that they frequently conspired to massacre all the white inhabitants, and take possession of the island, but their plots were discovered and punished with remorseless severity.

St. Lucia was first settled by the English (A. D. 1637), but the colonists were soon massacred by the Caribs, after which it was seized by the French, who are said to have instigated the revolt of the native tribes. The island frequently changed masters in the wars between France and England, but it now belongs to the latter power. St. Vincent and the Grenadine islands were similarly contested, and now belong to England.

Martinico and Guadaloupe were colonized by the French, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their prosperity received very severe checks in the frequent wars between France and England. At the late treaty of peace they were restored to France. The other Caribbee islands are possessed by the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the English, but the largest share belongs to the English. Antigua is, perhaps, the most flourishing of these islands, but there is nothing remarkable in its history.

Tobago was colonized by the Dutch, conjointly with the Courlanders (A. D. 1632). It was wrested from them by the French, who subsequently ceded it to the English (A. D. 1737).

Trinidad is a large and fertile island on the coast of South America, remarkable for a lake of asphaltum, or mineral pitch. It was early colonized by Spain, but was captured by the English in 1797, and is still retained by them. It is one of the very few of these islands which contains any portion of its ancient population.

The Bahama islands, though discovered by Columbus, were completely neglected until they were accidentally visited by an Englishman named Sayle (A. D. 1667), who was driven to seek shelter among them by stress of weather. The account which he gave of their climate and productions, on his return home, induced some spirited adventurers to combine for their colonization. The early settlers suffered very severely from hurricanes and the hostility of the Spaniards, but they surmounted these difficulties, and laid the foundation of communities which are now flourishing and prosperous.

The Bermudas, or Summer islands, were discovered but never colonized by the Spaniards. An Englishman named May was shipwrecked on one of them; he and his companions built a vessel of the native cedar, and returned to Europe, where they published a very exaggerated account of the beauty and fertility of these islands, which gave rise to many poetic fictions. A colony was planted on St. George's island, by the Virginia company, but it narrowly escaped destruction in its infancy from a very singular visitation. Some rats, imported in European vessels, multiplied so prodigiously, that they covered the ground and built nests in the trees. Their devastations were continued during five years, when they suddenly disappeared, but from what cause is uncertain. Since that period the prosperity of these islands has been uninterrupted; and of late years vast works for the purpose of establishing here a naval arsenal have been in progress, and are now near completion.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus, and soon after colonized by the Spaniards, who massacred the greater part of the native inhabitants. As there were no mines in the island, it was neglected by the Spaniards, and was easily wrested from them by a British armament, under the command of Penn and Venables, during the protectorate of Cromwell. The position of Jamaica afforded many facilities for attacking the Spanish settlements, and it was therefore the great rendezvous of the formidable combination of pirates called the bucaniers. This confraternity was composed of adventurers from various nations, and the Spanish ships and colonies were their chief objects of attack. They were not, however, very scrupulous in ascertaining to what nation any

richly-laden vessel belonged; and, to prevent any discovery of their crimes, they generally massacred the crews. Morgan was their most noted leader; he conquered Panama, and several other rich towns belonging to the crown of Spain; and having by his continued successes gained the command of a large force, appears to have meditated the establishment of an independent sovereignty. Subsequently he abandoned his piracies, submitted to the English government, and received the honor of knighthood. The bucaniers being no longer protected in Jamaica, removed to the French settlement in Hispaniola, and long continued to be the terror of the American seas. Jamaica has often been harassed by negro insurrections, but since the mountains have been opened by roads, the insurgents, deprived of any place of shelter, have found themselves unable to make considerable stand.

To the north of the river Amazon, on the eastern coast of South America, lies a vast level tract, known by the general name of Guiana, possessed by the Portuguese, the French, Dutch, and English. The land is exuberantly fertile, but the climate unhealthy. Formerly the Dutch settlements were the most considerable, but the chief of them were captured in 1797 by the English, and are now in their possession. This is the only portion which bears the appearance of regular colonization, the other tracts being either held by the natives, or mainly used by the European rulers as penal settlements.

Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, after having been long an object of contention between the French, Spaniards, and English, is now an independent negro state, and has resumed its old native name of Hayti.

Section VI.—*The Portuguese in India.*

The colonies we have just described owe their origin to the discoveries of Columbus; we must now direct our attention to those in the opposite division of the globe, which were consequent on the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco de Gama. The first enterprises of the Portuguese, when a way was opened for them to Hindústan, were limited to securing their commerce; but under the guidance of the illustrious Albuquerque, they procured a grant of ground from one of the native sovereigns, and founded a strong fortress. The Mohammedans, who had hitherto engrossed the entire commerce of India, formed a league to expel the intruders, in which they were encouraged by the Venetians, who purchased Indian spices and other goods from the Arabs, with which they supplied the principal markets of Europe. This enterprise was defeated, and soon after Don Alphonzo Albuquerque laid the foundation of the future supremacy of the Portuguese by reducing Goa, which afterward became the seat of government, and was also erected into an archbishop's see by the pope. This was the first commencement of territorial acquisition by European powers in India, a system strongly deprecated by Vasco de Gama, and which it is impossible to defend on any principles of national justice. Albuquerque defended himself by declaring that it would be impossible for Portugal to command the trade unless it shared in the empire of India, a pretext whose obvious weakness it is not necessary to expose. Albuquerque also subdued the city of Malacca, and the island of Ormuz,

in the Persisn gulf. The efforts of his successors were principally directed to the maintenance of Albuquerque's acquisitions, and to checking the progress of the Turks, who, after the conquest of Egypt, made several attempts to establish themselves on the coast of Malabar. Had they succeeded, it is probable that the Christians would never have occupied India, for the Mussulmans spread over the peninsula would have united to support a power equally favorable to their religious prejudices and their temporal interests. In about sixty years the Portuguese had established an empire in the east, whose extent and power were truly wonderful. On one side, their authority extended as far as the utmost limits of the coast of Persia, and over all the islands in the Persian gulf; some of the Arabian princes were their tributaries, others their allies, and through the whole Arabian peninsula none dared to confess themselves their enemies. In the Red sea, they were the only power that commanded respect, and they had considerable influence over the emperor of Abyssinia and the rulers of eastern Africa. They possessed the whole coast of Malabar, from Cape Ramoz to Cape Comorin; they were masters also of the Coromandel coast, the bay of Bengal, the city, fortress, and peninsula of Malacca. The potent islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, and Java, paid them tribute, as did the Moluccas; and they had obtained a settlement in China (Macao), and a free trade with the islands of Japan.

The ruin of this empire arose chiefly from the union of Portugal with Spain (A. D. 1580). Immediately after that event, Philip II. issued an edict, prohibiting the Dutch from trading with Lisbon, and thus compelled them to seek for the spices and wares of India in other quarters. The enterprising republicans were then hardy and necessitous, and had everything to gain and nothing to lose; the Portuguese, on the other hand, were divided in their counsels, depraved in their manners, and detested by their subjects and neighbors. The Dutch first established themselves in some distant islands, whence, being joined by new settlers from home, partly by force of arms and partly by taking advantage of the errors committed by the Portuguese, they finally supplanted them everywhere, and stripped them of their dominions in far less time than they had acquired them.

The most remarkable of the Portuguese settlements was the island of Ormuz. It is nothing more than a salt and barren rock in the Persian gulf, destitute of water, save where rain, which rarely falls, is collected in natural or artificial cavities; but its commodious situation rendered it the most flourishing commercial mart in the eastern seas. Its roadstead was frequented by shipping from all parts of the Indies, from the coasts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia, while it possessed an extensive caravan trade with the interior of Asia, through the opposite ports of Persia. The wealth, the splendor, and the concourse of traders at Ormuz, during its flourishing condition, gave the world a memorable example of the almost omnipotent power of commerce: in the trading seasons, which lasted from January to March, and from the end of August to the beginning of November, not only was there an unparalleled activity of traffic, but a display of luxury and magnificence which seemed to realize the extravagances of fiction. The salt dust of the streets was concealed and kept down by neat mats and rich carpets; canvass awnings

were extended from the roofs of the houses to exclude the scorching rays of the sun; the rooms next the street were opened like shops, adorned with Indian cabinets and piles of porcelain, intermixed with odoriferous dwarf trees and shrubs, set in gilded vases, elegantly adorned with figures. Camels laden with water-skins stood at the corner of every street, while the richest wines of Persia, the most costly perfumes and the choicest delicacies of Asia, were poured forth in lavish profusion. The Portuguese, in the insolence of prosperity, provoked the hostility of Shah Abbas, the most powerful of the Persian monarchs, and quarrelled with the English, just as they were beginning to obtain consideration in the east. A league was formed between Shah Abbas and the English; their united forces assailed Ormuz (A. D. 1622); it was taken with little difficulty, and the value of its plunder was estimated at two millions. Thenceforward the trade of Ormuz rapidly declined: its merchants transferred their capital and enterprise to other quarters, the very materials of its splendid edifices were taken away by the Dutch ships as ballast, and it soon relapsed into its original condition of a barren and desolate rock. Scarcely the smallest remains are now left to vindicate the records of history, or to prove that this was once the flourishing capital of extensive commerce, and the principal magazine of the east.

Section VII.—*The Spaniards in the East Indies.*

We have before stated that the object of the first voyage of Columbus was to discover a western passage to the East Indies, and this project was not forgotten by the Spaniards, even after a new world had been opened to their ambition. After the discovery of the passage round the extremity of South America by Magellan, they prepared to occupy some of the Moluccas, but were prevented by the papal division of newly-discovered countries between them and the Portuguese. But when Portugal was united to Spain, under Philip II., Lopez de Legaspi resolved to form a settlement in a valuable cluster of these islands, which he called the Philippines, in honor of his sovereign. The city of Manilla was speedily built and fortified; scarcely were its defences complete, when it was attacked by the native islanders, instigated by the Chinese, who appear to have been, at some remote period, masters of the country. With some difficulty the insurrection was suppressed; but more formidable rivals soon appeared: the Dutch occupied the most valuable of the Moluccas, and the Spanish court seriously contemplated the abandonment of the Philippine islands. But though these settlements have been frequently attacked both by the Dutch and English, they have been preserved to the crown of Spain, and are now almost the only remnant of the extensive colonial empire once possessed by that monarchy.

Section VIII.—*The Dutch in the East Indies.*

It was the intolerable cruelty of the Spanish government that drove the Dutch to revolt; and the incurable bigotry of Philip II. prevented

the insurgents from ever seeking an accommodation. But the same sanguinary and short-sighted policy laid the foundation of the future prosperity of Holland, and enabled the Dutch to attain, in a very short period, an unrivalled ascendency in commerce. To check the growing spirit of freedom in the Netherlands, the Spaniards destroyed the trade of Antwerp, discouraged every effort made for its restoration, and thus drove its merchants to increase the establishments and the trade of Amsterdam. Desirous of humbling the Portuguese, Philip's ministers laid the most vexatious restraints on the commerce of Lisbon, and thus compelled the Dutch, whose subsistence almost wholly depended on the carrying-trade, to seek out means for the direct importation of Indian commodities. It was still hoped that a northeast passage to the Indian seas might be discovered, and three fruitless expeditions were sent out on this hopeless inquiry. In the meantime, Cornelius Houtman, who had been made prisoner by the Spaniards at Lisbon, obtained such information from the Portuguese respecting the course of their voyages round the cape of Good Hope, that on his escape to Amsterdam, he induced some of the leading merchants to form a company for sending him out with an expedition; and a fleet, well provided, sailed from the Texel (A. D. 1595). The Spaniards first attempted to defeat the enterprises of the Dutch by main force, but being soon convinced of their inferiority at sea to the hardy republicans, they sent emissaries to the principal eastern sovereigns, describing the new adventurers as pirates. But the Dutch admiral, Heemskirk, having captured a rich Portuguese vessel, on her way from Macao, treated his prisoners with so much generosity, that letters of thanks were addressed to him from the principal Spanish authorities in the east; these letters he produced in every port at which he touched, and thus satisfactorily refuted the calumnies which had been heaped upon his nation. A company was soon incorporated in Holland for managing the Indian trade; and the rest of the subjects of the United Provinces were prohibited from trading with Asia, either by the cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. They first occupied the Moluccas, or Spice islands, from which they were driven by the Spaniards, but soon retrieved their losses. Ere long, the Dutch and English East India companies, excited by mutual jealousy, began to assail each other's possessions. The island of Java was the chief object of their mutual ambition; after a long struggle, the Dutch prevailed, and immediately secured their acquisition by building the city of Batavia. Soon afterward, all the English merchants resident at Amboyna were massacred, and by this act of treachery the Dutch succeeded in securing for a long time the monopoly of the spice trade. They also wrested the Japanese trade from the Portuguese, and continue even now to be the only Europeans admitted to trade with the empire of Japan.

The next great object of the Dutch was to gain possession of the island of Ceylon, from which they not only expelled the Portuguese, but reduced the native princes under their dominion, and thus gained the monopoly of the cinnamon trade. They long kept possession of this valuable island, but during the wars of the French revolution it was wrested from them by the English, under whose power it still continues.

The influence of the jesuits at the court of Pekin baffled all the ef-

forts of the Dutch to open a trade with the Chinese empire; but they succeeded in establishing a flourishing settlement on the island of Formosa, which opened to them a lucrative traffic with the Indo-Chinese nations. But soon after the conquest of China by the Mantchew Tartars, the Formosans, joined by a large army from China, besieged the Dutch settlement and compelled the garrison to surrender. Since that period, Formosa has been annexed to the empire of China, and is no longer visited by Europeans.

The Dutch adopted a more exclusive system of policy than the Spaniards or Portuguese, and this was the principal cause of the ruin of the empire they had acquired. Their harsh conduct to the natives produced frequent civil wars or insurrections, which greatly weakened their settlements. In Java especially, their dominion was maintained only by an enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; and as other European nations began gradually to obtain a share in the spice trade, the Dutch East India company found the profits of its monopoly rapidly diminishing. During the wars of the French revolution, most of the Dutch colonies were occupied by the English, but some of them were restored at the general peace. England, however, kept the two of greatest importance, the cape of Good Hope and the island of Ceylon; but Holland still possesses the island of Java, and the monopoly of the trade with Japan.

Section IX.—*The Danes in the East Indies.*

An association was formed at Copenhagen for opening a trade with the East Indies (A. D. 1612), in consequence of the riches which so lucrative a branch of commerce seemed to have brought into the neighboring nations. A small expedition was sent out to the Coromandel coast, where the adventurers were hospitably received by the rajah of Tanjore, from whom they received permission to establish a settlement at Tranquebar. Many circumstances contributed to check the prosperity of the Danish East India company, but none more than the pertinacious jealousy of the Dutch, who excluded them from the most profitable branches of trade. But though the Danes did not attain to any remarkable eminence in East Indian commerce, they were honorably distinguished by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian religion; and, notwithstanding their limited means, they have succeeded in diffusing the principles of true religion through a considerable portion of the south of India.

Section X.—*The French in the East Indies.*

Maritime affairs were long neglected in France; and though Francis I. and Henry III. issued edicts, exhorting their subjects to undertake long voyages, yet either a want of enterprise in the people, or the inability of the government to afford pecuniary assistance, prevented any effort being made meriting notice. After some attempts to form an association of merchants, productive of little advantage, an East India company was founded (A. D. 1616), but meeting with some misfortunes, the members resolved to abandon the Indian trade, and to

direct their attention to the establishment of a settlement in the island of Madagascar. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, the French purchased the town of Pondicherry from the king of Visapúr, and began to form a settlement there with every reasonable prospect of success. It was, however, wrested from them by the Dutch (A. D. 1693), but was subsequently restored by the treaty of Ryswick (A. D. 1697). Thenceforward, the prosperity of the colony progressively increased, and the subsequent acquisition from the Dutch of the islands called the isles of France and Bourbon, but previously the Mauritius and the Mascarenhas, led the French to hope that they might acquire an important share in eastern commerce. A new career of ambition was opened to them by the sanguinary struggles which arose between the new states formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi; M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, hoped by embroiling the natives with each other, to obtain territorial acquisitions as the price of his assistance to some of the combatants. The English adopted the same course of policy, and thus the ancient hostility between the two nations extended its influence to India. The talents of Clive, however, carried the English triumphantly through an arduous struggle, which ended in the almost total expulsion of the French from the peninsula, and the cession of most of their settlements, by the peace of 1763. They afterward intrigued with the native princes, Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, against their successful rivals, but they have been utterly unable to regain any portion of their former influence.

SECTION XI.—*The English in India.*

A HUNDRED years have not elapsed since the possessions of the British East India company were limited to three settlements of narrow extent, inhabited by a few hundred Europeans, who were scarcely able to defend themselves against pirates and banditti, much less compete with the power of the native princes. Now this association of merchants, from its court in Leadenhall street, rules over an empire containing a hundred millions of subjects, raises a tribute of more than three millions annually, possesses an army of more than two hundred thousand rank and file, has princes for its servants, and emperors pensioners on its bounty. Calcutta, from a miserable village, has become the metropolis of the east; Bombay possesses more trade than Tyre, in the days of its glory; and Madras, in spite of its perilous surf, rivals the commercial prosperity of Carthage. There is no parallel to such a career in the annals of the world; conquerors, indeed, have acquired a more extensive dominion in a shorter space of time, but they failed to establish a permanent empire; after a few years, the traces of their tempestuous passage were as completely effaced as the track of a vessel in the waves of the ocean.

In the preceding chapters, we have incidentally noticed the progress of the company's empire in its relation to the general politics of Europe, but it is of importance to mark more definitely the successive steps by which such vast acquisitions have been won and secured. The history of the East India company, indeed, has more than ordinary claims on our attention; it is intimately connected with our national character

and national welfare, and all must desire to know whether our eastern empire has advanced the great cause of civilization, and whether our domination is likely to endure, or to meet at some time or other a precipitate overthrow.

The London company for trading with the East Indies was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth (A. D. 1600), and remained without a rival for nearly a century, when the necessities of the state led to the formation of the English company (A. D. 1698); it was soon found that the rivalry between these bodies was prejudicial to the interests of both, and at the recommendation of his majesty King William III., the two companies agreed to form one association, to be designated "*The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.*" The first English settlement of importance was Bantam, in the island of Java; but in 1658, they obtained a grant of land on the Coromandel coast, near Madras, where they erected a stronghold, Fort St. George. In 1668, the island of Bombay, ceded by the crown of Portugal to Charles II., as a part of the dowry of the infanta Catharine, was granted by the king, and appointed the capital of the British settlements in India. Bengal was not at first estimated at its true value, but toward the close of the seventeenth century (A. D. 1698), the English had a settlement at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsura, all situated on the river Hooghly. An embassy was sent to the court of Delhi with presents; fortunately one of its members was an eminent physician, and his professional aid was required by the emperor Ferrokshir. In gratitude for the services of Dr. Hamilton, Ferrokshir granted valuable *firmáns*, or patents of privileges to the company, which gave them great advantages over their European rivals. The viceroy of Bengal, jealous of the privileges granted to the English, advanced against Calcutta, took the town, and confined one hundred and forty-six in a dungeon called the Black Hole, so narrow and confined, that only twenty-three of the captives survived till the morning (A. D. 1756). Colonel Clive, who had already given proofs of his military talents in the Madras presidency, was sent into Bengal. He soon recovered Calcutta, and took Chandernagore from the French. Finding that the viceroy of Bengal, Suraj-u-Dowlah, was obstinate in his opposition to the company's interest, Clive adopted the bold resolution of deposing him without waiting for, or indeed asking the emperor's sanction, although the company was at peace with the court of Delhi. Acting promptly on this determination, Clive attacked the viceroy's troops at Plassey (June 23, 1757), and gained a decisive victory. Suraj-u-Dowlah was deposed, and his post given by the conquerors to Jaffier Ali Khan.

After Clive's return to England, the government of Calcutta was intrusted to a council, of which Mr. Vansittart was appointed president. The rapidity with which the English had acquired supremacy in Bengal, inspired them with feelings of contemptuous superiority, which involved them in angry disputes with the new viceroy. At length, the council of Calcutta, induced by a bribe of 200,000*l.*, resolved to depose Jaffier, and confer the viceroyship on Cossim Ali Khan. But Cossim was soon as odious as his predecessor. The servants of the East India company claimed an exemption from all duties on commerce, and thus

ruined the native merchants; Cossim, after many remonstrances to the council of Calcutta, abolished the transit duties altogether; and this act of justice to his own subjects, though extorted by necessity, was loudly exclaimed against as an infringement of his engagements with the company, and two agents were sent to demand the repeal of the decree. While negotiations were pending, the English resident seized the citadel of Patna, and though it was immediately retaken by Cossim Ali, his rage was so excited by what he regarded a deliberate act of treachery, that he put all the English prisoners to death. War was instantly declared, Cossim Ali was defeated and deposed, and Jaffier Khan was once more declared viceroy of Bengal. It is not known at what price Jaffier purchased his restoration, but he did not long enjoy it; he died a few months before Clive, who had been recently elevated to the peerage, returned as governor-general to Calcutta.

Lord Clive found the affairs of the presidency in a deplorable condition: their troops, goaded to madness by the insolence and rapacity of their officers, were in open mutiny; the fertile province of Bengal was "marred to a wilderness" by the most corrupt of all the corrupt bodies ever intrusted with its destinies; friendly native powers were estranged by systematic extortion; hostile princes were confirmed in their enmity by witnessing such excesses of profligacy and peculation; and, to complete his lordship's difficulties, his proceedings were controlled by a subordinate committee, wholly unused to subordination. Clive's zeal in reforming such crying abuses, procured him a host of enemies, whose resistance was encouraged by their friends and patrons in the court of directors at home. The first outbreak of opposition was a general mutiny of the military officers, supported by a large subscription from the civilians in Calcutta. Through a defect in the mutiny act, the governor-general was not able to sentence any of the criminals to death, not even those who were found guilty of planning his assassination. Sir Robert Fletcher, the general in command of the army, was subsequently proved to be the instigator of the whole plot, and having been convicted by a court-martial, he was cashiered. But it must be added, that this very officer was subsequently appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Madras, where he headed the mutinous opposition by which Lord Pigot was removed from that government. Another of the mutineers, sent home by Clive, on charges that affected his life, obtained a very high appointment in the civil service of Bengal by his party interest in the court of directors.

Clive's firmness restored order in Calcutta; and soon after, the substitution of British rule for the native viceroyalties in Bengal, removed the chief source of intrigue and peculation. But in the meantime, the presidency at Madras was brought to the brink of ruin by the arms of Hyder Ali, whose abilities had raised him from the rank of a private soldier to that of an independent sovereign. After a protracted war, Sir Eyre Coote retrieved all the losses of the English, and, on the death of Hyder (A. D. 1782), concluded a treaty with his son, Tippoo, on terms very advantageous to the company.

The charters granted at various times to the company, only secured to it the exclusive right of trade; when, therefore, it began to make territorial acquisitions, it became a serious constitutional question

whether the British crown did not possess an inherent right to all provinces conquered by its subjects. The ministers, and especially Lord North, already embarrassed by the American war, were unwilling to attempt the decision of a matter encumbered with so many difficulties; but the right of the British parliament to interfere in the affairs of India, was virtually asserted, by passing various acts of regulation, and the establishment of a custom of time-bargains with the company, which were, in fact, mere expedients to escape from difficulties becoming more complicated every hour.

The administration of Mr. Warren Hastings greatly extended the company's territories, and rendered its influence paramount in northern India; but the means which he employed were not always consistent with European notions of equity; and the disputes which arose between him and his council, fixed the attention of the British parliament and the British nation on the affairs of India. Mr. Fox, who was then in power, introduced a bill for transferring the government of India from the court of directors to a parliamentary committee, but the measure was frustrated by the reluctance of the king, and the dismissal of the ministry. We have already noticed the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and his acquittal, after a trial of unparalleled duration, by the house of lords.

At length an important change was made in the government of India, by the establishment of a board of control, according to a plan proposed by Mr. Pitt (A. D. 1784). The principal object of the new measure was to secure the obedience and responsibility of the company's servants to the authorities in England, and to remedy the most glaring abuses of patronage by the court of directors. This measure, though not so stringent as it was originally intended to be, produced very beneficial effects, and introduced a system of subordination, in which the presidencies had long been deficient.

Lord Cornwallis was sent out as governor-general, under the new system; he exerted himself to remedy some of the most flagrant abuses in the administration, and, though opposed by a majority of the supreme court at Calcutta, he partially succeeded. He soon began to look with suspicion on the ambitious projects of Tippoo Sultan, who had inherited his father Hyder's hostility to the English. Tippoo's intrigues were secretly encouraged by the French government, for sufficiently obvious reasons. The French had been the first to try the plan of acquiring territorial possessions by interference in native wars, often excited by themselves: and they had been completely defeated, while the English had as completely succeeded. Anger at this failure, too high an estimate of the injury which the British power had received from the loss of the American colonies, and a confident belief that our empire in the east was as insecure as it had proved in the west, were popular feelings in France, and were just as rife in the court of Versailles as they were at a later period in the jacobin clubs of Paris. The danger which Lord Cornwallis anticipated, seemed more formidable to Mr. Pitt than to the court of directors, and led to a serious dispute between the ministry and the company. The premier, through the board of control, insisted on sending regular British troops to India, and compelling the company to pay for their support. This was re-

garded by the court of directors as an indirect effort on the part of the crown to grasp the patronage of the Indian army, and was, of course, strenuously resisted. Mr. Pitt settled the matter by forcing through parliament, with all the influence at his command, an act of explanation; but he had the mortification to encounter a fierce opposition from many who were generally his stanchest supporters. The war with Tippoo, which rendered the English authority supreme from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin, soon followed. Lord Cornwallis having brought it to a prosperous termination, returned home, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterward Lord Teignmouth.

During Sir John Shore's peaceful administration, the organization of the internal government of India was considerably improved; but its most remarkable events were the interference of the English, as arbitrators, in the disputed succession to the throne of Oude; and the commencement of discontents, almost amounting to mutinies, among the officers of the Indian army, in consequence of the reduction of their field allowances by the court of directors. The latter subject soon became one of increasing annoyance, and even danger; but the calamities which it threatened were fortunately averted by judicious measures of conciliation.

Lord Mornington, afterward marquis of Wellesley, was next appointed governor-general. His first efforts were directed to lessen the growing influence of the French in Hindústan; finding Tippoo indisposed to form new engagements with the British government, war was declared against him, which, as we have already stated, ended in the defeat and death of that turbulent monarch. A subsequent war with the Mahratta powers completely established British supremacy in India, and made the company supreme in the Peninsula. But notwithstanding his brilliant services, the marquis of Wellesley was thwarted in many important points of policy by the court of directors. The chief of these were, the employment of India-built ships, the establishment of a college for the education of civil servants at Calcutta, and the patronage of certain appointments, which the court wished to reserve for its favorites. This last difference led to very angry remonstrances, both from the marquis of Wellesley and Lord Clive, who was governor of Madras. Lord Clive resigned his situation; and on quitting Madras, addressed a spirited remonstrance to the court of directors, in which the inefficiency, insubordination, and delinquency of many of their servants, were directly traced to the abuse of patronage, and to the encouragement which the idle and the dissolute, possessing interest with the court, received from authority superior to the local government. Lord Wellesley, supported by the board of control, retained his place in defiance of the court, and, by his successful management of the Mahratta war, bore down all opposition.

The great extent of country gained in the Mahratta war, gave rise to serious embarrassments after the marquis of Wellesley had returned to Europe; his successor, Lord Cornwallis, died before completing the requisite arrangements, and Sir George Barlow, who acted as vice-governor, adopted a line of policy directly contrary to that which had received the sanction of his predecessor. This change led to an angry controversy with the English ministers (Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox)

respecting the appointment of a successor to the marquis of Cornwallis. The ministers nominated Lord Lauderdale to the vacant office, the court of directors insisted that Sir George Barlow should retain his power. After a very long negotiation, both parties agreed to withdraw the rival candidates, and they finally concurred in selecting Lord Minto as governor-general.

When Lord Minto reached Madras, his attention was directed to certain transactions in that presidency, too important to be omitted even in this brief outline of Indian history. Lord William Bentinck succeeded Lord Clive (afterward earl of Powis) in the government of Madras, and, like his predecessor, was involved in serious disputes with the local council and the subordinate servants of the company. In the midst of these discussions, a dangerous mutiny of the native Indian army at Vellore, furnished a pretext for recalling the obnoxious governor with something like censure. In the Indian army no native could attain the rank of commissioned officer; many of the sepoys were Mohammedans, and they could not forget how very recently the whole peninsula of India was their own; the deposed dynasty of Mysore, including Tippoo's family and several of his ministers, were on the spot, to aggravate these feelings of natural discontent; and the *fakirs*, or preaching friars of Mohammedanism, lent their aid to fan the flame. A regulation respecting the head-dress of the troops was the pretext for revolt; though the shape of the sepoy turban had no more connexion with the real cause of the mutiny, than the color of the roses with the rival claims of the houses of York and Lancaster. The insurrection was suppressed, but the leniency which Lord William Bentinck was disposed to show toward the mutineers, though sanctioned by Lord Minto, gave such displeasure to many influential persons, that the governor returned home.

When Lord Minto reached Calcutta (A. D. 1809), he prepared to adopt a system of policy, which had long been a favorite scheme with the court of directors and indeed with the great majority of the people of England. This was simply to introduce the European principle of a balance of power in India;—no plan could be more excellent in theory, but it was impossible to reduce it to practice, for no materials existed in the disorganized governments of India, from which such a system could be constructed. The company had ever opposed the colonization of India by Europeans, and had therefore rather occupied than possessed its successive acquisitions; with the exception of its hired servants (and not all of them), there was not a single individual interested in maintaining its sway; its soldiers were mere mercenaries, its subjects utterly indifferent to the continuance of its rule. In pursuit of this favorite but hopeless project, the establishment of a balance of power, Lord Minto committed many serious errors, but his administration was on the whole very beneficial to England, espccially as he was among the first to appreciate the value of the Indian archipelago, with which our commerce is so rapidly increasing, both in extent and importance. His prudence terminated a very serious dispute between the civil and military authorities at Madras, which had nearly produced the most calamitous results: he tried the experiment of neutral policy with greater success than could have attended such a system in less able

hands; and when he at length perceived that "balance of power" was inapplicable to the state of society in India, he acknowledged the change in his opinions with a manly candor which is too rarely met with among modern statesmen.

The earl of Moira, afterward marquis of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto in the government. He was forced to abandon the neutral line of policy, by which the Goorkas, or wild tribes of the mountains of Nepaul, had been encouraged to encroach upon the territories both of the British and their allies. War was declared; the Goorkas proved more formidable enemies than the company's troops had yet encountered, but they were finally overcome, and the provinces ceded by the Nepaulese, as the price of peace, brought the English dominions into close contact with the frontiers of the Chinese empire. In the meantime central India was devastated by ferocious bands of freebooters, known by the name of Pindarries, and extensive combinations were formed for their suppression. The treachery and duplicity of several of the native powers on this occasion compelled the marquis of Hastings to demand from them considerable cessions of territory; and, at the conclusion of the war, the company felt itself bound to retain those acquisitions, not only as essential to its own interests, but to those of the native inhabitants. Of greater importance than all these provinces was the establishment of a British settlement at Singapore (A. L. 1819), by which its present share in the lucrative commerce of the Indian archipelago was secured to Great Britain.

The earl of Amherst, who had previously been sent on an embassy to China, was the next governor-general (A. D. 1823). In a few months after his arrival, he found himself constrained to adopt active measures for repressing the insults and encroachments of the Burmese. The war was one of more than ordinary difficulty, but it finally terminated to the advantage of the British, who obtained possession of many new and valuable provinces. Scarcely less important was the capture of Bhurtpore, a fortress which, having been on two former occasions assailed in vain by the British, was fondly believed impregnable by the natives of Hindústan (A. D. 1826); its conquest therefore tended not a little to increase that general sense of British superiority on which the security of our Indian empire mainly depends.

Earl Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, whose generally peaceful administration is principally remarkable for a series of financial reforms in every department of the government. But the expiration of the company's charter, and the arrangements for its renewal, led to a total change of system (A. D. 1833). The company was deprived of its exclusive right of trade; the commerce with India and China was opened freely to all British subjects: the political government of Hindústan was continued to the company for twenty years, but all its other rights and possessions were ceded to the nation for an annuity of six hundred and thirty thousand pounds, secured by a guarantee fund of two millions sterling.

The East India company was not the only power that profited by the overthrow of the Mogul empire; two new kingdoms, that of the Afghans and that of the Síkhs, were founded on the northwest of Hindústan, and both have risen to great importance. The Afghans

were originally subject to Persia, but toward the close of the seventeenth century they revolted against their rulers and nearly conquered the whole Persian empire. Nadir Shah restored the Persian supremacy, but on his death an Afghan leader proclaimed the independence of his country, and while the Persians wasted their strength in civil wars, founded a new kingdom at Cabul. The Afghan monarchy continued to prosper until the commencement of the present century, when it was distracted by the wars arising out of a disputed succession. Three brothers, Zemán, Mahmúd, and Sujáh, contended for the crown, and each prevailed in turn, according to the will of the chief vizier, who was head of the Baurikzye tribe. At length Zemán was blinded, Sujáh driven into exile, and Mahmúd placed on the throne. Unfortunately he permitted his son Kemrán to assassinate the vizier, upon which the Baurikzye brothers revolted, and compelled Mahmúd to seek shelter in Herat.

Under the Baurikzye brothers, Afghanistan was divided into a number of petty independent states, each governed by one or more chieftains of this powerful family; the principal being Dost Mohammed, the ruler of Cabul, whose supremacy was nominally recognised by all the rest. Soon after Lord Auckland had succeeded Lord William Bentinck as governor-general of India, an embassy was sent to Cabul for the purpose of forming a commercial treaty which might open the markets of central Asia to British manufactures. When the Persian court, yielding to Russian suggestions, had determined to advance against Herat, the mission to Cabul was changed from a commercial to a political legation, and a treaty was proposed to Dost Mohammed which it was believed might avert the danger of Russian influence being established on the banks of the Indus. The ruler of Cabul demanded as the price of his adhesion that the territory of Peshawer, recently seized by the king of Lahore, should be restored to the Afghans, and when this was refused he manifested a disposition so hostile to English interests that the envoy was recalled, and a resolution formed to restore Shah Sujáh to his throne by the aid of a British army.

The army of the Indus having surmounted all the toils and difficulties of its march through previously untraversed countries, soon arrived at the capital of Afghanistan, and Shah Sujáh was reinstated upon the throne of his ancesters.

Shah Sujáh's government was not popular, and indeed did not deserve to be so; general dissatisfaction continued to exist, but had not begun to show itself in a dangerous shape when General Elphinstone took the command of the occupying force, in April, 1841. In the following November a formidable insurrection unexpectedly exploded in Cabul; Sir Alexander Burnes, and several other Englishmen, were treacherously massacred, while the most deplorable want of energy and decision was displayed, both by the envoy and the military authorities. The fort in which the provisions for the troops were stored was permitted to fall into the hands of the enemy, without an effort being made to relieve its feeble garrison; and after the means of holding out in Cabul, until relief could be obtained from the other divisions of the army, had been sacrificed, it was resolved to commence a retreat.

The only result from this calamitous war, is the occupation of the

territories of Scinde, which have been formally annexed to the British dominions. These districts command the navigation of the lower Indus, and would possess some value and importance if that river could be rendered available for the purposes of commercial navigation, but in the present distracted condition of central Asia, it does not appear probable that the peaceful pursuits of trade will be found lucrative for many years to come, and it is therefore very doubtful whether the accupation of Scinde will produce such a demand for British manufactures as to defray the heavy expenses which its retention will necessarily involve.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF CHINA.

The Chinese, like the ancient Egyptians, lay claim to a most extravagant antiquity, but their authentic history does not commence till the age of Confucius, who flourished about five centuries before the Christian era. At the time of his birth, China was divided into a number of independent states, which harassed each other by mutual wars, and his earliest efforts as a reformer were directed to unite them in one great confederation. He collected the old traditions of the country, and from them deduced a series of moral and political lessons, designed to form the basis of good government. His main principle was, that outward decorum is both the emblem and the test of goodness of heart; he therefore constructed a ritual strictly regulating every relation of life, both public and private, which was gradually received as a standard authority by the nation.

Ching-whang, the founder of the Tsin dynasty, was the first who united all the Chinese under one sovereign; and it is probable that the name China was adopted from that of his family. He is said to have erected the Great Wall, to restrain the incursions of the Tartars (B. C. 240), but this service was overbalanced by his cruelty and inveterate hostility to men of letters. Under the Han dynasty, which arose B. C. 202, the Huns began to invade China and frequently devastated the country; they at length were induced to direct their march westward, and burst like a torrent into the Roman empire, while China continued tranquil. Under the Han dynasty, foreigners came to China for the first time; literature was zealously cultivated, the art of printing invented, and the laws collected into an orderly system. For these reasons the memory of the Hans is still cherished in China; their dynasty ended A. D. 264.

No very important event occurred in the history of China from the extinction of the Han dynasty until the invasion of the empire by the Mongols, under the celebrated Zingis Khan (A. D. 1234). The sovereign who then ruled was cruel and cowardly; town after town submitted to the invaders, and at his death the Mongols possessed the greater part of the country, though the conquest was not completed till the year 1279, by Kublai Khan, the grandson of Zingis. Ze-ping, the infant son of the last emperor, sought shelter in the fleet, but the Mongols soon prepared a navy and pursued him. The Chinese and Mongol fleets met, and after an engagement which lasted an entire day, the former was totally defeated. When the Chinese admiral saw that escape was impossible, he went to the prince, who stood on the deck, and said, "It is better to die free than to dishonor our ancestors by an

inglorious captivity," then, without waiting for a reply, he caught the prince in his arms and jumped into the sea, where they both perished.

The Mongols, though foreigners, were wise and beneficent rulers; Kublai Khan constructed several canals, and made every possible exertion to restore the agricultural prosperity of China; his grandson, Timur Khan, extirpated the bands of robbers that infested the country, and both labored to promote commercial intercourse with foreign nations. But on the failure of the direct royal line, the Mongols were so weakened by a war of disputed succession, that the Chinese easily drove them from the country, and placed a native dynasty on the throne (A. D. 1388).

Choo-quen-chang, the conqueror of the Mongols and founder of the Ming dynasty, was the son of a poor laborer. In early life he was destined for the priesthood, but his martial spirit induced him to enlist as a soldier. He very soon became so distinguished for courage and conduct that he was promoted to high rank; his marriage to a lady of great wealth strengthened his influence, and he soon began to be regarded as the leader of a party. So great was the hatred of the Chinese to their barbarian conquerors, that it required only a few months to drive the Mongols beyond the Great Wall; they were pursued in their retreat and slaughtered without mercy. The new emperor was a wise and prudent ruler; his early death was a national misfortune, especially as it involved the country in the calamities of a disputed succession.

The last of the Ming dynasty was Hwae-tsung. Very soon after his accession the king of the Mantchew Tartars advanced toward the frontiers, and issued a proclamation, declaring that he had been divinely summoned to assume the empire of China. There would have been, however, little reason to fear this invasion, had not rebellions in other quarters distracted the attention of the emperor. Bands of robbers infested the roads, and uniting themselves together under favorite chiefs, bade defiance to the imperial army. One of these, named Lè, gained the favor of the populace by promising a remission of taxes; crowds flocked to his standard, and entire battalions of the imperial army deserted to him. Lè no longer scrupled to declare himself emperor; he marched to Pekin, the soldiers intrusted with its defence threw down their arms, and the emperor was abandoned even by his domestic servants. In his despair, he slew his children, and then strangled himself, leaving behind him a written request that the conqueror would be satisfied with the destruction of the royal family, and not inflict any cruelty on the people.

Woo-san-kivei, a celebrated general, was stationed with a large army on the frontiers of Mantchew Tartary, when he received intelligence of these events. He resolved to avenge his master, and punish the usurper; for this purpose he had not only made peace with the Mantchews, but solicited their active assistance. The Tartars gladly assented to a proposal which opened them a passage into China; and acting with a rapidity of which their opponents had no idea, their progress was irresistible. The usurper Lè was defeated in three great battles, but when the general wished to dismiss his allies, they not only refused to return, but took possession of Pekin, and proclaimed a Mantchew prince em-

peror. For many years the Chinese in different provinces sternly resisted the domination of the Tartars, but there was no harmony in their councils and no concert in their actions; they were therefore successively subdued, but not until the entire country had been so devastated that it almost became a desert (A. D. 1644). During this calamitous period, a pirate, named Coxinga, kept the entire coast of China in constant alarm; he expelled the Dutch from the island of Formosa, which for a time flourished as an independent kingdom: but after his death, his son submitted to the Mantchews, and this noble island was annexed to the empire of China.

Kang-he, the second of the Mantchew emperors, was very anxious to make his subjects acquainted with the arts and sciences of Europe; he patronised the jesuit missionaries who came to his court, and profited so much by their instructions, as to become himself the author of a clever treatise on geometry. All his wishes, however, to give a new turn to Chinese literature were frustrated; the native men of letters refused to quit the tracks of their ancestors, and nothing new was consequently produced. Equally able in the cabinet and in the field, Kang-he was unquestionably, next to Kublai Khan, the greatest prince who ever sat on the throne of China. He revived the empire, distracted by repeated rebellions, impoverished by long and ruinous wars, and oppressed by vicious administration. When he died (A. D. 1722), peace and tranquillity pervaded all the provinces, and the unruly barbarians on the frontiers had been reduced to obedience.

Yung-ching succeeded his father on the throne, but did not pursue the same enlightened policy. He put an effectual stop to improvement, by banishing the missionaries who had spread themselves over all the Chinese provinces, and only retained a few individuals at court, with whose services he could not dispense. It must, however, be confessed, that the intriguing spirit of the jesuits had given some reasonable grounds for alarm, and that their extravagant assertions of papal supremacy might have infused suspicions of their designing to render the emperor dependant on the pope. In other respects Yung-ching was a good sovereign; he preserved peace during his reign, and by prudent precautions he averted the horrors of those famines that periodically devastated China. He died A. D. 1735, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Keën-lung.

The long reign of Keën-lung was almost wholly spent in wars with the various barbarous races on the whole western frontier of China. There is no interest in the record of these savage contests, which were for the most part a series of ruthless massacres. He cruelly persecuted the Christians, whom he accused of treasonable designs without a shadow of reason; and the relentless fury he displayed was eagerly seconded by the mandarins, who had been jealous of the superior intelligence of the missionaries. Keën-lung always thought that he had a just cause when he butchered whole tribes. After the defeat and massacre of the Kalmuks, he erected a stone tablet at Ele, with the following inscription: "The tree which Heaven plants, though man may fell it, can not be unrooted: the tree which Heaven fells, though man may replant it, will never grow."

The fame of Keën-lung extended to Europe, and missions from Hol-

land, England, and Russia, were sent to his court. These embassies did not produce the good expected from them: the Chinese, with all the conceit of ignorance, believed or pretended to believe themselves the only enlightened nation in the universe, and claimed homage from all others as barbarians. The emperor himself appears to have been free from these prejudices, but all the officers of state were opposed to an increase of foreign intercourse, which they feared would be fatal to their privileges.

After a reign of sixty years, Keën-lung abdicated the throne in favor of his fifth son, Kia-king (A. D. 1795), and died three years afterward at the age of eighty-eight. His successor had all his vices, without any of his redeeming qualities; his misconduct provoked frequent insurrections, while his feeble administration encouraged the pirates to renew their depredations in the Chinese seas. Unfortunately the greatest maritime power in the world submitted to receive laws from this feeble government. In 1808, a British squadron commanded by Admiral Drury was sent to take possession of the Portuguese settlement of Macao, and prevent it from falling into the hands of the French. The Chinese authorities at Canton became alarmed, and threatened to stop all trade unless the English garrison was withdrawn from Macao; their demands were granted with a precipitation which closely resembled cowardice, and the Chinese erected a pyramid to commemorate what they were pleased to call their victory over the English. It must be acknowledged that the concessions then made to their arrogance have been the chief cause of the repeated insults they have since offered to the British flag.

Kia-king's bitter hatred of Europeans was supposed by many to have arisen from the misrepresentations of the Canton authorities, and it was therefore resolved to send Lord Amherst as an ambassador to Pekin, for the purpose of establishing amicable relations between England and China. This embassy completely failed; the officers of the imperial court prevented Lord Amherst from obtaining an audience, and he returned to Canton. In the meantime the Chinese had shown a disposition to insult the naval forces that had conveyed the embassy, but a few shots from one of the frigates brought them to their senses, and the mission returned in safety.

Kia-king died in 1820, and was succeeded by the reigning emperor, Tao-kwang, who is even more prejudiced against Europeans than his predecessor. Proclamations against the importation of opium were issued by the Chinese government, but the prohibited article continued to be largely smuggled into the country. At length Captain Elliot, the English resident at Canton, was compelled by the Chinese authorities to consent to the destruction of several cargoes of opium, and his protests against the restraint to which he was subjected, were disregarded. War was declared against the emperor of China by the English government, and a large naval and military force sent against Canton. Canton and Ningpo, two of the most important cities in China, were taken by mere handfuls of British troops, and the immense masses collected in the imperial armies were unable to withstand an organized force rarely amounting to the tenth of their numbers. A treaty was at length negotiated, in which great concessions were very reluctantly made to the

English demands : the island of Hong-kong was ceded to them in perpetuity, five ports were freely opened to their trade, and the emperor consented to pay a large sum to defray the expenses of the war, and compensate for the large quantities of opium, the property of the British subjects, which had been destroyed at the commencement of the war.

A nation so completely isolated by natural boundaries as the Chinese, having no neighbors but the barbarous tribes of Tartary, is of course disposed to indulge in national vanity. They believe that their country occupies the centre of the globe, and that " the middle kingdom," as they therefore call it, is unequalled on the earth. Their own laws and usages, the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity, appear to them perfect, and every successive government has shown itself a decided foe to innovation. But the Chinese are the only people that have persevered in treating all foreigners as barbarians, and even when compelled to abate their absurd claims for the time, have invariably revived them on a more favorable opportunity. Hence it is impossible to negotiate with them according to the rules of European diplomacy, for until intimidated by defeat or terror, they will look upon attempts to form a treaty as signs of submission. It is singular that the Tartar conquerors of China have invariably adopted the institutions and prejudices of the vanquished ; but they have not succeeded in winning the affections of the nation. During the greater part of a century, insurrections have followed each other with frightful rapidity, and the Mantchew domination has been more than once on the point of ruin. Secret societies exist at the present moment, formed to restore the ancient supremacy of the native Chinese, and it is not improbable that any signal humiliation of the imperial forces may lead to a revolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

In the "*Manual of Ancient History*," we sketched the history of the Jews from the days of the patriarchs to the suppression of the revolt of Bar-Cochab (A. D. 136): it now remains to trace the fortunes of this singular race down to our own times, and briefly to exhibit their condition at the present day.

Though the number of Jews who perished in the successive overthrows of their nation was doubtless very great, we are by no means to believe that on any of these occasions the whole body fell into the hands of the victor; in proof of the contrary, we may refer to the Jewish colonies which we early find in places to which their conquerors would not have transported them, and where, consequently, we must look upon them as located by their own choice. Beside other places of less importance, we have mention of a flourishing Jewish community in Rome before the Christian era; and the travels of the apostles furnish evidence that shortly after that period they were to be met with in almost every part of Asia, Greece, and northern Africa. Though their fathers in their own land had been noted for a proud contempt for all literature but their own, these colonists did not neglect the opportunities of mental culture thus laid open to them, and accordingly we find that many of the most learned philosophers of Alexandria were either Jews, or in habits of such intimacy with them, as imply that the sciences were pursued with equal ardor by both parties. Indeed, it was only under such circumstances that that strange mixture of pagan, Jewish, and Christian dogmas, called Gnosticism, could have originated; and this we know to have taken its rise in the schools of Alexandria.

Though the Jews who spread over the east seem chiefly to have resorted to the more polished regions of Egypt or Babylon, circumstances induced many of them to repair to Arabia, and others penetrated even to China, where their reception seems to have been favorable. In the days of Mohammed, great numbers of Jews, wealthy, and possessed of political power, were found settled in the peninsula, whom the impostor endeavored in vain to conciliate. His successors granted them toleration, and both parties being animated by a like hatred of the Christians, we often find them acting in concert, especially during the Saracen conquest of Africa and Spain.

The Abbaside khaliphs, who seized the throne of Islám from the Ommiade dynasty, were generally tolerant of the Jews; the khaliph Almanzor, indeed, went so far as to restore their academies, and evinced

some taste for Hebrew literature himself. In the beginning of the ninth century, the khaliph Mamun caused the best of the Jewish books to be translated into Arabic, for the purpose of diffusing a taste for literature and science among his subjects. Several eminent men of Jewish race flourished at his court; they were particularly famous for their skill in astronomy and medicine, which had up to this period been very slightly cultivated by the Saracens. The fame of the Jewish physicians was spread over all the Mohammedan countries, so that few of any other race could find employment; but the wealth acquired by this lucrative profession excited the cupidity of several of the later khaliphs, who availed themselves of religious prejudices to gratify their avarice. During this season of persecution the Jews were frequently duped by false prophets and pretended messiahs, who induced them to raise partial insurrections, which only served to furnish a pretext for renewed persecutions. In the midst of their difficulties the khaliphate was overthrown by the barbarous Mongols, and the Jews were exposed to renewed persecutions from the Saracens, who attributed to their impiety all the calamities of the empire.

From the death of Timúr Lenk to the accession of Shah Abbas, the Jews, like the other inhabitants of Media and Persia, had to endure all the calamities arising from a violent war, a rapid conquest, and the long series of sanguinary wars for succession between the conqueror's descendants. At the accession of Shah Abbas, Persia was almost uninhabited; and in order to obtain subjects, that monarch granted large privileges to all strangers willing to settle in his dominions. Numbers of Jews who were oppressed in other eastern countries accepted his offers, but their wealth soon excited suspicions, and the shah issued an edict that they should either embrace Islamism or prepare for death. The remonstrances of the Mohammedan priests prevented the execution of this sanguinary edict, but legal protection was withdrawn from the persecuted race, and has not been again restored in the provinces subject to Persia.

The Jews from Africa crossed into Spain, and thence to Gaul, Germany, and even Britain. In Spain they were often subject to persecution under the Gothic monarchs, which induced some to dissemble their faith, and others to leave the country. Of these latter, many retired to Africa, whence they returned with the Saracens, whom they materially assisted in the conquest of the country. Under the rule of the Spanish Moslems, the condition of the Jews was highly prosperous; they cultivated science, were intrusted with the highest offices of the state, and enjoyed complete toleration; indeed to this era belong the names of Rabbi Hasdai, Benjamin of Tudela, Isaac of Cordova, and numerous others, whose works have been preserved, and which prove their proficiency in almost every art or science then known.

In more northern countries their state was materially different. Though their industry and abilities rendered them valuable to their rulers, and some few are to be found even in the courts of princes, they were as a body subject to the most galling restrictions, being in the eye of the law mere chattels of the superior lord, not human beings. Charlemagne, and his immediate successors, employed many of the Jews as their physicians, or as bankers, and even despatched them on

important embassies; but about the year 870, by a decree of the council of Meaux, they were declared incapable of filling any civil offices, and under Philip Augustus (A. D. 1180) they were stripped of their property, and banished from France. They soon returned, but were exposed to the most rigorous and unjust treatment; Louis IX., whose right to the title of Saint appears more than questionable, began the career of renewed persecution by forbidding the legal officers to seize the persons or estates of Christians indebted to Jews in default of payment; catholics were strictly prohibited from employing Jewish physicians; it was ordained that they should have only one synagogue and burial-ground in each diocese, that they should not exercise any of the higher industrial arts, and that they should wear some distinctive mark on a conspicuous part of their dress. In 1288 the parliament of Paris fined the Jews for singing too loud in their synagogues. Philip the Long pronounced sentence of banishment against them, but granted charters of protection to a few who were able to gratify his cupidity by large bribes. A strict search was made for those who dared to remain in the kingdom; several were burned alive, and, as an additional insult, dogs were thrown on the funeral pile. A great number were slain with less ceremony by the populace, who practised all sorts of cruelty upon the unfortunate sufferers. In 1350 John revoked the edicts of banishment, and the Jews, grateful for his kindness, cheerfully aided him in raising the large ransom with which he purchased his deliverance from captivity in England. This tranquillity was disturbed by the renewal of persecution under Charles VI., but the edicts of intolerance were found so difficult of execution that they were permitted soon to sink into oblivion.

Many of the popes commiserated the sufferings of the Jews, and endeavored to restrain the fanaticism of their persecutors. Honorius III. issued a bull, forbidding the use of force in converting them to Christianity, and menacing excommunication against those who insulted or injured them on account of their religion. Gregory IX., when a sudden burst of bigotry threatened the extermination of the Jews in every country in which they had settled, not only protected them in his own states, but wrote urgent letters in their behalf to all the monarchs of Europe. When the holy see was transferred to Avignon at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the favor shown to the Jews in Italy was continued, and the lot of those in France greatly alleviated. Avignon itself became the chief residence of the wealthy Jews, and their riches contributed not a little to the splendor of the pontifical court.

After the popes had returned to Rome, several pontiffs exhibited less wise and humane policy toward the Jewish race. Gregory XIII., who celebrated the atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew with public thanksgivings, was of course a persecutor of the Jews. He ordained that they should be subject to trial before the inquisition, for blasphemy, for ridiculing the ceremonies of the catholic religion, or for reading the Talmud and similar prohibited books. He further enjoined that all the Jews in Rome, above twelve years of age, should be assembled once a week to listen to a sermon in condemnation of their religion. Sixtus V. was a pontiff of a different character; on the 22d of October, 1586,

he re-established the Jews in all their municipal privileges, allowed them full right of citizenship in the Roman states, with power to hold houses and lands; he restored their synagogues and burial-grounds, imposing on them only a very moderate tribute, and promising them exemption for the future from all arbitrary exactions. Subsequent popes revoked the tolerant edicts of Sixtus, but they did not revive the cruel code of Gregory XIII., and in general the Jews have been permitted to enjoy greater freedom and to hold their property with greater tranquillity in the papal states, than in most other countries of Christendom. Hence while the Spanish Jews generally favored the reformation, those of Italy regarded the progress of protestant opinion with complete indifference, and sometimes with avowed hostility.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, most of the great German cities had among their inhabitants numerous Jews, wealthy, intelligent, and polished in their manners, but their prosperity was at all times at the mercy of their rulers, and it was only by means of their purchased and precarious protection that even their lives were secure. At length arose the crusading spirit, and the Jews in Germany, to the number of many thousands, were its first victims. Again the fanatics who were preparing to march to the third crusade (A. D. 1188), butchered all the Jews they met with in Germany and Italy, and similar barbarities were exercised in this and other countries, so that the annihilation of the devoted race seemed inevitable; but this, like other storms, passed away. After a while the Jews again arose from the dust, some returned to their ancient habitations, and others pushed forward into the then almost unknown regions of Poland, where they at length became, and still continue, a very influential part of the population.

At what period the Jews first reached Britain does not distinctly appear; but in the eighth century we find them reckoned among the property of the Anglo-Saxon kings, who seem to have exercised absolute power over both their lives and goods. In this state they remained under the Norman princes and the early Plantagenets, as is sufficiently testified by their butchery in the reign of Richard I.; the conduct of John, who drew out a tooth daily till he obtained a large sum of money from a rich Jew; the enormous fines levied on them by Henry III.; and their expulsion by Edward I. (A. D. 1290), after the confiscation of all their property. The conduct of the monarchs was of course imitated by the nobles to the extent of their power, and the hatred of all classes was excited by marvellous stories of the crucifixion of Christian children, the profanation of the sacraments, and other improbable outrages, of which they were said, but never proved, to be guilty.

As the Arabs lost their hold on Spain the Jews found themselves exposed to all the horrors of persecution. The inquisition was introduced, and after great numbers had been burnt, all who refused to become Christians were expelled the kingdom, being allowed to retain only their moveable property (A. D. 1492); their number is said to have exceeded 800,000, and they chiefly took refuge in Africa and Turkey. They were treated in a similar manner in Portugal. But it soon appeared that Judaism, though suppressed, was by no means extinguished in the peninsula, and the severity of the inquisition was

then exercised upon the nominal Christians; such was the case also in Italy. Thus persecuted in every country under the influence of the see of Rome, the Jews at the era of the reformation eagerly flocked toward the rising protestant states, where they were at least sure of personal safety. This was more especially the case in Holland, where they were equitably treated, and where they are now exceedingly numerous.

Although no repeal of the edict for their banishment had taken place, the Jews entered into some negotiations with Oliver Cromwell for their return to England, but which do not appear to have led to any result. At the time of the restoration they came in, in small numbers, without exciting any particular notice, and have ever since remained unmolested. In 1753, an act was passed to facilitate their naturalization, but it was speedily repealed, and though popular feeling is less strong at present on the subject, the attempt to place them upon the same footing as other British subjects, though several times made, has been unsuccessful.

In the course of the last and the present centuries the condition of the Jews in European countries has been greatly ameliorated. Maria Theresa of Austria, and, after her, most of the German states, have granted them equal privileges with Christians; in France they enjoy every civil right; in Poland they form the only middle class, and are found engaged in agriculture and manufactures; in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, they now reside unmolested, and in many of the British colonies (as Malta, Gibraltar, and Jamaica), they are among the principal merchants and traders. Indeed, Russia is the only civilized state where they are now subject to anything like their former restrictions, or are looked upon with much of the antipathy of former days. In Mohammedan countries, however, they are still an obnoxious sect, against whom the most improbable charges are readily credited, a circumstance frequently taken advantage of by the local governors.

As might be expected with regard to a people so widely scattered, the most contradictory statements of the number of the Jews have been made, few of them being anything more than mere conjecture. The most probable statement seems to be that of the *Weimar Almanac*, which gives a total of about 3,200,000, reckoning near 2,000,000 in Europe, 740,000 in Asia, 500,000 in Africa, and 5,000 in America.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SECTION I.—*Colonial History.*

SEVERAL unsuccessful attempts to plant colonies within the limits of the United States were made in the sixteenth century; but no permanent settlement was effected until the beginning of the seventeenth. Before the close of that century, however, all the colonies composing the original thirteen states were established except one, that of Georgia.

In the reign of Elizabeth of England, the whole country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, received the name of *Virginia*, in honor of the queen. In the next reign it was granted by royal charter to two companies formed for the purpose of settling it, the southern portion, called South Virginia, to the *London* company, and the northern, called North Virginia, to the *Plymouth* company.

In 1607, one hundred and fifteen years from the discovery of San Salvador by Columbus, the first permanent settlement was made at *Jamestown* under the auspices of the London company: and thus commenced the planting of the colony of *Virginia*.

In 1613 the settlement of *New York* was begun by the Dutch, on the island of New York, then called Manhattan. The same year, a naval force from Virginia compelled the Dutch to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of England: but it was not until 1664 that the colony was finally conquered and occupied by the English.

In 1620 the colony of *Plymouth* was planted by English independents, who had for some years been settled in Holland. Two unsuccessful attempts had been previously made to form settlements in New England, one by the Plymouth company in 1607, at the mouth of the Kennebec river; the other, a little later by the celebrated Capt. John Smith, the father of the Virginia colony.

In 1628 the *Massachusetts* colony was established by a company under a grant of lands from the Plymouth company. The first settlement was at *Salem*. Shortly after Charlestown, Boston, and the towns adjacent, were settled. In 1692, the Plymouth colony was incorporated with that of Massachusetts. Up to this time it had remained a voluntary association, governed by regulations made by the settlers among themselves.

In 1623, the settlement of *New Hampshire* was begun at the mouth of the Piscataqua river, and subsequently at *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and *Exeter*. These three settlements continued distinct and independent governments until 1641, when they united in coming under the govern-

ment of Massachusetts. In 1679 New Hampshire was by a royal ordinance erected into a separate province.

New Jersey was first settled by the Danes about the year 1624; and shortly after some Dutch families planted themselves in the vicinity of New York. In 1655, Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New York, conquered the country, which was finally occupied by the English on the conquest of New York in 1664.

Delaware was first occupied by the Swedes in 1627. The Dutch, however, disputed the possession of it with them, from the first, and in 1655 obtained and held it until it fell into the power of the English along with New York and New Jersey in 1664. Most of the Swedes, after the Dutch conquest, left the country.

Maine was settled in 1639. The first town founded was York. This province was united to Massachusetts in 1652, and so continued until 1820.

Maryland was settled in 1634 by English Roman catholics, under a patent to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, by whom a colony was planted at the mouth of the Potomac, at a place called St. Mary.

The first settlement in *Connecticut* was begun in 1635 at Hartford and its vicinity, by a company from Massachusetts. In 1638, *New Haven* was settled, and with the towns around it was called the colony of New Haven; but in 1662, it was united to the colony of Connecticut.

The settlement of *Rhode Island* dates from 1636, when Roger Williams, banished from Massachusetts on account of his religious principles (which were those of the baptists), established the town of *Providence*. Rhode Island itself was occupied in 1638, by persons also driven from Massachusetts by religious persecution. Roger Williams was a man far in advance of his time. To him belongs the eminent glory of giving the first practical example of religious toleration. The Providence and Rhode Island colonies were politically united in 1644.

North Carolina was occupied by settlers from Virginia between the years 1640 and 1650. They established themselves on lands north of Albemarle sound. It became a distinct colony in 1729.

In 1670 the settlement of *South Carolina* was begun at Port Royal; but the colony removed the next year, and founded a town which was called Charleston; but in 1680 this place was abandoned, and the settlement of the present city of Charleston commenced.

Pennsylvania was settled in 1682, under a royal grant to William Penn. This colony had a more rapid and prosperous growth than any of the other colonies, owing partly to the later date of its settlement when the obstacles to colonization had become less, and partly to the mildness and equity of its laws and administration.

Georgia was not colonized till 1733. It was then settled under a patent granted to twenty-one trustees, for the purpose of giving land gratuitously to indigent subjects of Great Britain. Liberal donations were made by benevolent persons to defray the expense of transporting and providing for the settlers. The first place founded was Savannah.

The limits of this sketch will not permit any details in regard to the history of the separate colonies, the dates of whose settlement have

now been given. A few matters of more general interest can only be noted.

In 1643, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, formed a union by articles of confederation, under the style of "The United Colonies of New England." To protect themselves against the Indians, and against the claims and encroachments of the Dutch of New Netherlands (as New York was then called), were the motives of this confederation. Rhode Island, refusing to merge her political existence under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, was excluded from the union. The conquest of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, in 1664, brought the whole country, from Maine to Carolina, under the dominion of the English.

In 1675 New England was afflicted by a memorable war with the Indians, called *King Philip's war*, from the name of an Indian sachem of great abilities, who combined the Indian tribes against the English. The capture and death of Philip the following year put an end to the war, in which New England suffered the loss of six hundred men, the flower of her strength, twelve or thirteen towns destroyed, and six hundred dwellings consumed.

In 1676 a rebellion broke out in Virginia, known as "Bacon's rebellion" from the name of the leader, an able and ambitious man, who seized, and for some months maintained, the supreme authority. His death put an end to the civil war. The causes of this rebellion were oppressive restrictions on commerce, and heavy taxes imposed by Governor Berkley.

During the reign of James II. the New England colonies were severely oppressed. The king revoked the charters and assumed the government into his own hands, appointing Sir Edmund Andros governor. Under his arbitrary and tyrannical administration the colonies suffered until the accession of William and Mary in 1689.

The news of the abdication of James, and the accession of William and Mary to the English throne was the signal for a revolution in New England. Sir Edmund Andros was deposed and imprisoned. Connecticut and Rhode Island resumed their charters and were allowed to retain them. Massachusetts obtained a new charter, in some respects preferable to its former one.

In New York, where Sir Edmund Andros had formerly been the tyrannical governor, and where his successors had generally followed his example, the discontents of the people led likewise to a revolution, which at length resulted in a constitution; but the collisions between the colonial assemblies and the royal governors retarded the restoration of peace and prosperity to the colony.

It will be proper here to advert to the forms of government which prevailed in the several colonies. These were of three sorts—the charter; the royal; and the proprietary.

1. The CHARTER governments. These were confined to New England. By their charters the people of these colonies were expressly entitled to all the privileges of British born subjects; and invested with the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government. They chose their governors and legislative bodies, and established their own

courts. Their legislatures were, however, restrained from passing any laws contrary to those of England. The crown claimed the right of revoking the charters; but this was denied by the colonists, unless they were forfeited for cause. They were sometimes declared forfeited, or forcibly revoked, as we have just seen in the reign of James II. The disputes arising on this subject were one of the causes of the revolution.

2. The ROYAL governments. These were Virginia, New York, and subsequently, North and South Carolina and New Jersey. In these colonies, the people had legislative assemblies of their own choosing; but the governor and council were appointed by the crown, who had a negative on all proceedings of the popular assemblies, and also the appointment of the judges and most of the administrative officers. The sources of grievance in these colonies were the arbitrary conduct of the governors, and the claim of absolute power by the crown to negative the acts of the assemblies.

3. The PROPRIETARY governments. These were Maryland and Pennsylvania, and, at first, the Carolinas and Jerseys. In these colonies, the proprietors, or individuals to whom the territories had been granted by the crown, were empowered, under certain limitations reserved by the crown, to establish civil governments and to make laws. There were in most cases colonial assemblies, partly summoned by the proprietors, and partly chosen by the people. Perpetual quarrels arose between the people and the proprietors, chiefly respecting the prerogative exercised by the latter of repealing or negativing the acts of the assemblies.

At the time of the accession of William III., in 1689, the population of the colonies is estimated to have exceeded two hundred thousand. There was but little trade or commerce except with England, whence the colonists derived all their merchandise, sending thither in return tobacco, peltry, some pork, and fish. Agriculture was the principal employment; and the manufactures in use were principally limited to the most common articles of necessity and convenience, and these were mostly imported from England.

The year 1692 is signalized in the annals of New England by the commencement of the trials for *witchcraft*. This fanatic delusion went on increasing until about twenty persons were publicly executed; one hundred and fifty were in prison, and two hundred more were accused. The phrensy then subsided as suddenly as it had sprung up and spread. The principal theatre of these deplorable scenes was in Salem, Massachusetts, and the neighboring towns, though there were some cases in Connecticut.

The English revolution, which placed William III. on the throne, while it freed the colonies from the oppressions they endured during the reign of his predecessor, involved them in the calamities of the war between France and England, which lasted from 1690 to the peace of Ryswick in 1697. The French in Canada directed an expedition against the English colonies, instigating the Indians to join them in their hostilities. In return, an armament was fitted out by Massachusetts for the invasion of the French settlements. Port Royal in Nova

Scotia was taken. A second expedition was undertaken by the colonies of New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, for the reduction of Montreal and Quebec. It failed in its object, and had the effect of producing dissatisfaction among the Indian tribes in New York, who were the allies of the English. This war, commonly called *King William's war*, was marked by the most savage atrocities on the part of the French and Indians.

Scarcely had the colonies begun to recover from this war, when in 1702 they were plunged into another with the French, Indians, and Spaniards, commonly called *Queen Anne's war*, arising from disputes about the boundaries, which had been left unsettled at the peace of Ryswick. The colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were the chief sufferers, being most exposed to the devastating and murderous incursions of the French and Indians from Canada. Several expeditions were sent into Canada; but the only success that attended the English arms was the taking again of Port Royal, which had been restored to the French at the close of the former war. It was now named *Annapolis*. The peace of Utrecht, in 1713, put an end to the war in the northern colonies; but South Carolina continued to be annoyed for some time by the Indians. By the treaty of Utrecht, France ceded Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England.

In 1744, England again declared war against France and Spain, which again involved the colonies in hostilities with the enemies of the mother-country and with their Indian allies. The principal event of this war, in America, was the capture of Louisburg from the French by forces from New England. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 again gave peace to the colonies. Prisoners were to be released on both sides without ransom, and all conquests to be mutually restored.

This war was extremely disastrous to the colonies. Many lives were lost; the growth of population was checked; great losses were sustained in the commercial interests of the country; and finally a burdensome debt of several millions had been incurred to defray the expenses of the war. With the return of peace, however, commerce revived; the settlements began to extend, and public credit was restored.

But only a brief interval of repose was allowed to the colonies. In 1756, eight years from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Great Britain again declared war against France, on the ground of the encroachments of the French upon the English territories in America.

Some years previous to this war the French had commenced a chain of posts, designed to extend from the head of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, with a view to maintain a communication between their northern possessions and Louisiana.

In 1750, the English government granted a large tract of land on the Ohio river to a company called the *Ohio company*, formed for the purpose of settling the country, and carrying on a trade in furs with the Indians. The French governor of Canada, apprehending both the loss of the fur-trade and the interruption of his communications with Louisiana, claimed the whole country between the Ohio and the Alleganies, and prohibited the further encroachments of the English. He also opened a new communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio, and stationed troops at posts along the line. The Ohio company, thus

threatened in their trade, persuaded Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, in 1753, to send a remonstrance to the French commandant. GEORGE WASHINGTON was the bearer. The commandant returned for answer that he had taken possession of the country by order of the governor-general of Canada, whose orders alone he could regard.

The British government, on learning the claim set up by the French, directed the Virginians to resist it by force. In 1754, an expedition was conducted against the French by Washington; but the superior force of the French obliged him to capitulate, with the privilege of returning with his troops to Virginia. This was properly the commencement of what is commonly styled the *French war*, although the formal declaration was not yet made.

In the meantime, the British government recommended the colonies to unite for their common defence. A convention of delegates from all the northern colonies accordingly met at Albany in 1754, and adopted a plan of union; but it was rejected, both by the provincial assemblies and by the home government: by the former because it gave too much power to the crown, and by the latter because it gave too little.

In the spring of 1755, vigorous preparations were made for carrying on the war. An expedition was sent against *Nova Scotia*, which met with entire success: the colonial forces, with trifling loss, subdued the French, and gained complete and permanent possession of the whole country.

An expedition under General Braddock, directed against the French on the *Ohio*, was unfortunate. Owing to the arrogance and rashness of the commander, the British troops were surprised and defeated with great loss by a very inferior force of French and Indians. General Braddock was mortally wounded, and the conduct of the retreat devolved on Washington, who was in command of the colonial militia, and by whom the army was saved from total destruction.

The American arms were more successful in the north. The French were signally defeated on the borders of Lake George, and their commander, Baron Dieskau, was mortally wounded. The moral effect of this victory, following within a few weeks the discomfiture of Braddock, was very great and salutary in its influence upon the colonies.

The next year, 1756, war was formally declared between Great Britain and France; and in Europe began what is called the *seven years' war*, in which Prussia was united with England against France. In America the campaign of 1756 was very disastrous to the colonists; they were unable even to attempt gaining possession of *Niagara* and *Crown Point*, places of great importance in the hands of the French, and the reduction of which was in the plan of operations. The French, under Montcalm, took Fort Oswego, thus gaining entire command of Lakes Ontario and Erie, besides inflicting upon the English a very severe loss, amounting to sixteen hundred men made prisoners, one hundred and twenty cannon, with fourteen mortars, two sloops-of-war, and two hundred bateaux.

The British government made great preparations for the campaign of 1757. A large force was destined for the reduction of Louisburg; but the indecision and incapacity of Lord Loudon, the commander-in-chief, caused the expedition to be abandoned. Meantime, Montcalm, the

French commander, besieged and took Fort William Henry, on Lake George, after a most spirited defence by Colonel Munroe. The English troops, after being admitted to honorable capitulation, were treacherously massacred by the Indians attached to Montcalm's army.

The campaign of 1758 was more prosperous. Lord Chatham had now become prime minister, and infused new energy into the prosecution of the war. In answer to a call made by him upon the colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, united in raising fifteen thousand men. The tide of success now turned in favor of the English. Three expeditions had been planned : one against Louisburg, another against Ticonderoga, and the third against Fort du Quesne on the Ohio. Louisburg was taken, with great loss to the French in prisoners, ships, and munitions of war. Fort du Quesne was abandoned by the French, taken possession of by the English, and named *Pittsburgh.* The expedition against Ticonderoga failed, but the failure was compensated by the capture of *Fort Frontinac*, an important fortress at the outlet of Lake Ontario.

The campaign of 1759 commenced with a nearly simultaneous attack upon all the French strongholds in Canada, namely, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec. One division of the army, under General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, proceeded against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which were successively taken. Another division, under General Prideaux, advanced and took Niagara. General Wolfe was no less successful in the great enterprise of conquering Quebec. The French, under Montcalm, were defeated on the plains of Abraham, and Quebec fell into the hands of the British. General Wolfe died upon the field of battle.

In 1760, the French made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Quebec. In less than a year from the capture of that city, Montreal, Detroit, and all other places in the possession of the French, were surrendered to the British, and the conquest of Canada was completed.

By the treaty of peace definitively concluded at Paris in 1763, Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence, were ceded to the British crown.

Thus it appears that in the seventy-one years from 1689 to 1760, the colonies were involved in *four* wars, occupying in all *twenty-seven* years. Yet during this period the population had increased from two hundred thousand to about three millions. The arts and manufactures, being opposed by the mother-country, made but little progress ; but there was a steady advancement in agriculture. Trade and commerce had gone on very greatly increasing—so much, that in the ten years preceding the revolutionary war, the average annual exports to Great Britain and elsewhere amounted to four million pounds sterling, and the imports to three and a half millions.

In the meantime, colleges and other superior institutions of learning had been established in nearly all the colonies, and popular instruction provided for, especially in New England ; the country was advancing in intellectual culture ; and more than all, the necessity of uniting for the common defence, and the intercourse between the colonies that grew out of it, had tended to create a *national* spirit, which the events

of the twelve years succeeding the peace of Paris still further developed and strengthened.

Section II.—*Revolutionary History.*

In 1775, twelve years from the peace of Paris, began the war which terminated in the final separation of the United States from the British empire. We will briefly glance at the causes of this revolution.

The colonists, from the first, always cherished a jealous sense of their rights: as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, it was a settled doctrine among them that the authority of parliament was limited to the regulation of trade, and that taxes could not be imposed upon them without their own consent. Previous, indeed, to the peace of Paris, the home government had never attempted to interfere with internal taxation. For a century, however, before that event, a variety of restrictions had from time to time been imposed upon the trade of the colonies, the object of which was to oblige the colonists to buy and sell exclusively in the English markets. Colonial manufactures were also in every possible way discouraged. These restrictions produced much discontent and ill-blood.

In 1764, the first act avowedly for the purpose of raising a revenue in America was passed in parliament. This was followed the next year (March 22, 1765) by the famous *Stamp Act*, making void all bonds, notes, and such like instruments, unless written on stamped paper, upon which a duty to the crown was imposed. These acts excited great displeasure throughout the colonies; and in October a congress of delegates from Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New York, and passed several resolutions, acknowledging the rightful authority of parliament, but denouncing the stamp act and other acts, as subversive of the just rights and liberties of the colonists as natural-born English subjects. The proceedings of this body were sanctioned by all the colonies. The public indignation, inflamed by newspapers, pamphlets, and popular meetings, rose to the highest pitch; combinations were everywhere formed to abstain from using articles of British merchandise, and in every way to oppose the measures of the home government. The officers appointed under the stamp act were in many places insulted, abused, and forced to resign; and when the first of September, the day for the act to go into operation, arrived, neither stamps nor stamp-officers were to be found. Business of all kinds requiring stamps was for a time suspended; law proceedings were stayed, the courts shut, and marriages ceased to be celebrated.

The next year (March 18, 1766) the stamp act was repealed, though the repeal was accompanied by a declaration of the "*right of parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*" In a few months from this time, a new ministry came into power, and a new plan for taxing America was introduced into parliament, namely, by laying a duty on glass, paper, pasteboard, painters' colors, and tea, imported into the colonies. The bill imposing these duties and providing for their collection by a new customhouse system, was passed June 29, 1767. A body of troops was soon after sent out and quartered in Boston. These meas-

ures produced great exasperation in the colonies, and led to combinations against using the articles subjected to duty. In 1770, this act was repealed, with the exception of the duty on tea. The colonists were only the more decided in renouncing the use of that article. An act of parliament was passed in 1773, allowing the East India company such a drawback of duties on teas exported to America that they could afford to sell them there cheaper than in England. This was done with the hope of inducing the colonists to return to the use of the article. Large shipments were accordingly made; but the Americans refused to pay the slight duty upon it; the cargoes sent to New York and Philadelphia were not suffered to be landed; in Charleston it was not allowed to be put to sale; and at Boston it was thrown into the sea by a party of men disguised as Indians. These proceedings excited the fierce displeasure of the British government, especially against Boston; and in March, 1774, the "*Boston Port Bill*," so called, was passed, prohibiting all commercial intercourse with that town. Another bill subverted the charter government of Massachusetts, vesting the appointment of the council and judges in the crown; and a third shortly after empowered the governor to send persons indicted for capital offences to another colony or to Great Britain for trial.

These violent proceedings awakened the greatest indignation throughout the colonies. All made common cause with Massachusetts. On the 5th of September a general congress met at Philadelphia, and adopted a declaration of rights and grievances, and agreed to an entire suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the repeal of the acts of which they complained. They likewise voted an address to the king, another to the people of Great Britain, and a third to the inhabitants of Canada. These peaceful measures for redress proving ineffectual, the feeling of the necessity of resisting by force became quite general in the colonies. Preparations began to be made; warlike stores were collected, and the citizens began to arm.

In Massachusetts Governor Gage had convoked the legislative assembly for the 5th of October, 1774, but afterward judged it expedient to countermand the writs. The assembly notwithstanding convened, and the governor not appearing, organized themselves and adopted a plan for the defence of the province. In November they met again and resolved to raise a force of twelve thousand men, and to request the other New England states to increase the number to twenty thousand.

Early the next year, 1775, parliament, in spite of the conciliatory counsels of the Earl of Chatham, proceeded to pass a bill restraining still further the trade of New England. Soon after they imposed restrictions upon the middle and southern colonies, except New York, Delaware, and North Carolina. This exception was made with a view to produce dissension among the colonies: but it failed of its object.

This brings us to the commencement of actual hostilities. General Gage, the royal governor of Massachusetts, sent a detachment of eight hundred soldiers to destroy some military stores deposited at Concord. On their way, they arrived at *Lexington* on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, where they found a company of provincial militia assembled on parade. This company, not instantly obeying an order to throw down their arms and disperse, were fired upon and eight of their

number killed. The detachment proceeded to Concord and destroyed the stores, though not without opposition and bloodshed. But the spirit of the people was up, and on their return to Boston the British were harassed the whole way, and continually fired upon from behind walls, buildings, and fences. The British loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly three hundred: the American to less than a hundred.

The war was now begun in good earnest. The important fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken by the Americans; and soon after (June 17, 1775) the memorable battle of *Bunker's Hill* was fought. The result of this engagement, though the Americans, from failure of ammunition, were obliged to retreat, was in its moral effect equal to a victory. The British loss was two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded. The Americans lost one hundred and thirty-nine killed, and three hundred and fourteen wounded and missing.

The second continental congress was at this time in session, having met at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, and resolved to organize an army. On the 15th of June, GEORGE WASHINGTON was appointed commander-in-chief. He proceeded at once to the American army amounting to about 14,000 men, posted in the environs of Boston. The British occupied Boston, Bunker's and Breed's hill, and Boston Neck. The first cares of the commander-in-chief were directed to introducing discipline, order, and system, into the army.

Meantime, an expedition against Canada was planned. St. John's and Montreal were successively taken; Quebec was unsuccessfully besieged. General Montgomery, the commander of the expedition, fell beneath its walls. The Americans, for want of adequate forces, were obliged to retire from Canada.

In March, 1776, General Washington executed a plan for driving the British from Boston, by seizing and fortifying Dorchester heights, and thus getting command of the harbor and British shipping. On the 17th the British forces evacuated the town and sailed for Halifax.

In the month of June, General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker made an attack on Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, South Carolina; but were repulsed with considerable loss.

Congress meanwhile continued in session, and on the 4th of July adopted the memorable *Declaration of Independence*. This declaration was received with every demonstration of joyous enthusiasm throughout the colonies. The royal authority had been everywhere entirely subverted the year before: the revolution was now in a political sense completed; but the war for its establishment was yet to be waged.

Shortly after the evacuation of Boston by the British, General Washington removed to New York, making that place his headquarters. The American forces in and around the city were about 17,000 men, of whom a part were encamped near Brooklyn, on Long Island, under the command of General Sullivan. In June following, General Howe with the forces from Halifax, arrived near New York, and was shortly after joined by his brother Admiral Lord Howe, with a reinforcement of troops, a strong naval force, and abundant military stores. The army under General Howe now amounted to twenty-four thousand.

On the 27th of August, the Americans on Long Island were attacked and defeated with the loss of upward of a thousand men. Generals Sullivan, Woodhull, and Lord Sterling, were taken prisoners. General Washington crossed over from New York during this engagement and witnessed the defeat of his best troops with indescribable anguish. He immediately withdrew the American forces from Long Island and shortly afterward from New York, which was taken possession of by the British. Washington at first took position at Harlem heights, but soon retired to White Plains. Here on the 28th of September a battle was fought, but without any decided advantage to either side. General Washington had adopted the policy of wearing out the enemy by keeping them in perpetual pursuit, and avoiding any general engagement for the present, and by engaging in skirmishes whenever he could do so with decided advantage. In pursuance of this policy he withdrew from White Plains, leaving part of his army in a position a few miles from there, crossed the Hudson, and took post near Fort Lee. The British general having been thus far baffled in his attempts to draw on a general engagement, turned his forces against Fort Washington and Fort Lee. The former was first attacked, and after a spirited defence was taken, with between 2,000 and 3,000 men made prisoners. The garrison of Fort Lee abandoned the place and joined Washington, who was now at Newark.

The forces with the commander-in-chief were now reduced to three thousand men, and they were destitute of tents, blankets, and even of utensils to cook their provisions. Pursued by the enemy, Washington retreated successively to Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and finally across the Delaware into Pennsylvania. So hot was the pursuit that the rear of the American army was often in sight of the van of the enemy.

This retreat through New Jersey was the darkest hour of the revolutionary struggle. On the same day that Washington was driven across the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. They were already in possession of New York and New Jersey. The division of the army with Washington was continually diminishing by the discharge of the militia whose term of service expired, and by desertion of the regulars. The militia of New Jersey and Pennsylvania disregarded the call made upon them; and the handful of men that remained with Washington were exposed in an open country, without tools to intrench themselves, suffering the greatest hardships and privations in the midst of a population of whom many were hostile and all disheartened. A general gloom and despondency hung over the country. But nothing could shake the constancy of Washington. Being at length reinforced by some militia and by the second division of the regular army that had been left in New York under General Lee, but which (in consequence of that general being surprised and taken prisoner by the British) was then in command of General Sullivan, his forces now amounted to about 7,000 men. Feeling the absolute necessity of doing something to rouse the army and the country from the depression that was weighing down all minds, Washington crossed the Delaware with a detachment of his army, surprised and took prisoners a body of a thousand Hessians, with the loss of but nine men on his own side.

Soon after evading by night the British who were encamped at Trenton in the confident expectation of forcing him to a general engagement the next day, he marched upon Princeton where a part of the British force had been left, routed and put to flight two regiments which he met on his way, and captured nearly the whole of another. These brilliant affairs turned the tide. The British immediately evacuated Trenton, and retreated to New Brunswick; the inhabitants, stung to revenge by the brutalities they had suffered, took courage, and the enemy were driven from every post in New Jersey, except Amboy and New Brunswick: and Washington went into secure winter quarters at Morristown. Thus closed the campaign of 1776.

During the darkest period of this campaign the American congress showed no sign of dismay. They adopted articles of confederation for a perpetual union of the states; took measures for raising a new army with a larger term of enlistment; created a paper currency; and solemnly proclaimed that they would listen to no terms of peace short of independence. They sent commissioners to France to treat for the acknowledgment of their independence and for aid in their struggle. The cause of America was popular at the French court; countenance and assistance were at once in various ways secretly given. Many French officers became desirous of enlisting in the struggle, among whom was the young Marquis de la Fayette, who arrived in season to take part in the next campaign.

The campaign of 1777. In May, Washington broke up his winter encampment at Morristown. His army now amounted to little more than 7,000 men. The British also removed from New Brunswick. No decided movement was made till August, when General Howe, the British commander, sailed for the Chesapeake with 16,000 men. Washington immediately put his army in motion to save Philadelphia from falling into the enemy's hands. The two armies met at *Brandywine*, September 11, and the Americans, after fighting nearly all day, were forced to retire. In this battle La Fayette was wounded in the leg After another ineffectual attempt to save Philadelphia, Washington was obliged to withdraw his force, and General Howe entered the city. Congress adjourned to Lancaster.

On the 4th of October, Washington attacked a part of the British army posted at *Germantown*, but was repulsed with a loss double that of the enemy. After this the British remained for some time inactive at Philadelphia.

But while the southern army under Washington accomplished so little, brilliant success crowned the army of the north. As a part of the plan formed by the British, General Burgoyne invaded the states from the north, with a view to form a communication between Canada and New York, and cut off New England from the more southern states. After various movements—in the course of which Ticonderoga was abandoned by the Americans, and a detachment of the British was defeated at *Bennington*—the two armies met at Saratoga, where, after two severe engagements, General Burgoyne, finding himself hemmed in without chance of escape, and his provisions reduced to a three days' supply, found himself under the necessity of surrendering to General

Gates, with his whole army, consisting of five thousand and seven hundred effective men.

This event was hailed throughout the country with transports of joy. Its moral effect was every way important. Among its consequences was the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States by France, and the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations. The campaign was terminated by the British army going into winter quarters at Philadelphia, and the American at Valley Forge, about fifteen miles distant. The hardships and sufferings of the American army this winter, from badness of shelter, destitution of clothing, and scarcity of food, with consequent sickness, were intense.

Campaign of 1778. The intelligence of the alliance between America and France, determined the British to evacuate Philadelphia. They began their retreat to New York on the 18th of June. General Washington crossed the Delaware in pursuit, and on the 28th an engagement took place at Monmouth, in New Jersey. Night broke off the battle, but the Americans on the whole gained the advantage, passing the night on the field, intending to renew the attack in the morning. But under cover of the night, the British general made good his retreat.

Toward the close of this year, the southern states became the theatre of the operations of the enemy. Savannah was taken, and with it the whole state of Georgia fell into the hands of the English.

The campaign of 1779 was marked by nothing memorable or decisive. An attempt was made to recover Savannah and Georgia by the combined forces of the Americans, under General Lincoln, and the French, under Count D'Estaing, who had arrived the year before with twelve ships-of-the-line and six frigates. Several British vessels-of-war were taken, but the attempt to reduce Savannah failed. D'Estaing left the continent.

The enemy limited their efforts this year chiefly to predatory expeditions, fitted out from New York, with a view to distress and impoverish the country. An expedition of this kind was sent to Virginia; New Haven, in Connecticut, was plundered; and Fairfield, Norwalk, and some other towns in the same state, were wantonly burnt.

With the exception of taking Stony Point (July 15), and sending an expedition against the Six Nations of Indians, little was done or attempted by the Americans. This is attributable partly to the disappointment of the country with respect to the advantage they expected from the aid of D'Estaing and the French, but still more to the embarrassments and difficulties which resulted from the depreciation of the "continental currency," as the bills of credit issued by Congress were called. The amount in circulation had now risen to nearly two hundred millions of dollars; and so great was the depreciation, that it is said "four months' pay of a private would not procure his family a single bushel of wheat, and the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse." Under circumstances like these, the wisdom and prudence of Washington were tasked to the utmost to keep an army together.

The campaign of 1780 was marked by more important events. Sir Henry Clinton, leaving General Kniphausen in command at New York, conducted a force of between seven and eight thousand men against Charleston, South Carolina. General Lincoln, who was in command of the army of the south, attempted to defend the place, but was obliged to capitulate, and his army, amounting to five thousand men, became prisoners. Sir Henry Clinton soon returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with four thousand men in South Carolina.

General Gates succeeded General Lincoln in command of the American army of the south. On the 16th of August, a bloody battle was fought at *Camden*, in which the Americans were defeated.

Meanwhile, at the north, the British continued their system of impoverishing the country by marauding expeditions sent out from New-York.

In July, arrived at Rhode Island a French fleet of seven sail-of-the-line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels, and several transports, with six thousand men, under the command of Count de Rochambeau. Great was the joy and great were the hopes inspired by this event; but the British naval force was still the greatest; and both the French fleet and army were for some time prevented from aiding the Americans, by being blocked up at Rhode Island.

This year is memorable in the annals of the war, for the treachery of General Arnold, and the sad fate of Major Andre. Arnold was in command of the important fortress of West Point, and engaged to betray it into the hands of the enemy. Major Andre was the agent employed by the British general in conducting the negotiation. The plot was discovered; Arnold fled to the British, and Andre was taken and hung as a spy.

The campaign of 1781 was opened by an inauspicious event, the revolt of the Pennsylvania line-of-the-army, occasioned by want of pay, clothing, and provisions. Their grievances were considerately examined and redressed by congress, and the mutiny subsided.

Virginia was meanwhile suffering from the marauding incursions of the British, commanded by the traitor Arnold.

In the south, General Greene succeeded General Gates. Lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade North Carolina, but unwilling to leave an enemy in his rear, sent Colonel Tarleton to engage General Morgan, whom Greene had put in command of one division of his army, and stationed in the western part of South Carolina. They met at *Cowpens*, on the 17th of January, and more than one thousand of the choicest veterans of the British army were defeated by scarcely five hundred Americans, chiefly militia. This was the most brilliant affair of the war.

Hereupon Lord Cornwallis went in pursuit of Greene, who evaded him until the 8th of March, when, having received a reinforcement, he marched against the British, and a general engagement took place at *Guilford* Courthouse, which was decided in favor of the enemy. General Greene then led his forces to South Carolina, to attack Lord Rawdon at *Camden*. A battle was fought, March 25, and Greene was obliged to retreat. Meanwhile General Lee, with a detachment des-

patched for that purpose, took possession of a post at Mottes, near the junction of the Santee and Congaree rivers. This led the British to evacuate Camden and their whole line of posts, except Ninety-six and Charleston. Not long after, Ninety-six was abandoned, and the British encamped at *Eutaw Springs*, forty miles from Charleston. Here, on the 8th of September following, an indecisive battle was fought. The British now retired to Charleston.

After the battle of Guilford, Lord Cornwallis began his march to Virginia, where he arrived on the 20th of May. General Lafayette hastened to oppose him, and to cut off the reinforcements which were marching to join him. In this he failed. Cornwallis's force now amounted to eight thousand men. Lafayette was obliged by inferiority of numbers to avoid a battle, and continued to retreat, manœuvring with great prudence and skill. Cornwallis at length retired to Yorktown, near the mouth of York river, and fortified himself there.

The plan of the campaign, as first formed by Washington, had for its main project the siege of New York, in concert with a French fleet under Count de Grasse, expected to arrive in August. Being advised, however, that De Grasse would arrive at the Chesapeake, instead of New York, Washington changed his whole plan of operations, and began to move upon Yorktown with a combined force of Americans and French amounting to twelve thousand, while Count de Grasse with his fleet occupied the mouth of York river, and thus cut off the retreat of Cornwallis in that direction.

The siege of Yorktown commenced on the 6th of October, and on the 19th Lord Cornwallis was obliged to capitulate, surrendering his whole force, amounting to seven thousand men, and one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery.

With so much skill had Washington arranged his measures for withdrawing his army from New York, and combining his forces for the blockade of Yorktown, that Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief, then at New York, did not suspect his designs till he was far on his way to Virginia. On the very day that Cornwallis surrendered, Clinton left New York with a reinforcement of seven thousand men; and five days after, arrived off the capes of Virginia. Receiving intelligence of the fate of Cornwallis, he returned to New York.

This great and important victory filled the country with joy and exultation. Congress passed resolutions of thanks to the generals, officers, and soldiers, and went in procession to church to render solemn thanks to Almighty God: and appointed the 30th of December as a festival of national thanksgiving.

Thus ended the campaign of 1781, and with it the war was substantially ended. The British held a few posts of importance—New York, Charleston, and Savannah—but the country at large was wrested from their possession.

On the 4th of March, 1782, the British house of commons passed a resolution that "the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and to the country all those who should advise or attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." The government immediately appointed Sir Guy Carleton commander-in-chief, in place of Sir Henry Clinton. In obedience to his instructions,

Sir Guy made advances for negotiations, but congress refused to negotiate except in concert with the French government. Not long after, at the instance of the French court, commissioners were appointed to negotiate a peace. These were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. The commissioners on the part of England were Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles of peace were signed on the 30th of November, 1782. The definitive treaty was not signed until September 30, 1783. A formal proclamation of the cessation of hostilities was made to the army on the 19th of April, 1783. In July, the British evacuated Savannah; in November, New York; and in December, Charleston.

On the 3d of November, the army of the United States was disbanded; and on the 23d of December, Washington appeared in person in the hall of congress, and resigned his commission as commander-in-chief. The moral grandeur of that act and of that scene is without parallel in history. Washington concluded his address on that occasion as follows:—

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close the last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned to me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

Mr. Mifflin, president of congress, in behalf of that body, replied to this address, expressing their high sense of his wisdom and ability in the conduct of the war; concluding in these words:—

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation.

"And for *you*, we address to him our earnest prayer that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world can not give."

Well for the nation if it always remember the example and the lesson here presented!

During the war, the trade and commerce of the country were nearly destroyed. Agriculture was greatly interrupted and depressed; but the necessity of providing articles which could no longer be imported, led to a greater progress in manufactures than at any former period. The population of the country at the close of the war was about three millions and a quarter.

Section III.—*Constitutional History.*

The return of peace found the country burdened with more than forty millions of dollars of debt, due partly to foreign holders, and partly to the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary war. By the articles of confederation, under which the general government of the country had

been carried on since 1777, congress had exclusive right to declare war, make peace, borrow money, issue bills of credit, and make requisitions upon the states for men and money: but it had no power to discharge the national debt. It could only recommend the states to raise money. Various plans were proposed, to redeem the credit of the country, among which was that of the states granting congress power to impose a duty of *five per cent.* on foreign goods. But this was defeated by the opposition of Rhode Island and New York. The interest of the public debt remained unpaid; the certificates of it depreciated every day, and many of the poor officers and soldiers who held them were obliged to sell them for almost nothing. Some of the states made attempts to maintain their credit; Massachusetts imposed a heavy tax to this end, but it produced an armed insurrection (A. D. 1786), which was with some difficulty put down.

In this disturbed and distressed condition of affairs, it became obvious that the common danger from foreign war being over, the confederation was an insufficient basis for the government of the country. Accordingly, in the month of May, 1787, a convention of delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, assembled at Philadelphia, and after about four months' session, adopted the present constitution of the United States, with a resolution that as soon as it should be ratified by nine states, it should be carried into operation by congress. July 14, 1788, ten states having acceded to it, it was declared ratified and adopted by congress. The other states subsequently assented to it: New York, July 26, 1788; North Carolina in November, 1789; and Rhode Island in May, 1790.

George Washington was unanimously elected the first president under the new constitution: John Adams vice-president. The first congress assembled at New York, March 4, 1789; and on the 30th of April, Washington was inaugurated. The most important affairs pressed upon the attention of congress: the government was to be organized; the administrative and judiciary departments to be established; and a revenue to be provided. These measures occupied the first session of congress, which terminated on the 29th of September.

The second session of the first congress began January 8, 1790. Agreeably to a plan submitted by Mr. Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, congress proceeded to make provision for discharging in full the foreign and domestic debt, and assumed also the debts incurred by the several states in carrying on the war. To this object the proceeds of the public lands lying in the western territory, the surplus revenue from the duties on imports, and a loan of two millions, were appropriated. This measure immediately restored public credit; certificates of public debt rose to par; and those who had purchased low, realized immense fortunes. Business of all kinds revived, and the country entered upon a career of prosperous activity and enterprise.

At the next session of congress, after a protracted debate, a bill was passed imposing a tax on domestic spirits, for the purpose of paying the interest on the state debts assumed by the Union. A national bank was also established, not without opposition, mainly on the ground of its unconstitutionality. The party lines between the federalists and anti-federalists (as they were called), which had begun to appear when the

adoption of the new constitution was under discussion, became this session more broad and clear. A regular opposition to the administration began to be organized.

Meantime the hostilities of the Indians northwest of the Ohio made it necessary to send an expedition against them. General Harmar was put in command, but he was defeated with considerable loss in a battle near Chilicothe. General St. Clair, who succeeded in command, was also totally defeated. A bill then passed congress for raising an additional force to the army. The measure was bitterly resisted by the opposition, chiefly on the ground that standing armies were dangerous, and that the proposed increase showed the existence of monarchical designs on the part of the administration. An unsuccessful attempt was made the next session to reduce the military establishment; and the opposition introduced various resolutions, evincing their hostility to the administration. The public press became also the vehicle of vehement attacks, particularly upon the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Hamilton; and party spirit, from day to day, grew stronger throughout the country.

On the expiration of his first term of office, Washington was nevertheless unanimously re-elected president, March, 1793; Mr. Adams again vice-president. Beside the still unsettled condition of Indian affairs, this term of Washington's administration was embarrassed by new difficulties, growing out of the French revolution. The French republic had just declared war against England and Holland; and so strong in the United States was the hatred of the people to the British, and so lively their sympathy with the French, that the opinion was entertained in many quarters that America was bound by every consideration, both of gratitude to an old ally, and sympathy with the cause of republicanism, to make common cause with France.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the declaration of war, Washington convened a cabinet council, and by their unanimous advice, issued a proclamation, enjoining strict neutrality to be observed on the part of the United States toward the belligerant powers, April 22, 1793. The opposition (anti-federalist) party, through the press, bitterly inveighed against this proclamation, denouncing it as a high-handed assumption of power on the part of the president, "a royal edict," evincing his monarchical disposition, and also as dishonorable and ungrateful toward France.

In this state of things, Mr. Genet, the new minister appointed by the French republic, arrived in the country, with the object of engaging the co-operation of the United States against England. Misled by the flattering reception he met with at Charleston, where he landed, he immediately began, even before he had been recognised as minister, to excite the people against the government; and carried his audacity so far, as to set at defiance the proclamation of neutrality, fitting out expeditions, and giving commissions to American vessels to cruise against the enemies of France, and assuming the power to hold admiralty courts, for the trial and sale of prizes thus made. In these measures he was supported by the opposition, or as it began to be called, the DEMOCRATIC party, which now began, under the influence of the French minister, and in imitation of the affiliated clubs in France, to form democratic societies throughout the country.

Washington demanded the recall of Mr. Genet. The French government complied, and instructed his successor to express its entire disapproval of Genet's conduct.

When congress assembled in December following, the proclamation of neutrality, and the conduct of Washington toward Genet, were approved by that body, as they were finally by the great body of the nation.

1794. Congress this year passed a bill providing for a naval force to protect American commerce against the Algerines. The slave-trade was likewise prohibited.

There seemed now reason to apprehend the necessity of another war with England. In addition to severe and unjust commercial restrictions imposed by that government, she had proceeded to capture and condemn neutral vessels having on board French goods, or carrying corn and other supplies to France. In anticipation of a war, congress passed several bills—for imposing an embargo; for organizing the militia; and for increasing the standing army. Meanwhile information was received that the British government was disposed to redress the grievances complained of, and amicably adjust all differences. John Jay was accordingly nominated and approved as envoy to Great Britain.

All attempts to make peace with the Indians having failed, the war was renewed. General Wayne was appointed to succeed General St. Clair. On the 20th of August, he gained a decisive victory over a large body of the Miamies, and then proceeded to lay waste their country. This victory prevented a general war with the Six Nations and with the tribes northwest of the Ohio.

The "Whiskey Insurrection" in Pennsylvania is one of the events of this year. It grew out of the duty on domestic spirits; this tax pressed heavily on the inhabitants of the west, and was besides considered unjust in principle. The proclamation of the president being disregarded, a considerable force of militia (fifteen thousand men), under Governor Lee of Maryland, was ordered out. On their approach, the insurgents laid down their arms, and promised submission to the laws.

1795. This year Mr. Jay having concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with Great Britain, the senate was convoked to consider it. Meanwhile, its contents having been disclosed, the most violent opposition was made to it; public meetings were held, and petitions against it were sent from all quarters of the country. The partisans of France and the enemies of England denounced it in the most unmeasured terms. The objections to it "were, generally, that it wanted reciprocity; that it gave up all compensation for negroes carried away contrary to the treaty of peace, and for the detention of the western posts; that it contravened the French treaty, and sacrificed the interest of our ally to that of Great Britain; that it gave up in several important instances the law of nations, particularly in relation to free ships making free goods, cases of blockade, and contraband of war; that it improperly interfered with the legislative powers of congress . . . . . and that the commercial part gave few advantages to the United States."* The treaty was, however, ratified by the senate, and signed by the president, August 14, 1795.

* Pitkin, Civil History of the United States.

In October, after a long negotiation, a treaty was made with Spain, settling some questions of boundary, and acquiring for the United States the right of navigating the Mississippi. Treaties were also concluded with Algiers, and with the Indians in the west.

1796. On the assembling of congress this year, it became necessary to make appropriations and pass resolutions for carrying these treaties into effect. This gave occasion for a new display of hostility to the British treaty; and it was only after a debate of seven weeks, that the necessary resolutions passed the house of representatives, and then only by a majority of three. Public opinion at length gradually settled in favor of this treaty, as the only means of saving the country from becoming involved in the wars of the French revolution; and in the sequel it proved of great advantage to the United States.

The close of the second term of Washington's administration was now approaching. Signifying his intention to retire from public life, the Father of his country took occasion to issue a *farewell address* to his countrymen, replete with maxims of political wisdom, and sentiments of patriotism and virtue. If anything in this incomparable document may be signalized, where all should be profoundly weighed, the conclusion may justly claim attention: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, RELIGION and MORALITY are indispensable supports . . . . . Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that *national morality* can prevail in exclusion of *religious principle*." This was said, let it be considered, at a time when the infidel spirit, the sneering spirit, of French atheism, was fashionable, almost the prevailing spirit, among the higher classes throughout the land.

The personal influence of Washington, due alike to his wisdom, his virtues, and his eminent services, was of the utmost importance in the first working of the new government. During the eight years of his administration, all differences with foreign nations had been peaceably settled, except those with France; and at home the Indian tribes had been pacified. "Public and private credit was restored; ample provision made for the security and ultimate payment of the public debt; American tonnage had nearly doubled; the exports had increased from nineteen to more than fifty-six millions of dollars; the imports in about the same proportion; and the amount of revenue from imposts had exceeded the most sanguine calculations."* The population had increased from three and a half to five millions; and agriculture and all the industrial interests of the country were in a flourishing state.

The only drawback to this picture of prosperity were the difficulties with France. Discontented at the neutral policy of America, the French republic continued to make demands upon the gratitude of the United States, which could be yielded to only by surrendering the right of self-government. Finding all attempts to involve America in its wars with Europe ineffectual, and feeling aggrieved at the treaty with its enemy, the French government proceeded to retaliate, by adopting certain resolutions injurious to American commerce, under the operation of which, moreover, several hundred American vessels were seized and confis-

* Pitkin.

cated. Just before his retirement from office, Washington had recalled Mr. Monroe, and despatched Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to France, as minister plenipotentiary, to settle the difficulties between the two nations.

Such was the state of the country at the close of Washington's administration.

On the 4th of March, 1797, JOHN ADAMS became president. The French republic refusing to receive Mr. Pinckney; a subsequent mission extraordinary to that government having also totally failed; and spoliations upon American commerce continually increasing; congress began to adopt vigorous measures for defence and retaliation. The treaties with France were declared no longer obligatory on the United States; an army was raised; and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. Several engagements at sea took place between French and American vessels. The French government now signified indirectly a willingness to treat, and envoys were again sent from the United States. Before their arrival, the revolution of the 18th *Brumaire* (November 10, 1799) had taken place; the directorial government was overthrown, and Bonaparte was at the head of affairs as first consul. This event changed the policy of the French government; negotiations were commenced, and a treaty was concluded September 30, 1800.

On the 14th of December, 1799, died GEORGE WASHINGTON, mourned by the nation as no other man was ever mourned by any people. There have been great men superior perhaps to him in particular qualities and endowments: but in the perfect proportion and harmony of all the qualities of his nature, intellectual and moral, in the entireness and unity of his character, he is distinguished above all the great men whom history presents to our contemplation. In this consisted the secret of the repose, dignity, and grandeur, that through his whole life made so strong an impression upon all who approached him, and gave him such power over them.

Party spirit ran high during Mr. Adams's administration. Its measures were violently assailed by the opposition, particularly the "alien" and "sedition" laws: by the former of which, any alien considered dangerous might be ordered to depart from the country; and by the latter, combinations to oppose the government, libellous publications, &c., were made penal. The unpopularity of these and some other measures gave great strength to the democratic party, and defeated the re-election of Mr. Adams.

On the 4th of March, 1801, THOMAS JEFFERSON succeeded Mr. Adams as president of the United States.

At the next session of congress, several of the most important acts of the preceding period were repealed, particularly those imposing internal taxes, and reorganizing the United States courts.

Among the most important events of this period was the purchase of *Louisiana* from the French for fifteen millions of dollars.

Mr. Jefferson's term of office expiring, he was re-elected, and commenced a second term, March 4, 1805. The same year a war, which had been carried on for several years with Tripoli, was brought to a close by a treaty of peace.

The close of the year 1806 is marked by the explosion of *Aaron Burr's* plot for revolutionizing the western and southwestern territory. This ambitious and unprincipled man was engaged in the western country ostensibly with the purpose of settling a tract of country on the Washita, in Louisiana; but the nature of his preparations, the character of the men he was collecting, &c., excited suspicions—which the indiscreet disclosures of some of his associates confirmed—that his real object was to seize New Orleans, and establish himself at the head of a new empire in the southwestern territory of the United States; or, failing that, in Mexico. He was seized and brought to trial the next year, but no overt act being in proof against him, he was discharged. He was, however, generally believed to be guilty; and under the odium thus incurred, joined with that which attached to him for his murderous duel with General Hamilton in 1804, he sunk to abject contempt and wretchedness.

The interests of the United States were now becoming complicated with policy of the belligerant powers of Europe. The peace of Amiens (A. D. 1802) gave but a short repose from war; hostilities were soon renewed between France and England, and all the powers of Europe became involved in them. The United States maintained a strict neutrality, and engaged in an extensive and profitable carrying-trade.

But in 1806, the English government, by an *order of council*, declared the blockade of all the ports and rivers from the Elbe to Brest. Napoleon retaliated by the famous "*Berlin decree*," declaring all the British islands in a state of blockade. This was met by another British order of council, prohibiting all coasting-trade with France.

While these measures, which were partly in contravention of the law of nations, operated very injuriously upon the commerce of America, and tended to embroil her with both the belligerant powers, an old difficulty with England was aggravated by a special outrage. Great Britain had always claimed the right of searching American vessels, and of impressing from them native-born British subjects. They had also impressed some thousands of American seamen, under the pretext that they were British born. In this course the English government persisted in spite of the remonstrances of the United States. In June, 1807, Commodore Barron, commanding the American frigate Chesapeake, refusing to deliver three men claimed by the British, the Chesapeake was attacked by the British frigate Leopard off the capes of Virginia, very much injured and crippled, and the men in question forcibly taken away.

The public mind was greatly exasperated by this outrage. The president, by proclamation, ordered all British armed vessels off the waters of the United States, until satisfaction should be made, which the American minister, Mr. Monroe, was instructed to demand forthwith, as well as security against future impressments from American vessels. The British government declined to treat concerning the general question of *search and impressment*, but sent a special envoy to the United States, to settle the particular injury in the case of the Chesapeake. Mr. Rose was instructed, however, not to treat until the president's proclamation was revoked. This being refused, the matter rested; and was not finally adjusted until four years later, when satisfactory reparation was made by the British government.

Meantime, on the 17th of December, 1807, Bonaparte, in retaliation for the British order in council, issued "*the Milan decree*," declaring every vessel denationalized that should submit to search by the British, and every vessel a good prize taken sailing to or from Great Britain or its colonies, or any place occupied by British troops.

The embargo failing to compel the belligerant powers to revoke measures so injurious to American commerce, and so subversive of the rights of neutrals, it was repealed on the 1st of March, 1809, and a law passed prohibiting all trade and intercourse with France and England.

Mr. Jefferson declining a re-election, was succeeded, March 4, 1809, by JAMES MADISON.

The state of the country was gloomy. Her commerce was suffering both from foreign and domestic restrictions; and it seemed that she must indefinitely submit to this condition of things, or make war with the belligerants.

In passing the *non-intercourse act* of March 1, congress had empowered the president to repeal it by proclamation in regard to either of the hostile parties revoking their edicts. The British minister at Washington engaged for his government the repeal of the orders of council, so far as the United States were concerned. The president accordingly notified the renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain. But the English government disavowed the engagement of its minister, and non-intercourse was again proclaimed.

On the 23d of March, 1810, Napoleon retaliated the non-intercourse act of congress by issuing the "*Rambouillet decree*"—ordering all vessels arriving in French ports, or the ports of countries occupied by French troops, to be seized and condemned. On the 1st of May, congress passed an act excluding British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States—with a provision for renewing intercourse with whichever nation should within a given time cease to violate the commercial rights of neutral nations. In consequence of this act, the French decrees were revoked, and intercourse with France was renewed.

It had been made a condition on the part of the French government, in revoking its decrees, that the English orders of council should be also revoked. But England, affecting to question the fact of the actual revocation of the French decrees, continued to enforce its orders, stationing vessels-of-war just out the harbors of the United States, searching, and in many instances capturing and condemning American merchant-vessels. In the period between 1803 and the close of 1811, nine hundred American vessels had been thus captured.

On the 3d of April, 1812, an act was passed by congress laying an *embargo* for ninety days on all vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States. And on the 4th of June following, WAR WAS DECLARED against Great Britain. The grounds of war alleged were the impressment of American seamen, and the violation of neutral rights.

The feeling of the nation was by no means unanimous in favor of the war. It was protested against by a strong minority in congress, as unnecessary, impolitic, and immoral; and was generally condemned by the federal party throughout the country.

Thus the United States were again at war with England. The contest lasted for nearly three years. The limits of this history forbid anything but a slight sketch of its events.

In the campaign of 1812, nothing of any importance was achieved by land. The invasion of Canada was planned: forces were drawn to the northern frontier of the Union, and naval preparations made upon the lakes. No footing was, however, gained in the British territory; on the contrary, Detroit and all the forts and garrisons in Michigan fell into the hands of the British, together with a considerable force under the command of General Hull, who surrendered without a battle, August 19; and the Americans were repulsed in an attack on *Queenstown*, and obliged to surrender, October 13.

But on the ocean the American arms were more successful. The series of brilliant naval victories which distinguished the war was commenced by the capture of the British frigate *Guerriere* by the *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, August 10. This was followed (August 13) by the capture of the *Alert* by the *Essex*, Captain Porter; of the *Frolic* by the *Wasp* (October 17); of the *Macedonian* by the *United States*, Commodore Decatur (October 25); and of the *Java* by the *Constitution*, then commanded by Commodore Bainbridge.

On the 4th of March, 1813, Mr. Madison was re-elected president.

The military operations of this year extended along the whole line of the northern frontier. The Americans were signally defeated at *Frenchtown* by a body of British and Indians, and five hundred men made prisoners, who were nearly all massacred by the Indians after their surrender. York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, was taken by the Americans, with a large quantity of military stores.

On the 1st of June, this year, the American navy suffered a severe loss in the capture of the frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, by the British frigate *Shannon*. In the engagement, Captain Lawrence and several brave officers were killed. This was followed (August 14) by the loss of the *Argus*.

These losses were counterbalanced by the capture of the British brig *Boxer* by the *Enterprise*, on the 5th of September, and by a brilliant victory gained (September 10) by the fleet on Lake Erie, under the command of Commodore Perry. This made the Americans masters of the lake, and opened the way to Detroit, which was soon after taken; its fall being preceded by the battle of the *Thames*, in which the British and Indian forces, under the command of General Proctor, were totally defeated by General Harrison. This victory had the effect of putting an end to the Indian war in the northwest, and of giving security to that frontier.

The invasion of Canada was again attempted; but unexpected circumstances concurred to disarrange the plan of operations, and at length the northern army went into winter-quarters, without having effected anything toward the accomplishment of the object. High expectations had been formed of the success of this campaign, and the public disappointment was proportionably great.

At the south, the Creek Indians, instigated by the British, had taken up arms against the United States, and a sanguinary war was carried on

in that quarter during the year 1813, and until in the summer of 1814, when General JACKSON, having reduced the enemy in several engagements, at length inflicted upon them an almost exterminating defeat at *Horseshoe Bend*. The remnant of the tribe submitted, and the war was at an end. General Jackson was soon after appointed to the command of the forces at New Orleans.

In the spring of 1814, the American frigate *Essex* was captured by a superior British force in the bay of Valparaiso. But about the same time, the British brigs *Epervier* and *Reindeer* were captured, the former by the United States sloop-of-war Peacock, the latter by the sloop Wasp.

After some ineffectual movements at the north by General Wilkinson, little was attempted by either nation until midsummer, when the British government, freed from the burden of the European war by the abdication of Napoleon, augmented their armies in America by the addition of fourteen thousand of the veteran troops of Wellington, and at the same time sent a strong naval force to blockade the harbors, and ravage the towns upon the coast.

On the 3d of July, General Brown crossed the Niagara river from Buffalo, and took the British fort Erie ; and on the 4th, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, gained a victory over the British at *Chippewa*. On the 25th, was fought the battle of *Bridgewater*, near the falls of *Niagara*, one of the most bloody battles of modern times. The British force amounted to nearly five thousand men ; the American was one third less. The loss of the English was eight hundred and seventy-eight ; of the Americans, eight hundred and sixty. The Americans were left in possession of the field.

About the middle of August, a large British fleet arrived in the Chesapeake bay. Six thousand men, under the command of General Ross, landed and proceeded to Washington, burnt the capitol, the president's house, and the buildings of the executive departments ; and then by rapid marches retired to the ships, having lost about one thousand men in the expedition.

On the 12th of September, an attack was made on Baltimore ; but the place was so gallantly defended by militia and the inhabitants, that the enemy abandoned the attempt. General Ross, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, was among the killed.

While the English were thus repulsed from Baltimore, signal success attended the American arms at the north. The naval force of the enemy on Lake Champlain was annihilated by Commodore M'Donough. The engagement took place off Plattsburgh ; and while it was raging, Sir George Provost, with a force of fourteen thousand men, commenced an assault on the American works at Plattsburgh : but he met with such a destructive fire from the Americans under General Macomb, that he was compelled to retire, with the loss of twenty-five hundred men, abandoning his military stores, his sick and wounded.

The close of the year 1814 is memorable in the annals of the country on account of the celebrated *Hartford convention*. The federal party, as has been said, was from the first opposed to the war, as unjust and impolitic. The opposition was particularly strong in the New England states. As the war advanced, the opposition became

still more decided, and serious apprehensions were expressed that the measures of the general government would involve the country in ruin. The opposition was aggravated by a misunderstanding between the governors of those states and the president in relation to the requisitions made by the latter for the militia to be placed under the command of officers of his appointment. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were at this time unprotected by any national troops against the enemy's forces hovering on the coast.

In this state of things, a convention of delegates from the New England states met at Hartford on the 15th of December, 1814; and after a session of three weeks, published a statement of grievances, and recommendations for redress. "The convention recommended—1. That the states they represent take measures to protect their citizens from 'forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the constitution of the United States;' 2. That an earnest application be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the states separately, or in concert, may assume upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy, and that a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within the states be appropriated to this object; 3. That the several governors be authorized by law to employ the military force under their command in assisting any state requesting it to repel the invasions of the public enemy; 4. That several amendments of the constitution of the United States, calculated in their view to prevent a recurrence of the evils of which they complain, be proposed by the states they represent for adoption . . . . .; 5. Lastly, that if the application of these states to the government of the United States should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these states be still neglected, it would, in their opinion, be expedient for the legislatures of the several states to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston, in June, with such powers as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

"The effect upon the public mind in the aggrieved states was alike seasonable and salutary . . . . . served greatly to allay the passions, and to inspire confidence and hope. Nor was the influence of this body upon the national councils less perceptible. Within three weeks after the adjournment of the convention, and the publication of their report, an act passed both houses of the national legislature, and received the signature of the president, authorizing and requiring him to 'receive into the service of the United States any corps of troops which may have been or may be raised, organized, and officered, under the authority of any of the states,' to be 'employed in the state raising the same, or an adjoining state, and not elsewhere, except with the consent of the executive of the state raising the same.' Before the commissioners who were sent to confer with the government could reach Washington, a bill passed the senate, providing for the payment of the troops and militia already called into service under the authority of the states. The arrival of the treaty of peace, at this juncture, arrested all further proceedings."*

While the Hartford convention was in session, on the 24th of De-

* Holmes's Annals.

cember, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent. But before its arrival, the last and most memorable battle of the war was fought at *New Orleans*. On the 8th of January, 1815, the American forces, amounting to about *six thousand*, chiefly militia, under the command of General Jackson, intrenched before the city, were attacked by *fifteen thousand* British troops, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham. After three charges, in which they were swept down with incredible slaughter, the British fled in confusion, leaving their dead and wounded on the field of battle. General Packenham was killed while rallying his troops to the second charge; General Gibbs, who succeeded in command, fell mortally wounded in the third charge. The loss of the British in killed was *seven hundred;* in wounded, *fourteen hundred;* in prisoners, *five hundred:* in all, *twenty-six hundred.* The Americans lost *seven* killed and *six* wounded.

The joy excited by this victory was merged in the still livelier joy with which the news of the treaty of peace was soon after received. On the 17th of February, the treaty was ratified by the president and senate. This treaty made no allusion to the causes of the war, and settled none of the matters in dispute, and for which it was professedly declared. All parties, however, welcomed the return of peace. At a subsequent convention, signed by plenipotentiaries of the two countries appointed for the purpose, various articles for the regulation of commerce between England and the United States were adopted.

Before the expiration of the time, within which, by the treaty, all vessels taken by either party were to be held good prizes, several engagements at sea were fought, and several captures made. Among them the American frigate *President* was captured by a British squadron; and the British ships *Cyane*, *Levant*, and *Penguin*, were taken by the Americans.

At the next session of congress, a bill was passed incorporating the "*bank of the United States*," with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. The charter was to continue in force until the 3d of March, 1836. This measure was the subject of a very earnest and protracted debate, both as to its constitutionality, and as to the principles on which the bank should be established.

Mr. Madison was succeeded in the office of president by James Monroe, March 4, 1817.

The country was now at peace, but its condition was by no means prosperous. Commerce had not yet revived, and the manufactures which had been carried on during the war were entirely broken down by the influx of foreign merchandise.

In 1818, a war broke out between the Seminoles and the United States, occasioned by the removal of some Indians from lands ceded to the United States by the Creeks in 1814. The Indians were entirely subdued by General Jackson.

In 1819, another convention was made between Great Britain and the United States, granting to American citizens the right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; establishing a portion of the northern boundary; and extending for ten years longer the commercial convention concluded four years before.

A treaty was also this year concluded with Spain, by which East and West Florida, with the islands adjacent, were ceded to the United States.

On the 4th of March, 1821, Mr. Monroe was unanimously elected to a second term of office. Much less unanimity, however, was displayed in the deliberations of the next congress. Some important commercial acts were passed; revolutionary soldiers were provided for by pensions; and the ratio of population and representation fixed at one representative to forty thousand inhabitants.

The year 1824 is signalized in the annals of the country by a visit from La Fayette, the friend and companion-in-arms of Washington, to whose services in the dark day of the revolutionary war the nation owed so much. He passed about a year in the country, visiting every part of it, and receiving everywhere the most enthusiastic tokens of homage and gratitude. He returned to his own country in a national frigate prepared for the purpose, and named, in honor of him, the *Brandywine*—the name of the battle in which he was wounded nearly fifty years before. During his visit, congress appropriated two hundred thousand dollars, and a township of land in Florida, as an acknowledgment of his eminent services.

Mr. Monroe retired from office with the respect and good will of all parties. His administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic, had been uninfluenced by party spirit, and characterized by uprightness, prudence, and good sense. The country was everywhere peaceful and prosperous.

No choice of a successor to Mr. Monroe having been made by the electors, the choice devolved upon the house of representatives.

On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated president of the United States.

Among the noticeable events during this administration, the first to be mentioned is a controversy between the general government and the executive of Georgia, in relation to certain lands held by the Cherokees and Creeks in that state. The general government had agreed to extinguish, for the benefit of Georgia, the Indian title to those lands—"whenever it could be peaceably done, upon reasonable terms." But the Creeks, at a national council, refused to alienate their territory. After the council had broken up, and a majority of the chiefs had departed, a few who remained were induced to make a treaty, ceding the lands in question to the United States. This treaty was repudiated by the Creek nation. But the governor of Georgia determined to act upon it as valid. To prevent a war, the president ordered General Gaines to repair to the Creek country, for the protection of the Indians; and directed Governor Troup of Georgia to suspend his intended measures. Congress approved the course of the president; and at length a treaty was formed with the Creeks, which gave satisfaction to all parties except the state of Georgia.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1826) was rendered memorable by the death of ex-presidents Adams and Jefferson.

The most important among the measures which occupied the first

session of the twentieth congress, was the revision of the *tariff*, with a view to afford protection to American manufactures. The principle of a *protective* tariff was warmly opposed by the south, and by a large portion of the commercial body at the north; while the details of the bill which was passed were far from satisfactory to the friends of protection.

During the last year of Mr. Adams's administration, the most absorbing subject of public interest was the approaching election; and never before had party spirit displayed itself in such virulent and unjustifiable attacks upon private life and character. Mr. Adams was defeated. During his administration the prosperity of the United States had increased to an unexampled height. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, were everywhere flourishing. The public debt, which at the close of the war, amounted to nearly one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, was almost extinguished. The annual revenue largely exceeded the demands of government; and at the close of Mr. Adams's term, there was a surplus of more than five millions in the treasury.

On the 4th of March, 1829, ANDREW JACKSON was inaugurated president of the United States.

The new president signalized his accession to office by a sweeping removal from office of the functionaries of the general government appointed by his predecessors. Besides the principal officers of the treasury, marshals, district attorneys, revenue and land officers, nearly five hundred postmasters were removed from office. During Mr. Adams's administration there were but *two* removals, both for cause.*

Among the most important measures which engaged the attention of the twenty-first congress, were, the modification of the tariff; Indian affairs; internal improvements; and the renewal of the charter of the United States bank.

It was not until 1832 that a memorial came before congress for a renewal of the charter of the United States bank. A bill to that effect passed both houses of congress; but on the 10th of July it was returned by the president with objections.

The policy of making appropriations for *internal improvements* was adopted during Mr. Jefferson's term of office, and had continued through all the succeeding administrations. To this policy General Jackson was opposed, and accordingly returned, with his veto, several bills making such appropriations.

In 1832, the hostility of the south to the protective tariff assumed in South Carolina an attitude dangerous to the peace of the country. A convention of delegates assembled at Columbia, November 24; pronounced the acts of congress imposing duties for protection unconstitutional, and of no binding force in that state; and that it was the duty of the state legislature to pass laws to prevent the payment or enforcement of such duties. The remedy thus proposed received the name of *nullification*.

President Jackson immediately issued a proclamation, containing an

* Washington removed from office *nine*; John Adams, *ten*; Jefferson, *thirty-nine*; Madison, *five*; Monroe, *nine*: making, with the *two* removed by John Q. Adams, *seventy-four* in all.

admirable exposition of the principles and powers of the general government, and expressing a firm determination to maintain the laws. This only increased the exasperation in South Carolina: the governor of the state, by the authority of the legislature, issued a counter-proclamation, urging the people to be faithful to their primary allegiance to the state, and to resist the general government in any attempt to enforce the tariff laws. General orders were also issued to raise volunteers for repelling invasion, and supporting the rights of the state.

General Jackson hereupon addressed a message to congress, recommending such measures as would enable the executive to suppress the spirit of insubordination, and sustain the laws of the United States.

Everything thus betokened a civil war. But an appeal to South Carolina by the general assembly of Virginia, and the passage of a bill modifying the tariff (introduced by Henry Clay, and commonly known as the "compromise act"), joined with the manifestation of firmness and energy on the part of the executive, served to allay the ferment in South Carolina, and lead to a repeal of the *nullifying* ordinances.

On the 4th of March, 1833, Andrew Jackson entered on a second term of office.

The charter of the United States bank being about to expire, the president, who had before expressed to congress his doubts of the expediency of continuing that institution the depositary of the funds of the United States, directed the secretary of the treasury, Mr. DUANE, to remove the government "deposites" from the bank. This Mr. Duane declined to do. He was immediately removed from office by the president; and Mr. TANEY was appointed in his place, by whom the deposites were removed, and placed in the custody of several state banks. This measure was strongly censured by a resolution which passed the senate, June 9, 1834.

The country was now disturbed with serious apprehensions of a collision with France. By a treaty, negotiated in 1831, by Mr. Rives, the French government had agreed to make indemnity for spoliations committed on American commerce during the reign of Napoleon; but it had failed to fulfil its stipulations. In December, 1834, the president recommended reprisals upon French commerce. This was deemed by congress not expedient at present. Happily, however, the danger of hostile collision was removed in the course of the next year by the action of the French government in making provision to fulfil its stipulations.

The most important act of the first session of the twenty-fourth congress, which began December 7, 1835, was a law directing the deposite, under certain regulations, of the moneys of the United States in several of the state banks, and distributing the surplus revenue among the several states.

In December, 1835, one of the most destructive fires on record occurred in the city of New York. The amount of property destroyed is computed not to have fallen much short of *twenty millions* of dollars, without estimating the injury and loss from suspension and derangement of business.

Near the close of this year, the *Seminole* Indians, refusing to remove

from Florida to the lands appropriated for them west of the Mississippi, the country became involved in a war with them; and it was not until 1842 that they were finally subdued and sent west.

On the 11th of July, 1836, the receivers of public money were instructed, by a circular from the treasury department, to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment for public lands.

On the 16th of January, 1837, the "expunging resolution" (so called) introduced by Mr. Benton, passed the senate by a small majority. By this act, the resolution of the senate passed June 9, 1834—censuring the president for removing Mr. Duane, and ordering the withdrawal of the United States deposites from the bank of the United States—was expunged from the journal of the senate. Against this proceeding, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, in behalf of himself and his colleagues, read a solemn protest.

On the 4th of March, 1837, MARTIN VAN BUREN became president of the United States.

Mr. Van Buren's administration was, in its general policy, a continuation of that of his predecessor. Scarcely, however, had he entered upon office, when the country was overwhelmed by one of the most severe commercial revulsions ever known.

For several years previous, the wildest spirit of speculation had prevailed throughout the country. Vast public works were undertaken by states and chartered companies; immense importations of foreign goods were made; and real estate, especially lots in cities and towns, went up a hundred fold, not to say in many cases a thousand fold, beyond its intrinsic value. The multitude of state banks that had been chartered, after the expiration of the charter of the United States bank, and the consequent excessive expansion of the paper currency, had contributed to increase the spirit of speculation. At length a crisis came; and the revulsion was proportionably severe. Some idea of it may be formed from the fact that a list of failures in the city of New York (including only the more considerable, and omitting hundreds of less importance) shows a total amount of more than *sixty millions* of dollars. All credit, all confidence, was at an end.

On the 10th of May, all the banks of the city of New York suspended specie payments, and the suspension became general throughout the country. The general government became involved in the universal embarrassment—the banks in which its deposites were placed having stopped in the general suspension. The government still insisted, however, upon all postages and duties being paid in specie or its equivalent, and even refused its own checks and drafts when offered in payment of customhouse bonds.

In this state of things, the president convoked an extra session of congress, which began on the 4th of September. Agreeably to the recommendation of the executive, as measures for the immediate relief of the general government, congress passed a law postponing to the 1st of January, 1839, the payment to the states of the fourth instalment of the surplus revenue; and authorizing the issue of ten millions of treasury notes, to be receivable in payment of public dues. The president also recommended the "separation of the fiscal operations of the government

from those of corporations or individuals." A bill in accordance with this recommendation—commonly called the *sub-treasury bill*, placing the public money in the hands of certain receivers-general, subject to the order and control of the treasurer of the United States—passed the senate, but was lost in the house.

At the next regular session of congress (December, 1837—July, 1838), a reissue of treasury notes was authorized. The *sub-treasury* system was again urged upon the attention of congress, but was not adopted.

On the 13th of August, 1838, the banks throughout the country generally resumed specie payments : but in October following, the banks of Philadelphia again suspended, and their example was followed by the banks in Pennsylvania, and in all the states south and west. The banks of New York and New England continued to pay specie.

The twenty-sixth congress commenced its first session December 2, 1839. Among its acts, two only need be mentioned : one for taking the *sixth census* of the United States ; the other, " for the collection, safe keeping, transfer, and disbursement, of the public revenue"—being the *sub-treasury* system so earnestly recommended by the president.

At the second session of this congress, nothing was done of sufficient importance to find a place in this sketch.

The administration of Mr. Van Buren was drawing to a close. He was a candidate for re-election ; William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was the candidate of the opposition. After a contest unprecedented for intensity of political excitement, Mr. Van Buren was defeated.

On the 4th of March, 1841, William Henry Harrison was inaugurated president of the United States.

Scarcely had the new president entered upon his office, and organized his administration by the appointment of his cabinet, when he was stricken with sickness ; and on the 4th of April, one month from the day of his inauguration, he expired. " In death, as in life, the happiness of his country was uppermost in his thoughts."

By the death of General Harrison, John Tyler, of Virginia, the vice-president, became, according to the constitution, president of the United States.

The passage of a general bankrupt law was one of the earliest measures passed by congress. This law was, however, subsequently repealed. The tariff was modified with a view to further protection of American industry. To the influence of this measure, the friends of protection mainly attribute the return of the country to a state of prosperity as great as ever before. It has, however, created great dissatisfaction in some of the southern states, where it is considered an infraction of the compromise act.

Among the most memorable events of this administration is the *treaty of Washington*, concluded in September, 1842, between Great Britain and the United States, by Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster, by which the differences about the boundary line between Maine and Lower Canada, long a matter of dispute and ill-blood, were amicably and satisfactorily adjusted.

The disturbances in Rhode Island are a less agreeable subject of

record; though happily the apprehensions they excited have been dispelled. In 1841, a convention of inhabitants of Rhode Island framed a new constitution, giving the right of suffrage (which under the existing government was extremely limited) to all free white inhabitants; and proceeded to organize a new government under this constitution. They elected a legislative body, and chose Thomas W. Dorr governor of the state. All these proceedings were considered as unlawful and revolutionary by those opposed to them, inasmuch as they had taken place without any legal warrant, and without being in any way initiated by the lawful and actual government. A civil war seemed inevitable. The legal government applied to the president of the United States, who detached several companies of troops to Newport to await events. Dorr mustered a considerable force of armed men, with two pieces of artillery, and made an ineffectual attempt to gain possession of the arsenal at Providence. Shortly after, he took a position at *Chepachet*, where his force was increased by volunteers from New York and other states. Upon the approach of a body of the state militia, under General M'Neil, Dorr and his party broke ground and fled, June 25, 1842. His government fell to pieces. After two years, Dorr returned to Rhode Island; was tried and convicted of treason, and sentenced to the state-prison for life. This sentence, however, the government of the state have signified their readiness to revoke, whenever Dorr shall acknowledge his allegiance to the existing government—which now rests upon a new constitution, legally formed and adopted by the people of the state since the commencement of the disturbances, making the right of suffrage as extensive as in that proposed by the revolutionary party, except that two years' residence in the state is required instead of one.

During the last session of congress, Mr. Tyler communicated to the senate a treaty formed with the republic of *Texas*, by which that state was to become a member of the Union. The treaty was not ratified by the senate.

During the summer and autumn of 1844, the election of president was the absorbing subject of public interest. The candidates of the rival parties were HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, for president, and THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey,* for vice-president, on the one side; and JAMES K. POLK, of Tennessee, and GEORGE M. DALLAS, of Pennsylvania, on the other.

Thus have been briefly sketched the leading events, political and civil, of the history of the United States, from the first feeble and scattered colonial establishments to the formation of a great and prosperous nation. The great problem of the possibility of a permanent and well-ordered republic, on so extensive a scale, doubtless yet remains to be solved. It depends on the INTELLIGENCE and VIRTUE of the people, whether it shall be solved as the friends of free institutions desire. Theoretically the most perfect of all forms of human government, it requires, beyond any other, the presence of these conditions to preserve it from being practically the worst. May the Almighty Ruler of nations

* Mr. Frelinghuysen has for five years past resided in New York, as chancellor of the university of that city.

dispose the hearts and minds of the people to such a religious observance of his holy commandments, that the history of the nation in all coming ages may be as glorious as its rise and progress have been wonderful! "Blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God: yea, happy are the people that are in such a case!"

CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES,

FIFTH

SARMATIANS.	GERMANS.	FRANKS AND GAULS.	ITALY.
General movement of the Sarmatian tribes toward Southern and Western Europe; for six centuries their history obscure.	Movements of the Saxons to England; the Franks to Gaul; the Goths to Italy; the Lombards to Pannonia, and in the next century to Italy; the Alemanni to the Roman provinces on the Rhine, &c.	420 Pharamond. 449 Merovæus. 481 Clovis, who, by the defeat of Syagrius, established the power of the Franks in Gaul.	476 End of Western empire. — Odoacer becomes king of Italy. 493 Establishment of the Gothic kingdom of Italy, by Theodoric.

SIXTH

FRANCE.	ITALY.	SPAIN.
511 Thierry I. Clotaire I. 534 Theodobert. 561 Caribert. Gontram, Sigibert. Chilperic. 593 Childebert. 596 Theodobert II. Thierry II.	*Ostragoths.* 526 Athalaric. 534 Theodobalus. 536 Vitiges. 540 Heldibadus. 541 Elaric. 551 Theia, conquered by *Lombards.* 568 Alboinus. 573 Clephes. 586 Antharis. 590 Agiluiphus. 569 Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna; his successors tributary to the Lombards.	*Visigoths.* 507 Gesalric. 526 Amalaric. 531 Theudis. 548 Theodogesil. 549 Agila. 554 Athanagild. 572 Leovigild. 586 Recared I.; he renounces Arianism and establishes orthodox Christianity.

SEVENTH

FRANCE.	ITALY.	SPAIN.	ENGLAND.
614 Clotaire II. 628 Dagobert I. 638 Sigebert II. — Clovis II. 660 Clotaire III. 669 Childeric II. 672 Dagobert II. (Pepin Heristal.) 673 Thierry III. 690 Clovis III. 695 Childebert II. The kingdom frequently divided.	*Lombards.* 616 Adaloaldus. 626 Ariovaldus. 638 Rotharis. 654 Rodoaldus. 659 Aribertus. 662 Gundebertus. 672 Garibald. 673 Pertharit. 691 Cunibertus. The Exarchate of Ravenna nominally held by the Eastern Empire, but tribute paid by its governors to the Lombards.	*Visigoths.* 603 Witeric. 610 Gondomar. 612 Sisebad. 621 Recared II. — Suintilla I. 631 Sisenaud I. 636 Sisenaud II. 640 Tulca. 642 Chindaswind. 649 Recheswind. 672 Wamba. 680 Ervig. 687 Egiga. Toward the close of the century the Moors begin to threaten the South of Spain.	*Heptarchy.* 617 Rodoald. East Anglia. 624 Edwin. Northumberland. 643 Oswyn unites several kingdoms. 656 Ceadwalla, Sussex and Wessex. 688 Ina, Wessex. The native Britons seek shelter in Scotland and Wales from the Saxon invaders.

FROM A. D. 400, TO A. D. 1840.

CENTURY.

SPAIN.	BRITAIN.	EASTERN EMPIRE.	PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.
Under the Vandals. 438 Rechilda. 448 Rechiarius. 456 Maldias. 460 Fumarius. 463 Regismund. *Under the Visigoths.* 451 Therismond. 452 Theodoric II. 466 Euaric. 484 Alaric. The Vandals conquered by the Visigoths.	426 Relinquished by the Romans. *Under the Britons.* 445 Vortigern. 454 Vortimer. 465 Ambrosius. *Saxons.* 454 Hengist in Kent. 491 Ella in Sussex.	408 Theodosius III. and Pulcheria. 450 Marcian. 457 Leo I. (Thracian). 474 Leo II. — Zeno. 491 Anastasius I. Rise of the factions of the Circus.	Bells used in Churches. Commencement of the middle or dark ages. Establishment of the Salic Law. Introduction of Christianity into France.

CENTURY.

ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	EASTERN EMPIRE.	PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.
519 Cerdic, Kingdom of Wessex. 527 Erchenwin, Kingdom of Essex. 547 Ida, Kingdom of Northumberland. 575 Uffa, Kingdom of East Anglia. 582 Cridda, Kingdom of Mercia. The Saxons were joined by the Angles and Jutes from Germany.	501 Goran. 535 Eugene III. 558 Congal II. 569 Kinathal. 570 Aidan.	518 Justin I. 527 Justinian I. (Belisarius. Narses). 565 Justin II. 578 Tiberius II. 582 Maurice.	Silk worms brought to Europe. Code of Civil Law formed. Water-mills erected at Rome. The Anglo-Saxons converted to Christianity.

CENTURY.

SCOTLAND.	EASTERN EMPIRE.	SARACENS.	PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.
604 Kenneth I. 605 Eugene IV. 622 Ferchard I. 636 Donald IV. 650 Ferchard II. 668 Maldrum. 688 Eugene V. 692 Eugene VI.	602 Phocas. 610 Heraclius I. 641 Constantine III. — Heraclius Heraclianus. — Constans II. 668 Constantine IV. 685 Justinian II. 695 Leontius. 698 Tiberius III.	622 Hejira, or Flight of Mohammed from Mecca. 632 Abu Bekr. 634 Omar. 644 Othman. 656 Ali. 660 Hassan. 661 Moawiyah, founder of the Ommiade dynasty. 679 Yezid I. 683 Merwan I. 684 Abdalmater.	Latin disused as a living language. Pens made from quills. Glass manufactured in England. The Alexandrian Library destroyed. The Greek fire invented.

EIGHTH

France.	Italy.		Spain.
711 Dagobert III. 715 Chilperic II. Charles Martel. 717 Clotaire IV. 720 Thierry IV. 741 Pepin (regent). 742 Childeric III. 752 Pepin (king) 768 Charlemagne. The Merovingian dynasty set aside by Pepin, father of Charlemagne, and founder of the Carlovingian dynasty.	*Lombards.* 700 Luitpertus. 701 Arimbertus. 712 Ausprandus. — Luitprandus. 743 Hildebrand. 744 Rachisius. 750 Astolphus. 756 Desiderius. The dynasty of the Lombards subverted by Charlemagne.	*Popes.* The Popes raised to the rank of temporal princes by Pepin, king of France. 752 Stephen III. 757 Paul I. 768 Stephen IV. 772 Adrian I. 795 Leo III.	712 Dynasty of the Visigoths subverted by the Saracens under Tarik and Musa. 755 Abderrahman, independent khaliph. The power of his successors, who reign in Spain until A. D. 1051, is gradually weakened both by internal discords and continued wars with Christian insurgents. 718 Pelagius founds a petty Christian kingdom in the Asturian mountains.

NINTH

Northern Nations.	Austrian Dominions.	Western Empire.			Popes.
862 Regular government established in Russia by Ruric. Denmark formed into a kingdom. Sweden formed into a kingdom. The petty principalities of Norway formed into a kingdom by Harold Harfager.	794 The Magyars occupy Hungary, the ancient Pannonia. The Moravians become a formidable nation. Bohemia formed into a regular state, and Christianity introduced. It was generally governed by dukes tributary to the emperors of Germany.	800 Charlemagne, emperor of the West. 814 Louis the Pious. 843 Empire divided.			816 Stephen V. 817 Pascal I. 824 Eugenius II. 827 Valentine. 828 Gregory IV. 844 Sergius II. 847 Leo IV. 855 Benedict III. 858 Nicholas I. 867 Adrian II. 872 John VIII. 882 Martin II. 884 Adrian III. 885 Stephen VI. 891 Formosus. 896 Boniface VI. — Stephen VII. 898 Theodore II. — John IX. 900 Benedict IV.
		Germany. 843 Louis the German. 876 Carloman and Louis III. 881 Charles the Fat. 887 Arnulph. 899 Louis the Child.	*Italy, &c.* 843 Lothaire I. 855 Lothaire II. 879 Boson, duke of Burgundy. The great feudatories of the crown assume the power of sovereign princes in various parts of the empire.	*France.* 843 Charles the Bald. 877 Louis the Stammerer. 879 Louis III. Carloman. 887 Eudes. 898 Charles the Simple. The family of the Capets begins to usurp the royal authority.	

TENTH

Scandinavia.	Russia and Poland.	Hungary, &c.	Germany.	France.	Popes.
992 Christianity established in Denmark. 991 Christianity established in Norway. The Scandinavian pirates formidable to Southern and Western Europe. Iceland and Greenland discovered and colonized.	975 Wladimir the Great extends the Russian monarchy, and 988 Establishes Christianity. 942 Poland becomes a kingdom.	994 Christianity introduced into Hungary. 997 Stephen I. establishes the Hungarian monarchy. 990 Bodeslaus III. independent in Bohemia. The Letti, &c., established in Lithuania and Prussia.	912 Conrad I. of Franconia. 919 Henry the Fowler. 936 Otho the Great. 962 Empire of the West restored and given to Otho. 973 Otho II. 983 Otho III. Jealousies begin to arise between the emperors and the popes.	922 Robert. 923 Rodolph. 933 Louis Outremer. 954 Lothaire. 986 Louis V. the Idle. 987 Hugh Capet, founder of a new dynasty. 996 Robert the Wise. The province of Neustria assigned to the Normans, and thence called Normandy.	904 Leo V. — Christopher. 905 Sergius III. 913 Anastasius 914 Lando [III. 915 John X. 928 Leo VI. 929 Stephen VIII 931 John XI. 936 Leo VII. 939 Stephen IX. 943 Martin III. 946 Agapetus II. 956 John XII. 963 Leo VIII. 964 Benedict V. 965 John XIII. 972 Benedict VI. 974 Donus II. 975 Benedict VII 982 John XIV. 985 John XV. — John XVI. 996 Gregory V. 999 Sylvester II.

CENTURY.

England.	Scotland.	Eastern Empire.	Saracens.	Progress of Civilization
The Heptarchy still continues, but the states frequently vary both in number and extent 717 Ethelbald in Mercia. 707 Offa unites East Anglia to Mercia; but toward the close of the century Wessex becomes the predominant state.	702 Ambes Kelcth. 704 Eugene VII. 721 Mordach 730 Elfinius. 761 Eugene VIII. 764 Fergus III. 767 Salvathus. 787 Achaius.	705 Justinian II. restored. [nes. 711 Philippicus Bardanes. 713 Anastasius II. 716 Theodosius III. 718 Leo III. Isauricus. 741 Constantine V. Copronymus. 775 Leo IV. 780 Constantine VI. Porphyrogennetus. (Irene. Nicephorus). During the greater part of this century the empire is distracted by the Iconoclast controversy.	705 Walid I. 714 Suleiman. 717 Omar II. 719 Yezid II. 723 Hashem. 742 Walid II. [III. 743 Merwan; Yezid 750 Abu'l'Abbas, founder of the Abasside dynasty. 753 Almanzor. 775 Mohadi. 785 Al Hadi. 786 Harun-al-Rashid. The seat of the Khaliphate fixed at Bagdad, A. D. 762.	Paper made from cotton. Carpets introduced. Schools of learning founded by the Saracens. Greek works of science translated into Arabic.

CENTURY.

Southern Italy.	Spain.	England.	Scotland.	Eastern Empire.	Saracens.	Progress of Civilization.
The islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, and a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples, occupied by the Saracens.	Gradual decay of the Saracenic power. Foundation of the Christian kingdoms of Navarre and Leon.	828 End of the Heptarchy. Egbert the Great, king of England. 838 Ethelwolf. [bald. 857 Ethel- 866 Ethelred 872 Alfred the Great. England frequently ravaged by Danish and Norwegian pirates.	819 Congal III. 824 Dongal. 831 Alpin. 833 Kenneth II. 831 Alpin. 854 Donald V. 858 Constantine II. 874 Ethus. 875 Gregory the Great. 892 Donald VI. The Picts subdued and expelled by Kenneth II.	811 Michael I. 813 Leo V. 820 Michael II. 829 Theophilus. 841 Harun. 842 Michael III 867 Basilius I. 886 Leo VI.	809 Al Amin. 814 Al Mamun. 833 Motassem. 846 Motawakkel 861 Montaser. 862 Mostain. Fall and division of the Khaliphate. Fatimate dynasty founded 768, by Motaz. The seat of the Fatimites transferred in the next century to Egypt.	Streets of Cordova paved. Saxon code of laws formed. Clocks brought to Western Europe. Oxford university founded. Agriculture and horticulture encouraged in Germany.

CENTURY.

England.	Scotland.	Eastern Empire.	Saracens.	Progress of Civilization.
901 Edward I. the Elder. 925 Athelstan. 941 Edmund I. 946 Edred. 955 Edwy. 959 Edgar. 975 Edward II. the Martyr. 978 Ethelred II. The Danes acquire possession of a great portion of England.	903 Constantine III. 943 Malcolm I. 958 Indulph. 968 Duffus. 972 Cullen. 977 Kenneth III. 994 Constantine IV. 995 Grimus.	900 Alexander. 911 Constantine VII. Porphyrogennetus. 919 Romanus I. — Constantine VIII. 959 Romanus II. 963 Nicephorus II. 969 John Zimisces 976 Basilius II. and Constantine IX. The prosperity of the empire partially restored in consequence of the decline of the Saracenic power.	The Khaliphs in subjection to their Turkish mercenaries, whose chief 935 Takes the title of Emir al Omrah 997 The Ghaznevid dynasty founded. The Fatimite Khaliphs possess a powerful empire in Egypt.	University of Cambridge founded. Figures of arithmetic introduced from the Arabs. Mining in the Hartz mountains. Wine presses first introduced into Italy.

ELEVENTH

Norway.	Denmark.	Sweden.	Russia.	Poland.	Hungary	Germany.	France
Sweyn, king of both countries. 14 Canute the Great, king of England.		1 Olaus. 19 Amund I. 35 Edmund II. 40 Hacquin III. 61 Sturkill. 75 Ingo the Good.	15 Svatopole I. 16 Jaroslaus. 54 Isilaus I. 78 Vsevolod I. 93 Svatopole II Russia scarcely yet emerged from barbaism.	25 Miesko II. 37 Casimir I. Anarchy. 41 Casimir recalled. 58 Boleslaus II. the Bold. 77 Boleslaus takes the title of king. 81 Wladislaus I.	38 Peter. 41 Expelled, and succeeded by Otto. 44 Peter restored 47 Anchar I. 61 Bela I. 63 Solomon. 74 Gieza I. 77 Ladislaus I. 95 Coloman.	2 Henry II 24 Conrad II. of Franconia, who 32 Inherits Burgundy. 39 Henry III 56 Henry IV Wars with the Saxons: and with the Popes on the question of ecclesiastical investitures	31 Henry I. 60 Philip I. the Amorous.
11 Olavus II. 32 Sueno. 36 Magnus Oleron. 47 Harold III Haardrade. 66 Olavus II. 70 Magnus I. 87 Hacon. 89 Magnus II.	36 Hardicanute. 42 Magnus. 47 Sweyn Elpisden 74 Harold VII. 76 Canute the Saint. 85 Olaus II. 95 Eric III.						
The nations of the North abandon their piratical habits, and make great advances in civilization.						95 Commencement of the Crusades, first preached by Peter the Hermit, and then sanctioned by the Popes.	

TWELFTH

Northern Nations.	Russia.	Poland.	Hungary & Bohemia.	Germany	France	Popes.
Norway. 3 Sigurd. 62 Magnus III.	14 Wlademir II. 25 Motislaus 32 Jaropolik. 38 Vzevolod II. 46 IsialausII 56 Jourje or George I. the founder of Moscow. 57 Andrewl. reigning at Wladimir. 75 MichaelI.	2 Boleslaus III. Civil dissensions and constant wars with the Letti in Lithuania and Prussia. 38 Wladislaus II. 46 Boleslaus IV. 73 Miesko III. 77 Expelled by Casimir II., the Just 95 Lescho V.	*Hungary.* 14 Stephen II. 31 Bela II. 41 Gieza II. 61 Stephen III. 74 Bela III. 96 Emeric.	6 Henry V. 25 Lothaire II. the Saxon. 37 Conrad III. 52 Frederic I. Barbarossa 90 Henry VI. Asper. 98 Philip (Otho).	6 Louis VI. the Fat. 37 Louis VII. the Young. 80 Philip II. Augustus. The great feudatories of the crown gradually reduced to obedience, and the royal authority established.	18 Gelasius II. 19 Calixtus II. 24 Honorius II. 30 Innocent II. 43 Celestine II. 44 Lucius II 45 Eugenius III. 53 Anastasius IV. 54 Adrian IV. 59 Alexander II. 81 Lucius III. 85 Urban III. 87 Gregory VIII. — Clement III. 91 Celestine III. 98 Innocent III.
Denmark. 7 Nicholas. 35 Eric IV. 39 Eric V. 47 Canute V. 55 Sueno IV. 57 Waldemar I. 82 Canute VI.			*Bohemia.* 40 Wladislaus III duke. 75 Frederick, duke. 90 Conrad II. duke. 97 Premislaus Ottoacre I. king.			
Sweden. 10 Ingo IV. 29 Ragwald. 40 Suercher II. 60 Eric X. the Holy. 61 Charles VII. 68 Canute. 92 Suercher III.						

CENTURY.

Popes.	Southern Italy.	Spain.	England.	Scotland	Eastern Empire.	Turks.	Progress of Civilization.
3 John XVII. — John XVIII. 9 Sergius IV. 12 Benedict VIII. 24 John XIX. 33 Benedict IX 45 Gregory VI. 46 Clement II. — Benedict X. 48 Damasus II — Leo IX. 55 Victor II. 57 Stephen X. 58 Nicholas II 61 Alexander II 73 Gregory VII 86 Victor III. 88 Urban II. 99 Paschal II.	*Norman dukes of Naples.* 43 William 59 Robert. 85 Roger. —— 90 Roger, *Count of Sicily.* —— 22 Sardinia and Corsica recovered from the Saracens by the citizens of Pisa.	10 Sancho the Great *Aragon.* 34 Ramirez. 67 Sancho I. 94 Peter I. *Castile.* 35 Ferdinand I. 65 Sancho II. 72 Alphonso VI. 85 The kingdom of Castile greatly enlarged. *Portugal.* 88 Henry, count of Portugal.	2 Massacre of the Danes. 14 Sweyn of Denmark. 17 Canute. 35 Harold Harefoot. 39 Hardicanute. 41 Edward the Confessor. 66 Harold II. — William the Conqueror. 87 William II. Rufus. 66 The Norman dynasty established by William the Conqueror.	4 Malcolm II. 34 Duncan 40 Macbeth. 57 Malcolm III. 93 Donald VII. 94 Duncan II. — Donald restored. 97 Edgar.	25 Constantine IX. alone. 20 Romanus III. 31 Michael IV. [V. 41 Michael 54 Theodora. — Constantine X 56 Michael VI. 57 Isaac I. 59 Constantine XI 67 Romanus III Diogenes. 71 Michael VII. — Constantine XII. 78 Nicephorus III. 81 Alexius I Comnenus	The power of the Seljukian Turks established by Togrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah, but subsequently weakened by internal divisions. The Khorasmians become formidable.	Musical notes invented. Tournaments legally constituted. Windmills first used. Danegelt remitted in England. Doomsday book finished. Chivalrous spirit fostered by the Crusades. Clocks with wheels introduced.

CENTURY.

Southern Italy	Spain.	England and Scotland.	Eastern Empire.	Turks and Tartars.	Progress of Civilization.
2 Roger II. of Naples. 30 Roger III., king of Naples and Sicily. 54 William I. the Good. 66 William II. the Bad. 89 Tancred. 94 William III. The Two Sicilies united to the Empire.	*Aragon.* 4 Alphonso I. 34 Ramirez II. 37 Petronillo and Raymond. 62 Alphonso II. 95 Peter II. *Castile.* 9 Alphonso VII 22 Alphonso VIII 57 Ferdinand II. 58 Alphonso IX. the Noble. *Portugal.* 39 Alphonso I. Henriques king. 85 Sancho I. Continued wars with the Moors.	0 Henry I. Beauclerk. 35 Stephen of Blois, Usurper. 54 Henry II. first of the Plantagenets 89 Richard I. Cœur-de-Lion 99 John Lackland. Ireland conquered by Henry II. *Scotland.* 7 Alexander I 24 David I. 53 Malcolm IV 65 William the Lion.	18 John Comnenus. 43 Manuel Comnenus. 80 Alexius II. 83 Andronicus. 85 Isaac II. Angelus. *Kingdom of Jerusalem.* 1099 Godfrey of Bouillon. 1 Baldwin I. 18 Baldwin II. 31 Foulke. 44 Baldwin III. 62 Almeric. 73 Baldwin IV. 85 Baldwin V. 86 Guy. 92 Conrad. — Henry of Champagne. 87 The kingdom overthrown by Saladin.	The monarchy of the Seljukian Turks gradually destroyed by internal divisions. Rise of the Moguls under Jenmjin, afterward Jenghiz Khan.	The cultivation of the sugar-cane introduced into Sicily. Glass windows used in England.

THIRTEENTH

Northern Nations.	Russia.	Poland.	Hungary and Bohemia.	Germany.	France.
Norway. 7 Hacon II. 63 Magnus IV. 80 Eric II. 99 Hacon III.	13 Jourje II. Constantine 38 Jarolaus II. 50 Alexander I. 63 Jarolaus III 71 Vasili I. 75 Demetrius I 94 Andrew at Moscow. 38 Conquered by the Mongolian horde	2 Wladislaus III. 6 Lesko V. restored. 27 Boleslaus V 79 Lesko VI. 89 Anarchy. 95 Przemislaus. 96 Wladislaus IV. The conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic knights begun 1230, completed 1823.	4 Ladislaus II — Andrew II. 35 Bela IV. 40 Mogul invasion. 70 Stephen IV. 72 Ladislaus III 90 Andrew III. *Bohemia.* 30 Wenceslaus III. 53 Premislaus Ottoacar II. 78 Anarchy. 84 Wenceslaus IV.	8 Otho IV. 12 Frederic II. 52 Conrad IV. 51 William, count of Holland. 56 Richard, earl of Cornwall —Alphonso of Spain. 73 Rodolph of Hapsburg. 91 Adolphus of Nassau. 98 Albert I. of Austria.	23 Louis VIII., the Lion. 26 Louis IX. the Saint. 70 Philip III. the Hardy. 85 Philip IV. the Fair.
Denmark. 2 Waldemar II. 42 Eric VI. 51 Abel. 52 Christopher. 59 Eric VII. 86 Eric VIII.				*The Crusades.* 68 Capture of Antioch. 91 and of Acre, by the Egyptian sultan. End of the Crusades.	
Sweden. 10 Eric XI. 20 John. 23 Eric XI. 50 Waldemar I. 76 Magnus II. 81 Birger II.					

FOURTEENTH

Northern Nations.	Russia.	Poland.	Hungary and Bohemia.	Germany.	France.	Popes.
Norway. 15 Magnus V. 26 Hacon III. 28 Magnus VI. 58 Hacon IV. 75 Olaus IV.	The country subject to the Mongolian horde.	0 Wenceslaus. 35 Casimir the Great. 70 Louis, king of Hungary. 85 Hedwidge and Uladislaus Jagellon.	1 Wenceslaus. 5 Otho of Bavaria. 13 Charles, Robert. 42 Louis I. 82 Mary and 86 Sigismund	8 Henry VII. of Luxemburg. 13 Louis of Bavaria, & — Frederic III., of Austria. [IV. 47 Charles 78 Wenceslaus. 15 The independence of Switzerland proclaimed, & 86 established by the battle of Sempach.	14 Louis X 15 John I 16 Philip V 23 Charles the Fair. 28 Philip VI. 50 John II 56 He is taken by the English. 64 Charles V. the Wise. 80 Charles VI.	3 Benedict XI 5 Clement V. 16 John XXII. 34 Benedict XII 42 Clement VI. 52 Innocent VI 62 Urban V. 71 Gregory XI SCHISM OF THE WEST. *Popes at Rome.* 78 Urban VI. 89 Boniface IX *Popes at Avignon.* 78 Clement VII. [XIII. 94 Benedict
Denmark. 21 Christopher II 32 Waldemar III 75 Margaret.						
Sweden. 26 Magnus III. 63 Albert of Mecklenburg. 97 Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, joined by the Union of Calmar.		*Prussia.* Subject to the grand master of the Teutonic knights.	*Bohemia.* 5 Wenceslaus V. 6 Henry. 10 John of Luxemburg 46 Charles IV. — Joined to the empire.			

FIFTEENTH

Denmark.	Russia and Poland.	Germany.	France.	Popes.	Southern Italy.
12 Eric IX. 41 Christopher III. 48 Christian I. 81 John II. The Swedes engaged in almost incessant wars to recover their independence from the Danes.	*Russia.* 25 Vasali the Blind. 62 Ivan Vasilievitch I 74 Tartar Yoke broken. *Poland.* 34 Wladislaus V. 47 Casimir IV. 92 John I.	0 Rupert. 10 Jodochus. 11 Sigismond, king also of Hungary and Bohemia. 37 Albert II. 39 Frederic III. 93 Maximilian I. During the greater part of this century, the dukes of Burgundy acquire great political influence. At the close, their possessions pass by marriage into the royal family of Austria.	22 Henry VI., of England. — Charles VII of Valois. 61 Louis XI. 83 Charles VIII 98 Louis XII. Rapid increase of the royal power in France during this century. Wars in Italy at the close.	4 Innocent VII. 6 Gregory XII. 9 Alexander V. 10 John XXIII. 17 Martin V. 31 Eugenius IV. 39 Felix V. 47 Nicholas V. 55 Calixtus III. 58 Pius II. 64 Paul II. 72 Sixtus IV. 84 Innocent VIII 92 Alexander VI.	Sicily and Naples lose their political importance. Both merge in the kingdom of Spain: the former at the beginning, the latter at the close of the century.

CENTURY.

Popes.	Southern Italy.	Spain.	England & Scotland.	Eastern Empire.	Turks and Tartars.	Progress of Civilization
16 Honorius III. [IX. 27 Gregory 41 Celestine IV. [IV. 43 Innocent 54 Alexander IV. 61 Urban IV. 65 Clement IV. [X. 71 Gregory 76 Innocent V — Adrian V. — John XXI. 77 Nichol. III 81 Martin IV. 85 Honorius IV. 88 Nicho. IV. 91 Celestine V. [VIII. — Boniface	52 Conrad IV (Emperor.) 54 Manfred. 66 Conradin.—Charles of Anjou. 82 Sicily conquered by the king of Aragon. 85 Charles II in Naples. 85 James of Aragon in Sicily. 96 Frederic II. in Sicily.	*Aragon.* 13 James I. 76 Peter III. 85 Alphonso III. 91 James II. *Castile.* 14 Henry I. 17 Alphonso X. 26 Ferdinand III. 52 Alphonso XI., the Wise. 84 Sancho IV. 95 Ferdinand IV. *Portugal.* 12 Alphonso II., the Fat. 33 Sancho II. 46 Alphonso III. 79 Dionysius, the father of his country.	*England.* 16 Henry III 65 House of Commons formed. 72 Edward I. Wales subdued. *Scotland.* 14 Alexander II. 49 Alexander III. 85 Anarchy. 92 John Baliol. 94 Anarchy (Sir Wm. Wallace.)	1203 Constantinople taken by the Latin Crusaders, and the empire broken into fragments. It was partially restored in the middle of the century by Michael Paleologus.	1298 The dynasty of the Ottoman Turks is founded in Bithynia by Othman I. The Moguls subdue the greater part of Asia and North-eastern Europe, but in the middle of the century their empire is broken up.	Establishment of the Inquisition Magna Charta. Representatives of the Commons in parliament Spectacles invented. Glass mirrors used. Clocks to strike made in Europe.

CENTURY.

Southern Italy.	Spain.	England and Scotland.	Eastern Empire.	Ottoman Empire.	Progress of Civilization.
Naples. 9 Robert I. 43 Joan I. 82 Charles III., of Durazzo. *Sicily.* 28 Frederic I. 37 Peter II. 42 Louis. 55 Frederic II. 67 Mary.	*Aragon.* 27 Alphonso IV. 36 Peter IV. 87 John I. 95 Martin. *Castile.* 12 Alphonso XII. 50 Peter the Cruel. 69 Henry II. 79 John I. 90 Henry III. *Portugal.* 25 Alphonso IV. 57 Peter the Cruel. 67 Ferdinand. 85 John I., the Great.	*England.* 7 Edward II. 27 Edward III. Edward claims the crown of France. 75 Death of the Black Prince. 77 Richard II. 99 Henry IV. of Lancaster. *Scotland.* 6 Robert Bruce. 29 David II. 70 Robert II., the first of the Stuarts. 90 Robert III.	Throughout this century the Eastern empire gradually declines, and at the close becomes tributary to the Turks.	26 The empire of the Turks. established by Othman at Prusa. 25 Orkhan. 58 Amurath I. 89 Bayezid I. Timur Lenk subdues Western and Central Asia, and establishes a mighty empire.	Mariner's compass introduced into Europe. Paper made from linen rags. Gunpowder and cannon used in war. New Testament translated by Wickliffe. Pins and playing cards invented.

CENTURY.

Spain.	England & Scotland.	Eastern & Ottoman Empires.	Progress of Civilization
Aragon. 10 Ferdinand. 16 Alphonso V. 58 John II. 74 Ferdinand the Catholic. *Castile.* 6 John II. 54 Henry IV. 74 Isabella, who marries Ferdinand of Aragon, and thus unites the two crowns. *Portugal.* 33 Edward. [African. 38 Alphonso V., the 81 John II. [tunate. 95 Emmanuel the For-	*England.* 13 Henry V. 22 Henry VI. *Wars of the Roses.* 61 Edward IV. (York.) 83 Edward V. — Richard III. 85 Henry VII., the first of the Tudors. *Scotland.* 6 James I. 37 James II. 60 James III. 88 James IV. Great civil commotions in Scotland.	The Greek empire gradually sinks into ruin, being assailed by the Turkish sultans; 3 Soleiman. 10 Moussa. 13 Mohammed I. 21 Amurath II. 51 Mohammed II., who 53 takes Constantino- 81 Bayezid II. [ple. The empire of Timûr destroyed by the civil wars of his descendants, one of whom, Baber, founds the empire of Delhi, or of the Great Mogul, in India.	Maritime enterprises encouraged. Air-gun and musket invented. The art of printing. Vatican library founded. Greek philosophers seek refuge in Italy. Algebra borrowed from the Arabs. Discovery of America. Passage round the the Cape of Good Hope discovered.

SIXTEENTH

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.	RUSSIA AND POLAND.	GERMANY, &c.	FRANCE.	POPES.
Denmark. 13 Christian II. 23 Frederic I 34 Christian III. 59 Frederic II. 88 Christian IV.	*Russia.* 5 Vasili Ivanovitch. 33 IvanVasiliovitchII 84 Feodor. 98 Boris Gudonof.	*Empire.* 19 Charles V. king of Spain, &c. 58 Ferdinand I. 64 Maximilian II. 76 Rodolph II. Prussia rises gradually into importance. Holland rejects the yoke of Spain, and 84 Maurice, prince of Orange, is chosen Stadtholder of the United Provinces.	15 Francis I. 47 Henry II. 59 Francis II 60 Charles IX. 74 Henry III. *Wars of the League.* 89 Henry IV. of Bourbon.	3 Pius III. — Julius II. 13 Leo X. 22 Adrian VI. 23 Clement VII. 34 Paul III. 50 Julius III. 55 Marcellus III. — Paul IV. 59 Pius IV. 66 Pius V. 72 Gregory XIII. 85 Sixtus V. 90 Urban VII. — Gregory XIV. 91 Innocent IX. 92 Clement VIII. 40 Order of Jesuits established.
Sweden. 23 Gustavus Vasa establishes the independence of Sweden. 60 Eric XVI. 68 John III. 92 Sigismund, king of Poland. 99 Charles IX.	*Poland.* 1 Alexander. 6 Sigismund I. 48 Sigismund II. Augustus. 73 Henry of Valois. 75 Stephen. 87 Sigismund III. who also became king of Sweden.			

SEVENTEENTH

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.	RUSSIA AND POLAND.	GERMANY, &c.	FRANCE.
Denmark. 48 Frederic III. 70 Christian V. 99 Frederic IV.	*Russia.* 5 Demetrius 6 Vassili Shuiski. 13 Michael Romanof. 45 Alexis. 76 Feodor. 82 Ivan and Peter. 96 Peter alone.	*Empire.* 12 Matthias. 19 Ferdinand II. 37 Ferdinand III. 58 Leopold I. The Thirty Years' War. The dutchy of Prussia increases in power. Holland takes a prominent place among the European States.	10 Louis XIII. 43 Louis XIV. The monarchy of France attains the summit of its greatness, and the ambition of the king excites the jealousy of the principal European states.
Sweden. 11 Gustavus Adolphus the Great. 32 Christina. 54 Charles X. 60 Charles XI. 97 Charles XII. Great Northern War.	*Poland.* 32 Wladislaus VI. 48 John Casimir. 69 Michael Coryleat. 74 John Sobieski. 97 Frederic Augustus I. of Saxony.		

EIGHTEENTH AND

DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA AND POLAND.	GERMANY, &c.	FRANCE.	POPES.
30 Christian VI. 46 Frederic V. 66 Christian VII. 84 Regency.	18 Ulrica Leonora. 20 Frederic I. of Hesse Cassel. 51 Adolphus Frederic of Holstein. 71 Gustavus III. 92 Gustavus Adolphus II.	*Russia.* 21 Peter the Great takes the title of Emperor. 25 Catherine I. 27 Peter II. 30 Annelvanofna — Ivan, a minor. 41 Elizabeth. 61 Peter II. 62 Catherine II. 96 Paul I.	*Empire.* 5 Joseph I. 11 Charles VI. 42 Charles VII. of Bavaria. 45 Francis I. of Lorraine, and Maria Theresa. 65 Joseph II. 90 Leopold II. 92 Francis II.	14 LouisXV. 74 Louis XVI. 92 Republic Sanguinary tumults and civil wars. 99Napoleon, First Consul.	0 Clement XI. 21 Innocent XIII 24 Benedict XIII 30 Clement XII. 40 Benedict XIV 58 Clement XIII 69 Clement XIV 75 Pius VI. 98 Roman republic.
		Poland. Having been long distracted by civil commotions, is in 1772 dismembered by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.	*Prussia.* 1 Becomes a kingdom. 40 Frederick II. the Great. 86 Fred. Wm. II. 96 Fred. Wm. III.		
8 Frederic VI. 14 Norway united to Sweden. 39 Christian VIII.	9 Charles XIII. 10 Bernadotte chosen Crown prince 19 Becomes king, as Charles John.	*Russia.* 1 Alexander. 25 Nicholas. 31 Attempted Polish revolution.	*Austria.* 4 Francis 35 Ferdinand I. Emperor of Austria.	4 Napoleon Emperor. 14 Louis XVIII. 15 Napoleon restored — Louis XVIII. restored. 25 CharlesX 30 L. Philip.	0 Pius VII. 8 Pope deposed 14 — restored. 23 Leo XII. 31 Gregory XVI.
			Prussia. 40 Fred. Wm. IV.		*Holland.* 1814 William I. 1840 William II. on the abdication of his father.

CENTURY.

Spain.	England and Scotland.	Turks and Persians.	Progress of Civilization.
4 Ferdinand the Catholic, alone. — Philip I. of Austria. 16 Charles I., or V., as emperor of Germany. 56 Philip II. 98 Philip III.	*England.* 9 Henry VIII. 47 Edward VI. 53 Jane Grey. — Mary. 58 Elizabeth.	*Turkey.* 12 Selim I. 20 Soleiman II. 66 Selim II. 74 Amurath III. 95 Mohammed III.	The Reformation. The Copernican system. Reformation of the calendar. Stocking-frame. Newspapers. Telescopes. Toleration legally established in France by the Edict of Nantes.
Portugal. 21 John III. 57 Sebastian. 78 Henry the Cardinal. 80 Portugal is united to Spain.	*Scotland.* 13 James V. 42 Mary. 67 James VI. who, at the beginning of the next century, unites the kingdoms of England and Scotland, which are henceforth called Great Britain.	*Persia.* 1 The Suffavean dynasty founded by Ismael. 25 Shah Taurasp. 77 Mohammed. 84 Abbas the Great.	

CENTURY.

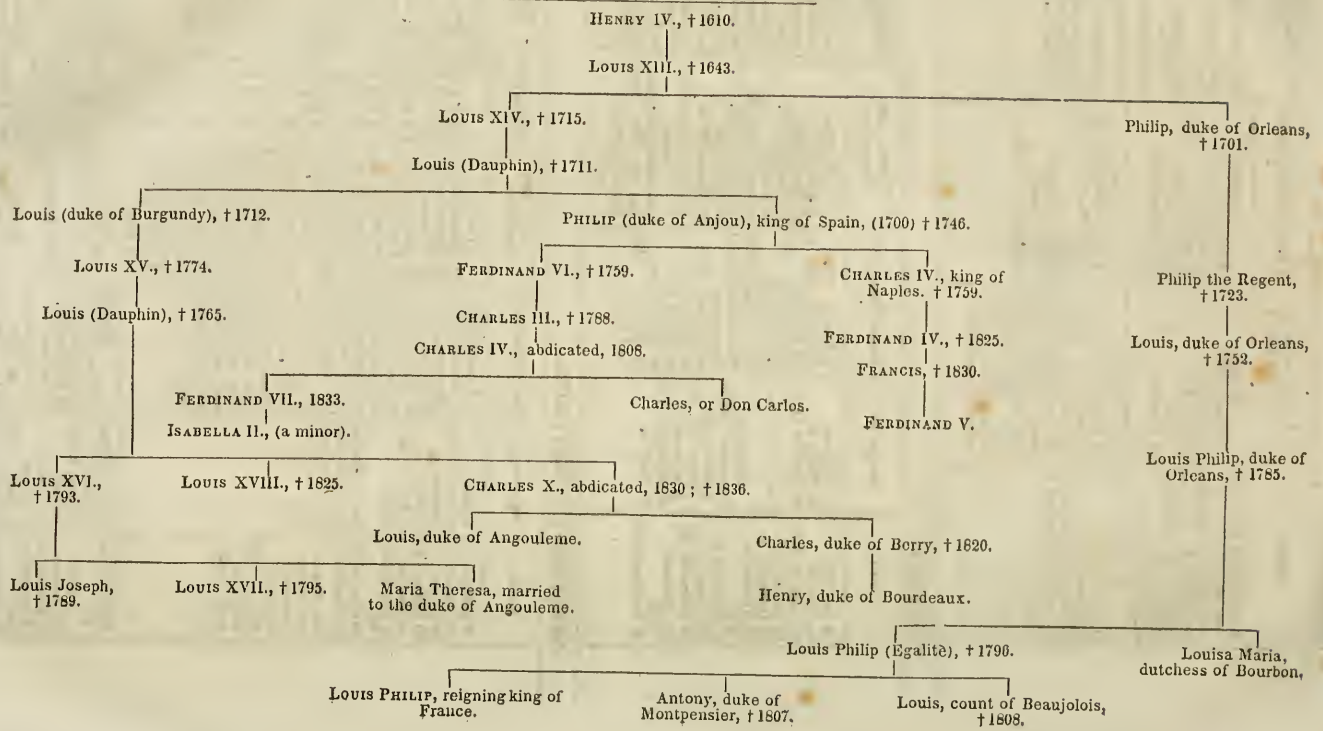
Popes.	Spain, &c.	Great Britain.	Turks and Persians.	Progress of Civilization.
5 Leo XI. — Paul V. 21 Gregory XV. 23 Urban VIII. 44 Innocent X. 55 Alexander VII. 67 Clement IX. 70 Clement X. 76 Innocent XI. 89 Alexander VIII. 91 Innocent XII.	*Spain.* 21 Philip IV. 65 Charles II. *Portugal.* Separates from Spain under 40 John IV. of Braganza. 56 Alphonso IV. 68 Peter II.	3 James VI., of Scotland, and I. of England. 25 Charles I. 42 Civil war. 49 Commonwealth 53 Cromwell, Lord Protector. 58 Richard, ditto. 60 Charles II. 85 James II. 88 Revolution. 89 William III. and Mary.	*Turkey.* 4 Ahmed I. 17 Mustapha I. 23 Amurath IV. 40 Ibrahim. 55 Mohammed IV. 87 Soleiman III. 90 Ahmed II. 98 Mustapha II. *Persia.* Declines rapidly under the later Suffavean princes.	Logarithms. Steam-engines. Circulation of the blood. Regular posts. Thermometer and barometer. Air-pump. Jesuits' bark. Bayonets. Plate glass. Bank of England projected. National Debt begun.

NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

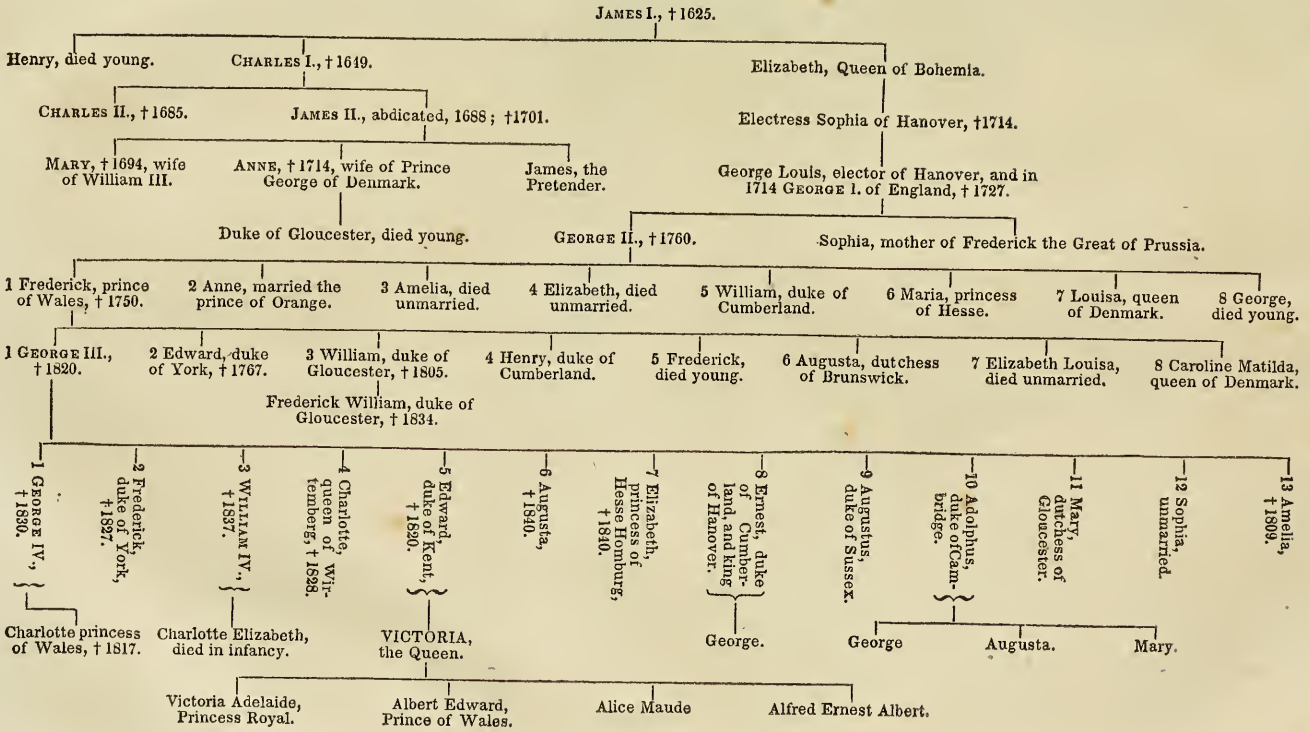
Spain.	Portugal.	Great Britain.	Turks and Persians.	India, &c.	Progress of Civilization.
0 Philip V. of Anjou. 24 Louis. 25 Philip V. restored. 46 Ferdinand VI. 59 Charles III 88 Charles IV The Spanish monarchy gradually declines, the court imbecile and profligate.	6 John V. 50 Joseph Emmanuel. 77 Mary. 96 John, Regent. The Portuguese monarchy declines like the Spanish.	2 Anne (Stuart). 14 George I. of Hanover. 27 George II. 60 George III. 83 The American colonies become independent states, and about the same time the foundation is laid of the British empire in Hindustan. England during the close of the century establishes its naval supremacy.	*Turkey.* 3 Ahmed III. 30 Mohammed V. 54 Ottoman III. 57 Mustapha III. 74 Ahmed IV. 89 Selim III. The power of Turkey gradually declines. *Persia.* For a while becomes powerful under Nadir Shah, but after his death it is again distracted by civil wars, & the sovereignty is seized by the Turkish tribe of the Kajars.	After the death of Aurungzebe (1707), the power of the empire of Delhi is destroyed, and the provinces form independent states; most of which have been successively rendered subject to the British East India Company.	Porcelain manufactured in Europe. Inoculation introduced. Chronometers. Cook's voyages. Colonization of Australia. Spinning jennies Galvanism. Planet Herschel discovered. Air balloons. Telegraphs. Steam-boats discovered, but not used until the next century.
8 Ferdinand VII. — Joseph. Napoleon. 14 Ferdinand VII. restored. 33 Isabella II	9 Royal family emigrate. 14 French expelled. 21 John VI. 28 Miguel. 31 Maria da Gloria.	11 George, Prince Regent. 20 George IV. 30 William IV. 37 Victoria. *Belgium.* 1831 Leopold elected king.	*Turkey.* 7 Mustapha IV. 8 Mohammed VI. 19 Abdul Medjid. *Greece.* 31 Otho of Bavaria.	0 Runjit Sing, ruler of Punjáb. 39 Shah Sujah, restored to the throne of Cabul. 40 English murdered in Cabul. Shah Sujah slain.	Steam-vessels. Gas-lights. Lithography. New processes of engraving. Arctic voyages. Railroads. Locomotive Engines.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BOURBONS.

The names printed in these Tables, denote the sovereigns: the mark, †, is prefixed to the date of a death.


HENRY IV., † 1610.
LOUIS XIII., † 1643.
LOUIS XIV., † 1715.
Philip, duke of Orleans, † 1701.
Louis (Dauphin), † 1711.
Louis (duke of Burgundy), † 1712.
PHILIP (duke of Anjou), king of Spain, (1700) † 1746.
LOUIS XV., † 1774.
FERDINAND VI., † 1759.
CHARLES IV., king of Naples. † 1759.
Philip the Regent, † 1723.
Louis (Dauphin), † 1765.
CHARLES III., † 1788.
FERDINAND IV., † 1825.
Louis, duke of Orleans, † 1752.
CHARLES IV., abdicated, 1808.
FRANCIS, † 1830.
FERDINAND VII., 1833.
Charles, or Don Carlos.
FERDINAND V.
ISABELLA II., (a minor).
Louis Philip, duke of Orleans, † 1785.
LOUIS XVI., † 1793.
LOUIS XVIII., † 1825.
CHARLES X., abdicated, 1830; † 1836.
Louis, duke of Angouleme.
Charles, duke of Berry, † 1820.
Louis Joseph, † 1789.
LOUIS XVII., † 1795.
Maria Theresa, married to the duke of Angouleme.
Henry, duke of Bourdeaux.
Louis Philip (Egalité), † 1796.
Louisa Maria, dutchess of Bourbon.
LOUIS PHILIP, reigning king of France.
Antony, duke of Montpensier, † 1807.
Louis, count of Beaujolois, † 1808.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ENGLAND.


James I., † 1625.
Henry, died young.
Charles I., † 1649.
Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.
Charles II., † 1685.
James II., abdicated, 1688; † 1701.
Electress Sophia of Hanover, † 1714.
Mary, † 1694, wife of William III.
Anne, † 1714, wife of Prince George of Denmark.
James, the Pretender.
George Louis, elector of Hanover, and in 1714 George I. of England, † 1727.
Duke of Gloucester, died young.
George II., † 1760.
Sophia, mother of Frederick the Great of Prussia.
1 Frederick, prince of Wales, † 1750.
2 Anne, married the prince of Orange.
3 Amelia, died unmarried.
4 Elizabeth, died unmarried.
5 William, duke of Cumberland.
6 Maria, princess of Hesse.
7 Louisa, queen of Denmark.
8 George, died young.
1 George III., † 1820.
2 Edward, duke of York, † 1767.
3 William, duke of Gloucester, † 1805.
4 Henry, duke of Cumberland.
5 Frederick, died young.
6 Augusta, dutchess of Brunswick.
7 Elizabeth Louisa, died unmarried.
8 Caroline Matilda, queen of Denmark.
Frederick William, duke of Gloucester, † 1834.
1 George IV., † 1830.
2 Frederick, duke of York, † 1827.
3 William IV., † 1837.
4 Charlotte, queen of Wirtemberg, † 1828.
5 Edward, duke of Kent, † 1820.
6 Augusta, † 1840.
7 Elizabeth, princess of Hesse Homburg, † 1840.
8 Ernest, duke of Cumberland, and king of Hanover.
9 Augustus, duke of Sussex.
10 Adolphus, duke of Cambridge.
11 Mary, dutchess of Gloucester.
12 Sophia, unmarried.
13 Amelia, † 1809.
Charlotte princess of Wales, † 1817.
Charlotte Elizabeth, died in infancy.
VICTORIA, the Queen.
George.
George
Augusta.
Mary.
Victoria Adelaide, Princess Royal.
Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.
Alice Maude
Alfred Ernest Albert.

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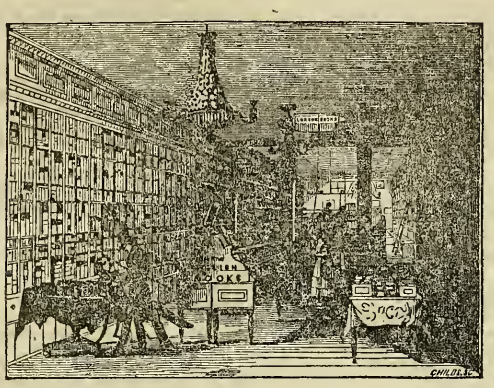

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